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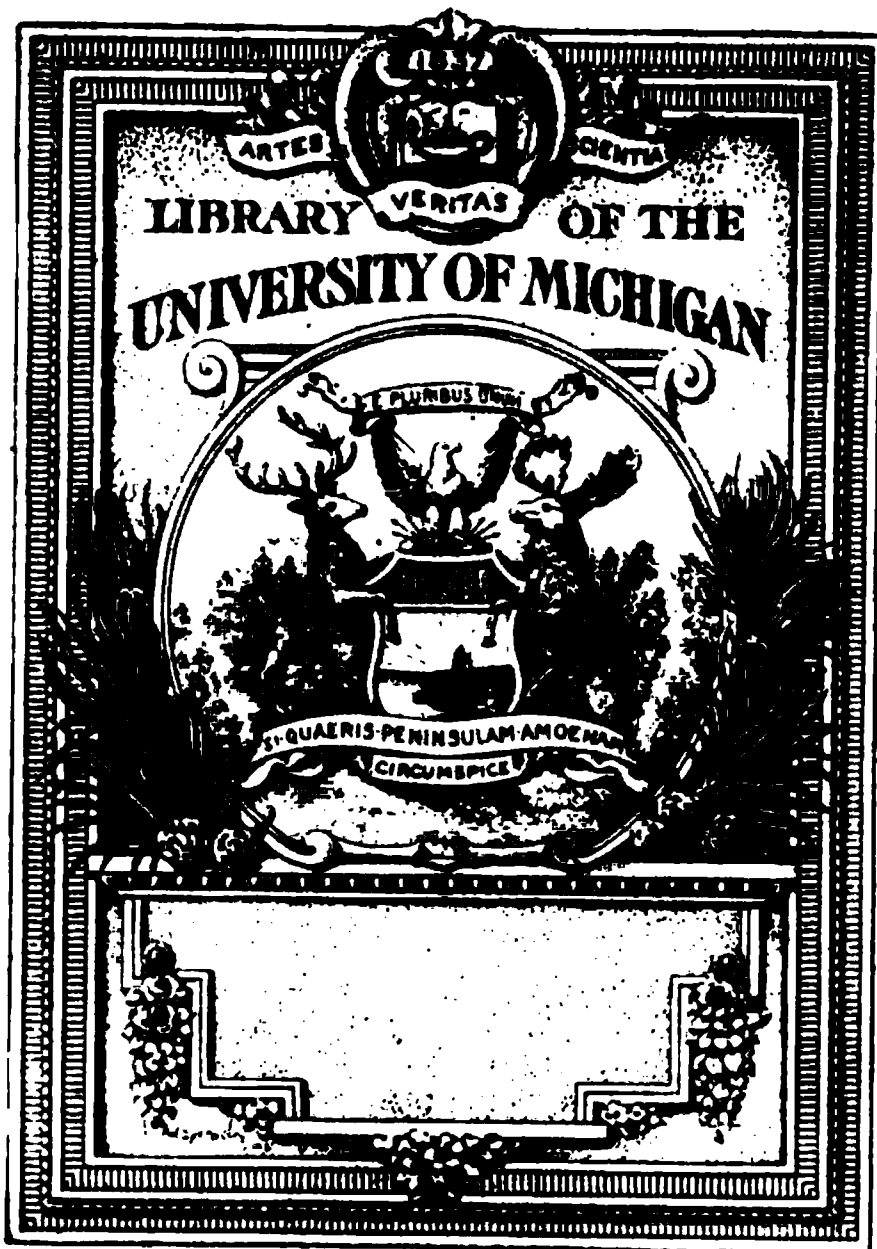
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DIARY AND LETTERS

OF

JOHN EVELYN, ESQ., F.R.S.

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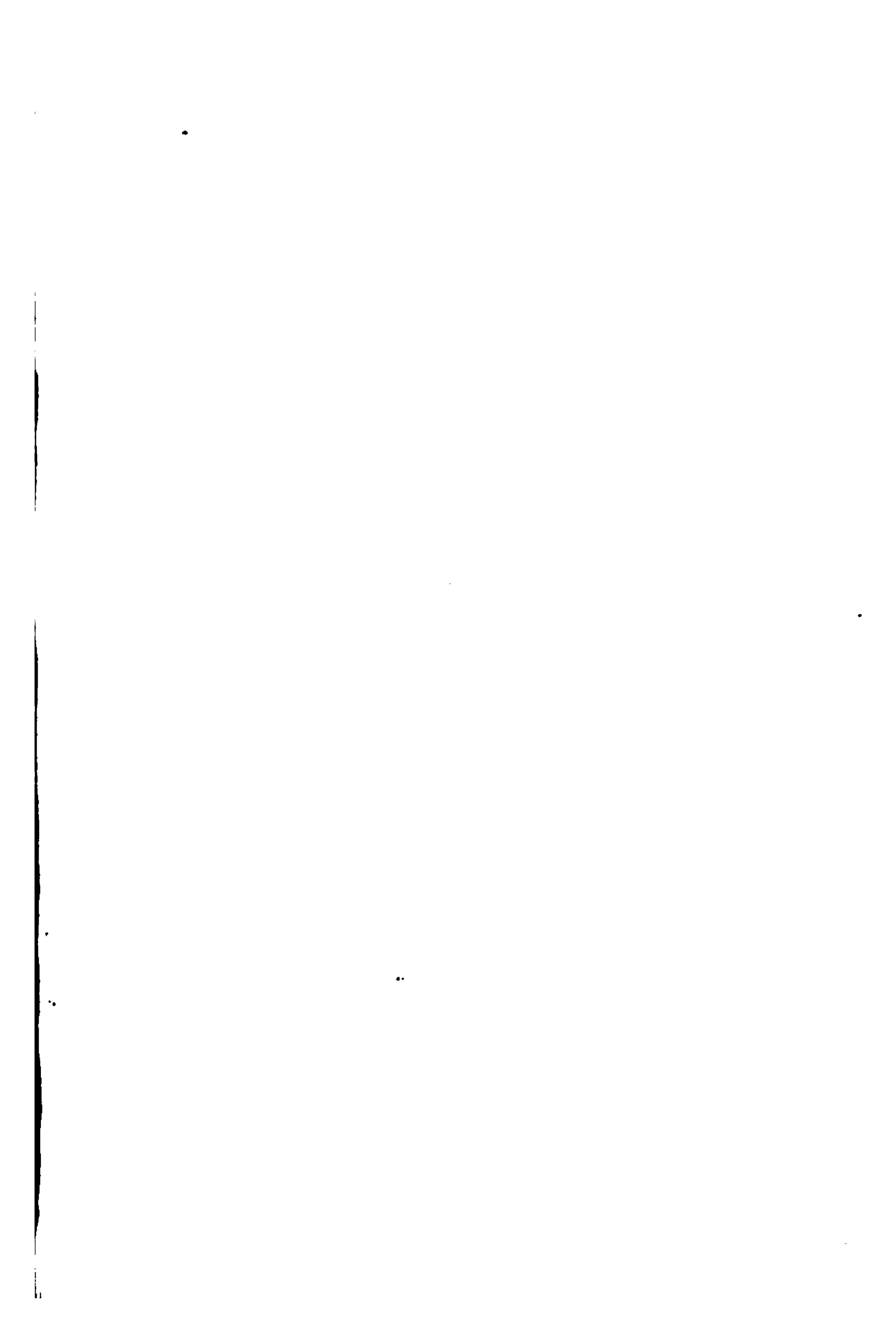
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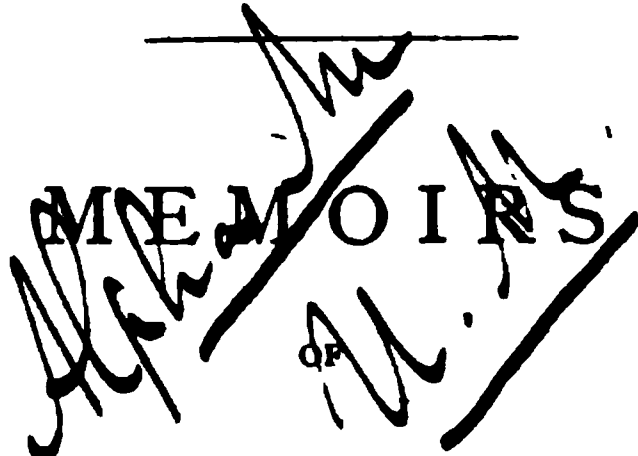
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MEMOIRS  
OF

JOHN EVELYN, ESQ., F.R.S.

COMPRISING

HIS DIARY,

FROM 1641 TO 1705-6.

AND

A SELECTION OF HIS FAMILIAR LETTERS

EDITED BY

WILLIAM BRAY, Esq.

FELLOW AND TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

LONDON:

FREDERICK WARNE AND CO.

BEDFORD STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

NEW YORK: SCRIBNER, WELFORD AND ARMSTRONG.

1871

**LONDON :**  
**SAVILL, EDWARDS, AND CO., PRINTERS, CHANDOS STREET,**  
**COVENT GARDEN.**

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TO

JOHN EVELYN OF WOTTON IN SURREY, ESQ.

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SIR,

THE last sheets of this Work, with a Dedication to the late LADY EVELYN, under whose permission it was to be given to the public, were in the hands of the Printer, when it pleased God to release her from a long and painful illness, which she had borne with the greatest fortitude and resignation to the Divine Will.

These papers descended, with the estate, from the celebrated JOHN EVELYN, Esq. (a relative of your immediate ancestor), to his great-great-grandson, the late Sir Frederick Evelyn, Bart. This Gentleman dying without issue, intrusted the whole to his Lady, whose loss we have now to lament; of whose worth, and of the value of whose friendship, I have happily had long knowledge and experience. Alive to the honour of the family, of which she was thus made the representative, she maintained it in every point, and with the most active benevolence; and her care extended to every part of the property attached to the domain. Mr. Evelyn had formed in his own mind a plan of what he called an 'Elysium Britannicum,' in which the Library and Garden were intended to be the principal objects: could he return and visit this his beloved seat, he would find his idea realized, by the arrangement and addition which her Ladyship had made to his library, and by the disposition of the flower-garden and green-house, which she had embellished with the most beautiful and curious flowers and plants, both native and exotic.

In completion and full justification of the confidence thus reposed in her, her Ladyship has returned the estate, with its valuable appendages, to the family, in your person.

I have, therefore, now to offer these Volumes<sup>1</sup> to you, Sir, with a wish, that you and your posterity may long enjoy the possessions, and continue the line of a Family so much distinguished in many of its branches, for superior worth and eminence.

I am, Sir,  
Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

Shere, 2 Jan. 1818.

WILLIAM BRAY.

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliographic notice, from 'Lowndes,' p. 767. Fifth edition, 2 vols., port. and plates. Second edit., 2 vols., 115s. 6d. Third edit., 5 vols. 8vo., 20s. Fourth edit., 4 vols., 42s. Fifth edit., 4 vols., 24s. Bohn's edit., 4 vols., 20s.*

# P R E F A C E.

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THE following pages are taken from the Journal of JOHN EVELYN, Esq., author (amongst many other works) of the celebrated *Sylva*, a Treatise on Forest Trees, and from which he has often been known by the name of The Sylva Evelyn. The Journal is written by him in a very small, close hand, in a quarto volume, containing 700 pages, which commences in 1641 and is continued to the end of 1697, and from thence is carried on in a smaller book till within about three weeks of his death, which happened 27 Feb. 1705-6, in the 86th year of his age.

These books, with numberless other papers in his handwriting, are in the valuable Library at Wotton, which was chiefly collected by him. Lady Evelyn, the late possessor of that very respectable old Mansion, after much solicitation from many persons, consented to favour the Public with this communication. The last sheets were in the hands of the Printer, when the death of that Lady happened.

The Editor who has been entrusted with the preparation of the work for the press, is fully diffident of his competence to make a proper selection, and is even aware that many things will be found in its pages which, in the opinion of some, and not injudicious, Critics, may appear too unimportant to meet the public eye : but it has been thought that some information, at least some amusement, would be furnished by the publication ; it has been supposed that some curious particulars of persons and transactions would be found in the accompanying notes ; and that, though these papers may not be of importance enough to appear in the pages of an Historian of the Kingdom, they may in some particulars set even such an one right ; and, though the notices are short, they may, as to persons, give some hints to Biographers, or at least may gratify the curiosity of those who are inquisitive after the mode in which their ancestors conducted their business, or passed their time.

Thus, when mention is made of great men going *after dinner* to attend a Council of State, or the business of their particular Offices, or the Bowling Green, or even the Church ; of an Hour's Sermon being of a moderate length ; of Ladies painting their faces being a novelty, or of their receiving visits of Gentlemen whilst dressing, after having just risen out of bed ; of the female attendant of a lady of fashion travelling on a pillion behind one of the footmen, and the footmen riding with swords ; such things may not be altogether incurious.

For many Corrections, and many of the Notes, the Editor acknow-

ledges, with great pleasure and regard, that he is indebted to James Bindley, Esq.<sup>1</sup> of Somerset House, a Gentleman who possessed an invaluable Collection of the most rare Books and Pamphlets, and whose liberality in communications was equal to the ability afforded by such a collection.

He has also to acknowledge how much he is obliged for many historical notes and elucidations to a literary Gentleman very conversant with English History, whose name he would gladly give, were it not withheld by particular request, and whose research has doubtless given additional interest to many of the Letters.

The Editor, finally, returns his best thanks to Mr. Upcott, of the London Institution, for the great and material assistance received from him in this Publication, besides his attention to the superintendence of the Press.

MR. EVELYN lived in the busy and important times of King Charles I. Oliver Cromwell, King Charles II. King James II. and King William, and he early accustomed himself to note such things as occurred which he thought worthy of remembrance. He was known to, and had much personal intercourse with, the Kings Charles II. and James II.; and he was in habits of great intimacy with many of the Ministers of those two Monarchs, and with many of the eminent men of those days, as well amongst the Clergy as the Laity. Foreigners distinguished for learning or arts, who came to England, did not leave it without visiting him.

In the first edition of the *Biog. Brit.* in folio, Dr. Campbell has a long article relating to this gentleman; and the following pages will produce farther particulars of this eminent man. They will shew that he did not travel merely to count steeples, as he expresses himself in one of his letters: they will develope his private character as being of the most amiable kind. With a strong predilection for monarchy, with a personal attachment to Kings Charles II. and James II., formed when they resided at Paris, he was yet utterly averse to the arbitrary measures of those Monarchs.

Strongly and steadily attached to the doctrine and practice of the Church of England, he felt the most liberal sentiments for those who differed from him in opinion. He lived in intimacy with men of all persuasions, nor did he think it necessary to break connexions with

<sup>1</sup> Died, in the 81st year of his age, Sept. 12, 1818.

any one who had even been induced to desert the Church of England and embrace the doctrines of that of Rome.

He speaks with great moderation of the Roman Catholics in general, admitting that some of the Laws enacted against them might be mitigated ; but of the Jesuits he had the very worst opinion, considering them as a most dangerous Society, and the principal authors of the misfortunes which befell King James II., and the horrible persecutions of the Protestants in France and Savoy.

He must have conducted himself with uncommon prudence and discretion, for he had personal friends in the Court of Cromwell, at the same time that he was corresponding with his father-in-law Sir Rich. Browne, the Ambassador of Charles II. at Paris ; and at the same period that he paid his Court to the King, he maintained his intimacy with a disgraced Minister.

In his travels he made acquaintance not only with men eminent for learning, but with men ingenious in every art and profession.

His manners we may presume to have been of the most agreeable kind, for his company was sought by the greatest men, not merely by inviting him to their own table, but by their repeated visits to him at his own house ; and this was equally the case with regard to the ladies, of many of whom he speaks in the highest style of admiration, affection, and respect. He was master of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages. That he had read a great deal is manifest, but at what time he found opportunities for study, it does not seem easy to say ; he acknowledges himself to have been idle while at Oxford ; and when on his travels he had little time for reading, except when he stayed about nineteen weeks in France, and at Padua, where he was likewise stationary for some time. At Rome he remained a considerable time ; but whilst there he was so continually engaged in viewing the great abundance of interesting objects to be seen in that City, that he could have found little leisure for reading. When resident in England, he was so much occupied in the business of his numerous offices, in paying visits, in receiving company at home, and in examining whatever was deemed worthy of curiosity or of scientific observation, that it is astonishing to think how he found the opportunity to compose the numerous books which he published, and the much greater number of papers, on almost every subject, which still remain in manuscript<sup>1</sup> ; to say nothing of the very extensive and voluminous Correspondence which he appears to have carried on during the period of his long life, with men of the greatest eminence in Church and State, and the most distinguished for learning, both Englishmen and Foreigners. In this correspondence he does not seem to have made use of an amanuensis, and he has left transcripts in his own hand of great numbers of Letters.

<sup>1</sup> Amongst these there is a Bible bound in three volumes, the pages-filled with notes.

both received and sent. He observes, indeed, in one of these, that he seldom went to bed before 12, or closed his eyes before 1 o'clock.

He was happy in a wife of congenial dispositions with his own, of an enlightened mind, who had read much, was skilled in etching and painting, yet attentive to the domestic concerns of her household, and a most affectionate mother. Of her personal beauty an idea may be formed from the print, engraved from a most exquisite drawing in pencil by that celebrated French artist Nanteuil, in 1650. In the Appendix is given a character of her by the Rev. Dr. Bohun, who had the best opportunity of being acquainted with it, from having resided in Mr. Evelyn's house for a considerable time as tutor to their son. A few of her letters are also given, to prove the truth of what Doctor Bohun says of them.

The grandfather of John Evelyn, George, was not the first of the family who settled in Surrey; John, father of this George, was of Kingston in 1520, and married a daughter of David Vincent, Esq. Lord of the Manor of Long Ditton, near Kingston, which afterwards came into the hands of George, who there carried on the manufacture of gunpowder. He purchased very considerable estates in Surrey, and three of his sons became heads of three families, *viz.* Thomas, his eldest son, at Long Ditton; John at Godstone, and Richard at Wotton. Each of these three families had the title of Baronet conferred on them at different times, *viz.* at Godstone in 1660, Long Ditton in 1683, and Wotton in 1713.

The manufacture of gunpowder was carried on at Godstone as well as at Long Ditton, but it does not appear that there ever was any mill at Wotton, or that the purchase of that place was made with such a view. Nor does it appear that Mr. Evelyn's grandfather *planted* the timber, with which Wotton was, and always has been, so well stored. The soil produces it naturally, and it has at all times been carefully preserved, besides what has been planted, furnishing abundance for cutting at proper seasons.

It may be not altogether incurious to observe, that, though Mr. Evelyn's father was a man of very considerable fortune, the first rudiments of this son's learning were acquired from the village schoolmaster over the porch of Wotton Church. Of his progress at another school, and at college, he himself speaks with great humility; nor did he add much to his stock of knowledge whilst he resided in the Middle Temple, to which his father sent him, with intention that he should apply to what he calls 'an impolished study,' which he says he never liked. More will be said of this in a subsequent page.

The public troubles coming on before he had engaged in any settled plan for his future life, it appears that he had thoughts of living in the most private manner, and that, with his brother's permission, he had even begun to prepare a place for retirement at Wotton. Nor did he

afterwards wholly abandon this intention, if the plan of a philosophical College which he sent to Mr. Boyle in 1659, was really formed on a serious idea.

His answer to Sir Geo. Mackenzie's panegyric on Solitude, in which Mr. Evelyn takes the opposite part, and urges the preference to which, public employment and an active life is entitled, might be supposed a playful essay of one who, for the sake of argument, would controvert another's position, though in reality agreeing with his own opinion, if we think him serious in two letters to Mr. Abraham Cowley, dated 12 March and 24 August 1666. In truth, his mind was too active to admit of solitude, however desirable it might at some times appear to him in Theory.

After he had settled at Deptford, which was in the time of Cromwell, he kept up a constant correspondence with Sir Rich. Browne (his father-in-law) the King's Ambassador at Paris ; and though his connection must have been known, it does not appear that he met with any interruption from the Government here. Indeed, though he remained a decided Royalist, he managed so well as to have intimate friends amongst those nearly connected with Cromwell ; and to this we may attribute his being able to avoid taking the Covenant, which he says he never did take. In 1659 he published 'An Apology for the Royal Party,' and soon after he printed a paper which was of great service to the King, entitled 'The late News or Message from Brussels unmasked,' which was a pamphlet designed to represent the King in the worst light.

On the Restoration we find him very frequently at Court, and he became engaged in many public employments, still attending to his studies and literary pursuits. Amongst these is particularly to be mentioned the Royal Society, in the establishment and conduct of which he took a very active part. He procured Mr. Howard's library to be given to them ; and in 1667 the Arundelian Marbles to the University of Oxford.

His first appointment to a public office was in 1662, as a Commissioner for reforming the buildings, ways, streets and incumbrances, and regulating Hackney coaches in London. In the same year he sat as a Commissioner on an enquiry into the conduct of the Lord Mayor, &c. concerning Sir Tho. Gresham's charities. In 1664 he was in a Commission for regulating the Mint ; and in the same year he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the care of the Sick and Wounded in the Dutch War ; and was continued in the same employment in the second War with that Country.

He was one of the Commissioners for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral shortly before it was burnt in 1666.

In that year he was in a Commission for regulating the farming and making of Saltpetre.

In 1671 he was made a Commissioner of Plantations on the establishment of the Board, to which the Council of Trade was added in 1672.

In 1685 he was one of the Commissioners of the Privy Seal during the absence of the Earl of Clarendon (who held that office), on his going Lord Lieutenant to Ireland.

On the foundation of Greenwich Hospital in 1695, he was one of the Commissioners; and on 30 June 1696, he laid the first stone of that building. He was appointed Treasurer with a salary of £200 a year, but he says it was a long time before he received any part of it.

When the Czar of Muscovy came to England in 1698, he was desirous of having the use of Sayes Court, as being near the King's Dock-yard at Deptford, where that Monarch proposed instructing himself in the art of Ship-building. During his stay he did so much damage, that Mr. Evelyn had an allowance of £.150 for it. He particularly regrets the mischief done to his famous holly hedge, which might have been thought beyond the reach of damage.<sup>1</sup>

October 1699, his elder brother George Evelyn dying without male issue, aged 83, he succeeded to the paternal estate; and in May following he quitted Sayes Court and went to Wotton, where he passed the remainder of his life, except going occasionally to London, where he had a house.

In the great storm in 1703 he mentions, in his last edition of the *Sylva*, that above 1000 trees were blown down in sight of his house.

He died at his house in London, 27 Feb. 1705-6, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and was buried at Wotton. His Lady survived him nearly three years, dying 9 Feb. 1708-9, in her seventy-fourth year, and was buried near him at Wotton. His personal character was truly amiable. In the relative duties of father, husband, and friend, few could exceed him.

Of Mr. Evelyn's children, one son, who died at the age of five, and one daughter, who died at the age of nineteen, were almost prodigies. The particulars of their extraordinary endowments, and the deep manner in which he was affected by their deaths, may be seen in his letters, and cannot be read without exciting the most tender emotions.

One daughter was well and happily settled; another less happily, but she did not survive her marriage more than a few months.

The only son who lived to the age of manhood inherited his father's love of learning, and distinguished himself by several publications.

Mr. Evelyn's employment as a Commissioner of the Sick and Wounded was a very laborious one, and from the nature of it must have been extremely unpleasant. Almost the whole labour was in his depart-

<sup>1</sup> It is said that one of Czar Peter's favourite recreations was to demolish the hedges by riding through them in a wheelbarrow.

ment, which included all the Ports between the River Thames and Portsmouth; he had to travel in all seasons and weathers, by land and by water, in the execution of his office, to which he gave the strictest attention. It was rendered still more unpleasant by the great difficulty which he found in procuring money for support of the Prisoners. In the Library at Wotton are copies of numerous letters to the Lord Treasurer and Officers of State, representing, in the strongest terms, the great distress of the poor men, and of those who had furnished lodging and necessaries for them. At one time there were such arrears of payment to the victuallers, that on landing additional sick and wounded, they lay some time in the streets, the publicans refusing to receive them, and shutting up their houses. After all this trouble and fatigue he found as great difficulty in getting his accounts settled<sup>1</sup>. In Jan. 1665-6 he formed a plan for an Infirmary at Chatham, which he sent to Mr. Pepys, to be laid before the Admiralty, with his reasons for recommending it; but it does not appear that it was carried into execution.

His business relating to the repair of St. Paul's (which, however, was very short), that of a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, and for building Greenwich Hospital, were much better adapted to his inclination and pursuits.

As a Commissioner of the Privy Seal in the reign of K. James II. he had a difficult task to perform. He was most steadily attached to the Church of England, and the King required the Seal to be put to many things incompatible with the welfare of that Church. This on some occasions he refused to do, particularly to a Licence to Dr. Obadiah Walker to print Popish books<sup>2</sup>; and on others absented himself, leaving it to his brother Commissioners to act as they thought fit. Such, however, was the King's opinion of him, that he shewed no displeasure on this account.

With respect to Mr. Evelyn's attempt to bring Col. Morley (who was Cromwell's Lieutenant of the Tower, and who held it at the time immediately preceding the Restoration) over to the King's interest, an imperfect account of it is given in the *Biographia*.

The fact is, that there was great friendship between these gentlemen, and Mr. Evelyn did endeavour to engage the Colonel in the King's

<sup>1</sup> 2 Oct. 1665, he writes to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Arlington, Sir William Coventry, and Sir Philip Warwick, complaining of want of money for the Prisoners, and praying that whilst he and his brother Commissioners adventure their persons, and all that is dear to them, in this uncomfortable service, they may not be exposed to ruin, and to a necessity of abandoning their care; they have lost their officers and servants by the pestilence, and are hourly environed with the saddest objects of perishing people.—'I have,' says he, '15 places full of sick men, where they put me to unspeakable trouble; the Magistrates and Justices, who should further us in our exigencies, hindering the people from giving us quarters, jealous of the contagion, and causing them to shut their doors at our approach.'

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Walker had been a member of the Church of England, but had renounced it, and turned Papist.

interest ; he saw him several times, and put his life into his hands by writing to him on 12 Jan. 1659-60<sup>1</sup> ; he did not succeed, and Col. Morley was too much his friend to betray him ; but so far from the Colonel having settled matters privately with Sir Anth. Ashley Cooper, or General Monk<sup>2</sup>, as there stated, when the Restoration took place, Col. Morley actually applied to Mr. Evelyn to obtain his pardon, and Mr. Evelyn obtained it accordingly, though, as the latter states, the Colonel was obliged to pay a sum of money. This could not have happened if he had previously joined with General Monk.

Mr. Evelyn's book intitled ' Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress,' was nothing more than an Introduction to the History of the Dutch War, a work undertaken by Mr. Evelyn at the express command of King Charles II., and the materials for which were furnished by the Officers of State. The completion of this work, after a considerable progress had been made in it, was put a stop to by the King himself ; for what reason does not appear ; but perhaps it was found that Mr. Evelyn was inclined to tell too much of the truth concerning a transaction which it will be seen by his Journal he utterly reprobated. His copy of the History, as far as it had proceeded, he put into the hands of his friend Mr. Samuel Pepys of the Admiralty, who did not return it.

' The Mystery of Jesuitism ' consisted of three volumes, published in different years. The translation of the second was undertaken by Mr. Evelyn at the express desire of Lord Clarendon and his son, as appears by a letter of Mr. E. to Lord Cornbury, dated 9 Feb. 1664. The third was translated by Dr. Tonge for Mr. Evelyn.

In giving a list of Mr. Evelyn's Publications, the Authors of the *Biographia* say, ' As several of these treatises were printed before the Author's return to England, and others without his name, we must depend on the general opinion of the world, and the authority of Mr. Wood, for their being his ; yet there is no great reason to suspect a mistake.' They say, ' We know nothing of the " Mundus Muliebris ; or, the Ladies' Dressing Room unlocked," except that it has had a place in the Catalogue of our Author's Works, from which therefore we have no right to remove it.'

There is no doubt of his being the author : under 1685 Mr. Evelyn, in his account of his daughter Mary, says she ' put in many pretty symbols in the " Mundus Muliebris," wherein is an enumeration of the immense variety of the modes and ornaments belonging to the sex.'

In a letter to Lord Cornbury, dated 9 Feb. 1664, he speaks of having written a Play.

<sup>1</sup> A copy of this letter, with a note of Mr. Evelyn's subjoined, is given among the Illustrations at the end of this Volume.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Morley's name is scarcely mentioned in the account of General Monk's conduct on this occasion written by John Price, D.D. (who was sent to him on the King's behalf, and had continual intercourse with him), published in 1680, and reprinted by Baron Maseres in 1815.

The Authors of the *Biog. Brit.* say, 'The account which Mr. Boyle received from Mr. Evelyn of the method used by the Italians for preserving snow in pits, is an admirable specimen of that care with which he registered his discoveries, as well as the curiosity which prompted him to enquire into every thing worthy of notice, either natural or artificial, in the countries through which he passed. It is much to be regretted that a work so entertaining and instructive as the History of his Travels would have been, appeared, even to so indefatigable a person as he was, a task too laborious for him to undertake ; for we should then have seen clearly, and in a true light, many things in reference to Italy which are now very indistinctly and partially represented ; and we should also have met with much new matter never touched before, and of which we shall now probably never hear at all.'

What is thus said of Mr. Evelyn's travels is partly supplied in the following volume, but not so fully as could be wished. That he made many observations which will not be found here, appears by the above quotation from Mr. Boyle, and by an account of the manner of making bread in France, which he communicated to Mr. Houghton, a Fellow of the Royal Society, who published it in some papers which he printed weekly in 1681 and following years. It is presumed that Mr. Evelyn had made many other observations not found in this Journal, and the notes of which have not been discovered amongst his papers.

From the numerous Authors who have spoken in high terms of this Gentleman, we will insert the two following characters of him :

In the *Biog. Brit.* Dr. Campbell says, 'It is certain that very few Authors who have written in our language deserve the character of able and agreeable writers so well as Mr. Evelyn, who, though he was acquainted with most sciences, and wrote upon many different subjects, yet was very far, indeed the farthest of most men of his time, from being a superficial writer. He had genius, he had taste, he had learning ; and he knew how to give all these a proper place in his works, so as never to pass for a Pedant, even with such as were least in love with literature, and to be justly esteemed a polite Author by those who knew it best.'—Vol. V. p. 614, note I.

Mr. Hor. Walpole, in his Catalogue of Engravers, also gives the following admirably-drawn character of him: 'If Mr. Evelyn had not been an Artist himself, as I think I can prove he was, I should yet have found it difficult to deny myself the pleasure of allotting him a place among the Arts he loved, promoted, patronized ; and it would be but justice to inscribe his name with due panegyric in these records, as I have once or twice taken the liberty to criticise him : but they are trifling blemishes compared with his amiable virtues and beneficence ; and it may be remarked, that the worst I have said of him is, that he knew more than he always communicated. It is no unwelcome satire to say, that a man's intelligence and philosophy is inexhaustible. I

mean not to write his Life, which may be found detailed in the new edition of his 'Sculptura,' in Collins's 'Baronetage,' in the 'General Dictionary,' and in the new 'Biographical Dictionary;' but I must observe, that his life, which was extended to 86 years, was a course of enquiry, study, curiosity, instruction, and benevolence. The works of the Creator, and the minute labours of the creature, were all objects of his pursuit. He unfolded the perfection of the one, and assisted the imperfection of the other. He adored from examination; was a courtier that flattered only by informing his prince, and by pointing out what was worthy for him to countenance; and really was the Neighbour of the Gospel, for there was no man that might not have been the better for him. Whoever peruses a list of his works will subscribe to my assertion. He was one of the first promoters of the Royal Society; a patron of the ingenious and the indigent; and peculiarly serviceable to the lettered world; for besides his writings and discoveries, he obtained the Arundelian Marbles for the University of Oxford, and the Arundelian Library for the Royal Society.—Nor is it the least part of his praise, that he, who proposed to Mr. Boyle the erection of a Philosophical College for retired and speculative persons, had the honesty to write in defence of active life against Sir Geo. Mackenzie's Essay on Solitude. He knew that retirement, in his own hands, was industry, and benefit to mankind; but in those of others, laziness and inutility.'

His son, Mr. John Evelyn, was of Trinity College, Oxford, and when about 15 years old he wrote that elegant Greek Poem which is prefixed to the second edition of the 'Sylva.' He translated Rapin on Gardens, in four books, written in Latin verse. His father annexed the second book of this to the second edition of his 'Sylva.' He also translated from the Greek of Plutarch the life of Alexander the Great, printed in volume iv. of 'Plutarch's Lives by several Hands;' and from the French, the History of the Grand Viziers Mahomet and Achmet Coprogli. There are several Poems of his, of which some are printed in Dryden's Miscellanies, and more in Nichols's Collection of Poems.

In December 1688 he was presented to the Prince of Orange at Abington by Col. Sidney and Col. Berkley, and was one of the volunteers in Lord Lovelace's troop, when his Lordship secured Oxford for the Prince. In 1690 he purchased the place of Chief Clerk of the Treasury; but in the next year he was by some means removed from it by Mr. Guy, who succeeded in that office. In August 1692 he was made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, from whence he returned to England in 1696 in very ill health, and died 24th March, 1698, in his father's life-time.

He married Martha, daughter and coheir of Rich. Spenser, Esq., a Turkey merchant, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. The eldest son, and the eldest daughter, Martha-Mary, and youngest

daughter, Jane, died infants. The surviving daughter, Elizabeth, married Simon Harcourt, Esq. son of the Lord Chancellor Harcourt. Sep. 18, 1705, the son John, who had succeeded his grandfather at Wotton, married Anne, daughter of Ed. Boscawen, Esq. of the county of Cornwall; and by letters patent, dated 30 July 1713, was created a Baronet. He inherited the virtue and the taste for learning, as well as the patrimony, of his ancestors, and lived at Wotton universally loved and respected. He built a Library there, 45 feet long, 14 wide, and as many high, for the reception of the large and curious collection of books made by his grandfather, father, and himself, and where they now remain. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, was long the First Commissioner of the Customs, and died July 15, 1763, in the eighty-second year of his age.

By his lady, who died before him, he had several children, and was succeeded by John the eldest, who married Mary daughter of Hugh Boscawen, Viscount Falmouth, and died 11 June, 1767, in the sixty-first year of his age. He was Clerk of the Green Cloth to Frederick Prince of Wales, father of George I., to George II. when Prince of Wales, and after he came to the Crown. He represented the Borough of Helston in several Parliaments, and to the time of his death. He had only one son, Frederick, who succeeded to the title and estate, and three daughters. Of the daughters, two died unmarried; the third, Augusta, married the Rev. Dr. Henry Jenkin, Rector of Wotton and Abinger, but she died without issue. Sir Frederick was in the army in the early part of his life, and was in *Elliot's Light-Horse* when that Regiment so highly distinguished themselves in the famous Battle of Minden in Germany in 1759. He married Mary, daughter of William Turton, Esq. of Staffordshire, and, dying without issue in 1812, he left his estates to his Lady. She lived at Wotton, where she fully maintained the honour and great respect which had so long attended the family there. Her taste for botany was displayed in her garden and green-house, where she had a curious collection of exotic, as well as native, shrubs and flowers. The Library shared her attention; besides making additions to it, she had a complete Catalogue arranged by Mr. Upcott of the London Institution.

This lady by her will returned the estate to the family, devising it to John Evelyn, Esq. who descended from George Evelyn, the purchaser of this estate in 1579.

# THE DIARY OF JOHN EVELYN.

## KALENDARIUM.

I WAS borne at Wotton, in the county of Surrey, 31 Oct., 1620, after my Father had been married about seven yeares<sup>1</sup>, and my Mother had borne him two daughters and one sonn, *viz.* Eliza, 28 Nov., 1614: Jane, 16 Feb., 1615; George, 18 June, 1617. They had another sonn after me, Richard, born 4 Dec., 1622.

My Father, named Richard, was of a sanguine complexion, mixed with a dash of choler: his haire inclining to light, which tho' very thick became hoary by that time he was 30 yeares of age; it was somewhat curled towards the extremity; his beard, which he wore a little picked, as the mode was, of a brownish colour, and so continued to the last, save that it was somewhat mingled with grey haire about his cheekes: which, with his countenance, was cleare, and fresh colour'd, his eyes quick and piercing, an ample forehead, manly aspect; low of stature, but very strong. So exact and temperate, that I haue heard he had never been surprised by excesse, being ascetic and sparing. His wisdom was greate, his judgment acute; of solid discourse, affable, humble, and in nothing affected; of a thriving, neate, silent, and methodical genius; discreetly severe, yet liberal on all just occasions, to his children, strangers, and servants; a lover of hospitality; of a singular and Christian moderation in all his actions; a Justice of the Peace and of the Quorum; he served his Country as High Sheriff for Surrey and Sussex together<sup>2</sup>. He was a studious decliner of honours and titles. being already in that esteem with his country that they could have added little to him beside their burden<sup>3</sup>. He was a person of that rare conversation, that upon frequent recollection, and calling to mind passages of his life and discourse, I could never charge him with the least passion or inadvertence. His estate was esteem'd about £4,000 *per ann.* well wooded and full of timber.

<sup>1</sup> He was married at St. Thomas's Church, Southwark, 27 Jan. 1613.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly the two Counties had, in general, only one Sheriff, though sometimes distinct ones; in 1637 each County had its Sheriff, and so it has continued ever since.

<sup>3</sup> "Received the 29 Oct., 1630. of Richard Evlinge of Wottone in the Countye of Surr' Esq.; by waie of composic'one to the use of his Mae., being appointed by his M. Collector for the same, for his Fine for not appearinge at the time and place apoynted for receavinge order of Knighthood, the somme of fivety pound I say received THO. CRYMES."

My Mother's name was Elianor, sole daughter<sup>1</sup> and heyresse of John Standsfield Esq.; of an ancient and honorable family (though now extinct) in Shropshire, by his wife Elianor Comber of a good and well knowne house in Sussex. She was of proper personage; of a browne complexion; her eyes and baire of a lovely black; of constitution inclyned to a religious melancholy, or pious sadnesse; of a rare memory and most exemplary life; for œconomie and prudence esteemed one of the most conspicuous in her Country.

So much touching my parents; nor was it reasonable I should speake lesse of them to whom I owe so much.

Wotton, the mansion house of my father, left him by my grandfather, (now my eldest brother's) is situated in the most Southern part of the Shire, and tho' in a vally, yet really upon part of Lyth Hill, one of the most eminent (993 feet) in England for the prodigious prospect to be seen from its summit, tho' by few observed. From it may be discern'd 12 or 13 Counties, with part of the Sea on the Coast of Sussex, in a serene day; the house large and ancient, suitable to those hospitable times, and so sweetly environed with those delicious streams and venerable woods, as in the judgement of Strangers as well as Englishmen it may be compared to one of the most pleasant Seates in the Nation, and most tempting for a great person and a wanton purse to render it conspicuous: it has rising grounds, meadows, woods, and water, in abundance.

The distance from London little more than 20 miles (nearly 26 miles) and yet so securely placed as if it were 100; three miles from Dorking, which serves it abundantly with provisions as well of land as sea; 8 from Gilford, 14 from Kingston. I will say nothing of the ayre, because the præeminence is universally given to Surrey, the soil being dry and sandy; but I should speake much of the gardens, fountaines, and groves, that adorne it; were they not as generally knowne to be amongst the most natural, and (til this later and universal luxury of the whole nation, since abounding in such expenses) the most magnificent that England afforded, and which indeede gave one of the first examples to that elegancy since so much in vogue and follow'd in the managing of their waters, and other ornaments of that nature. Let me add, the contiguity of 7 Mannors, the patronage of the livings about it,<sup>2</sup> and, what is none of the least advantages, a good neighbourhood. All which conspire to render it fit for the present possessor, my worthy brother, and his noble lady, whose constant liberality give them title both to the place and the affections of all that know them. Thus, with the poet,

Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos  
Ducit, et im'emores non sinit esse sui.

<sup>1</sup> Born 17 Nov. 1598, near Lewes.

<sup>2</sup> 7 Manors, 2 Advowsons, and a Chapel of Sir John Cotton.

1624. I was not initiated into any rudiments till I was four years of age, and then one Frier taught us at the church porch of Wotton ; and I perfectly remember the great talk and stir about il Conde Gundamar, Ambassador from Spain (for near about this time was the match of our Prince with the Infanta proposed).

1625. I was this year sent by my Father to Lewes, to be with my Grandfather Standsfield, with whom I passed my childhood. This was the year in which the pestilence was so epidemical that there dy'd in London 5,000 a week ; and I well remember the strict watches and examinations upon the ways as we passed.

1626. My picture was drawn in oyle by one Chanterell, no ill painter.

1627. My Grandfather Standsfield dyed this yeare on 5 Feb. : I remember the solemnity at his funeral. He was buried in the parish church of All Soules, where my Grandmother, his second wife, erected a monument. About this time was the consecration of the Church of South Malling, near Lewes, the building whereof was chiefly procured by my Grandfather, who having the Impropriation, gave £20 a-year out of it to this Church. I afterwards sold the Impropriation. I layd one of the first stones at the building of the Church, which was consecrated by Bishop Field, Bishop of Oxfd., the sermon being preached by Mr. Coxhall, afterwards minister there.

It was not till the yeare 1628 that I was put to learne my Latine rudiments, and to write of one Citolin, a Frenchman, in Lewes. I was put to schoole to Mr. Potts, in the Cliffe at Lewes ; and in 1630 from thence to the Free-schole at Southover neere the town, of which one Agnes Morley had been the fountresse, and now Edward Snatt was the master, under whom I remained till I was sent to the University. This yeare my Grandmother (with whom I sojourn'd) being married to one Mr. Newton, a learned and most religious gent. we went from the Cliff to dwell at his house in Southover.

1631. There happen'd an extraordinary dearth in England, come bearing an excessive price ; and in imitation of what I had seene my Father do, I began to observe matters more punctually, which I did used to set downe in a blanke almanac.

21 Oct. 1632. My eldest Sister was married to Edward Darcy Esq.; who little deserved so excellent a person. I was soone afterwards sent for into Surrey, and my Father would willingly have weaned me from my fondness of my too indulgent Grandmother, intending to have placed me at Eaton ; but I was so terrified at the report of the severe discipline there, that I was sent back to Lewes, which perversenesse of mine I have since a thousand times deplor'd. Whiles I was now trifling at home I saw London, where I lay one night onely. The next day I dined at Beddington, where I was much delighted with

<sup>1</sup> Long after, Mr. Evelyn paid great respect to this gentleman, as appears by his letters.

the gardens and curiosities. Thence we returned to the Lady Darcy's at Sutton, thence to Wotton, and the 16 August 1633, back to Lewes.

1634. My Father was appointed Sheriff for Surrey and Sussex before they were disjoyned. He had 116 servants in liverys, every one livery'd in greene sattin doublets; divers gentlemen and persons of quality waited on him in the same garbe and habit, which at that time (when 30 or 40 was the usual retinue of the High Sheriff) was esteem'd a great matter. Nor was this out of the least vanity that my Father exceeded (who was one of the greatest decliners of it), but because he could not refuse the civility of his friends and relations, who voluntarily came themselves, or sent in their servants. But my Father was afterwards most unjustly and spitefully molested by that jeering judge Richardson<sup>1</sup>, for repreiving the execution of a woman, to gratifie my L. of Lindsey, then Admiral; but out of this he emerged with as much honor as trouble.

15 Dec. 1634. My Sister Darcy departed this life, being arriv'd to her 20 yeare of age, in vertue advanc'd beyond her yeares, or the merit of her husband, the worst of men. She had been brought to bed the 2 June before, but the infant died soon after her. My Sister was interr'd in a very honorable manner in our dormitory joyning to the parish church of Wotton, where now her monument stands.

1635. My deare Mother departed this life upon the 29 Sept., about the 37th of her age and 22d of her marriage; her death hastened by excessive grief for the losse of her daughter. When near her death, she summoned all her children then living (I shall never forget it), and express'd herself in a manner so heavenly, with instructions so pious and Christian, as made us strangely sensible of the extraordinary losse then imminent; after which, embracing every one of us, she gave to each a ring, with her blessing. Then taking my Father by the hand, she recommended us to his care; and having importun'd him that what he design'd to bestow on her funeral he would rather dispose among the poore, she labour'd to compose herself for the blessed change which she now expected. There was not a servant in the house whom she did not expressly send for, advise, and infinitely affect with her counsell.

Though her Physicians, Dr. Merwell, Dr. Clement, and Dr. Rand, had given over all hopes of her recovery, and Sr. Sanders Duncombe tried his celebrated and famous powder, she was many days impairing, and endur'd the sharpest conflicts of her sicknesse with admirable

<sup>1</sup> He was made a Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1626, and of the King's Bench in 1631. There is a monument for him in Westminster Abbey. Fuller says he lived too near the time to speake fully of him. He took on him to issue an order against keeping wakes on Sundays, which Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells took up as an infringement of the rights of Bishops, and got him severely reprimanded at the Council Table. He was owner of Starborough Castle in Lingfield in Surrey. Bray's History of Surrey, vol. II. 345.

patience and most Christian resignation, retaining her intellectuals and ardent affections for her dissolution to the very article of her departure. When near her dissolution, she laid her hand on every one of her children, and taking solemn leave of my Father, with elevated heart and eyes she quietly expired, and resign'd her soule to God. She was interr'd, as neere as might be, to her daughter Darcy, 3 Oct. at night, but with no meane ceremony.

<sup>1</sup> 1636. This yeare being extreamely dry, the pestilence much increased in London and divers parts of England.

13 Feb. I was admitted into the Middle Temple, London, though absent, and as yet at schoole.

3d April, 1637. I left schoole, where, till about the last yeare, I had been extreamely remisse in my studies, so as I went to the Universitie rather out of shame of abiding longer at schoole, than for any fitnessse, as by sad experience I found, which put me to re-learne all that I had neglected, or but perfunctorily gain'd.

10 May. I was admitted a fellow communer of Baliol College, Oxford, and on the 29th I was matriculated in the Vestry at St. Marie's, where I subscribed the Articles and took the oaths, Dr. Baily, head of St. John's, being Vice Chancellor, afterwards Bp. The Fellow Communers in Balliol were no more exempt from exercise than the meanest scholars there, and my Father sent me thither to one Mr. Geo. Bradshaw (*nomen invisum* / yet the son of an excellent father, beneficed—Rector of Ockham—in Surrey.) I ever thought my Tutor had parts enough, but as his ambition made him much suspected of the College, so his grudge to Dr. Lawrence, the governor of it (whom he afterwards supplanted) tooke up so much of his tyme, that he seldom or never had the opportunity to discharge his duty to his scholars. This I perceiving, associated myself with one Mr. Jas. Thicknesse (then a young man of the Foundation, afterwards a Fellow of the House,) by whose learned and friendly conversation I received great advantage. At my first arival, Dr. Parkhurst was Master; and after his discease, Dr. Lawrence, a chaplaine of his Ma'ties and Margaret Professor, succeeded, an accute and learned person; nor do I much reproch his severity, considering that the extraordinary remissenesse of discipline had (til his coming) much detracted from the reputation of that Colledg.

There came in my tyme to the Coll: one Nathaniel Conopios out of Greece, from Cyrill the Patriarch of Constantinople, who returning many years after, was made (as I understand) Bishop of Smyrna. He was the first I ever saw drink coffee, which custom came not into England till 30 years after.

After I was somewhat settled there in my formalities (for then was the University exceedingly regular, under the exact discipline of William

<sup>1</sup> An account of the visit made by K. Charles I. and his Queen to the University of Oxford, in Sept. 1636, is given in this work in a letter from Geo. Evelyn, Esq. to his Father.

Lawd, Abp. of Canterbury, then Chancelor,) I added, as benefactor to the Library of the Coll. these books :

*Zanchii Opera*, vols. 1, 2, 3. *Granado in Thomam Aquinatem*, vols. 1, 2, 3. *Novarini Electa sacra*, and *Cresolii Anthologia sacra*, authors (it seems) desired by the students of Divinity there.

1637. At Christmas the Gentlemen of Exeter College presented a Comedy to the University.

I was admitted into the dauncing and vaulting Schole, of which late activity one Stokes, the Master, set forth a *pretty book*, which was publish'd with many witty elogies before it.<sup>1</sup>

1638. My Father order'd that I should begin to manage myne owne expenses, which till then my Tutor had done; at which I was much satisfied.

1639. I began to look on the rudiments of musick, in which I afterwards ariv'd to some formal knowledge, though to small perfection of hand, because I was so frequently diverted by inclinations to newer trifles.

20 May. Accompany'd with one Mr. Jo. Crafford, (who afterwards being my fellow-traveller in Italy there chang'd his religion,) I tooke a journey of pleasure to see the Sumersetshire Bathes, Bristoll, Cirencester, Malmesbury, Abington, and divers other townes of lesser note, and returned the 25th. X

1640. Came my bro. Richard from schole to be my chamber-fellow at the University. He was admitted the next day, and matriculated the 31st.

11 April. I went to London to see the solemnity of his Majesties riding through the Citty in state to the Short Parliament, which began the 13th following, a very glorious and magnificent sight, the King circled with his royal diademe and the affections of his people.

27 April. I went to London to be resident in the Middle Temple. My being at the University, in regard of these avocations, was of very small benefit to me.

5 May was the Parliament unhappily dissolved.

20 May I return'd with my bro. Geo. to Wotton, who on the 28 of the same month was married at Aldbury to Mrs. Caldwell (an heiress of an ancient Leicestershire family).<sup>2</sup>

10 June I repaired with my Brother to the Tearme, to goe into our new lodgings, (that were formerly in Essex Court,) being a very hand-

<sup>1</sup> It being now become extremely scarce, the title of it is here given: 'The Vaulting Master, or the Art of Vaulting. Reduced to a method comprized under certain Rules. Illustrated by examples, and now primarily set forth, by Will. Stokes. Printed for Rich. Davis in Oxon, 1655.' A small oblong quarto, with the author's portrait prefixed, and a number of plates beautifully engraved (most probably by Glover) representing feats of activity on horse-back that appear extraordinary ones at this time of day.

<sup>2</sup> A daughter of Dan. Caldwell, Esq. by Mary, daughter of Geo. Duncomb, Esq. of Albury. died 15 May 1644, and he afterwards married the widow of Sir John Cotton.

some apartment just over against the Hall-Court, but four pair of stairs high, w<sup>ch</sup> gave us the advantage of the fairer prospect, but did not much contribute to the love of that impolish'd study, to w<sup>ch</sup> (I suppose) my Father had design'd me, when he paid 145*l*. to purchase our present lives, and assignments afterwards.

London, and especially the Court, were at this period in frequent disorders, and greates insolencies were com<sup>itted</sup> by the abus'd and too happy Citty : in particular the Bish. of Canterbury's Palace at Lambeth was assaulted by a rude rabble from Southwark ; my Lord Chamberlayne imprison'd, and many scandalous libells and invectives scatter'd about the streetes, to the reproach of Government and the fermentation of our since distractions.

27 June. My Father's indisposition augmenting, by advice of the physitians he repaired to the Bathe.

7 July. My brother Geo. and I understanding the peril my Father was in, rod post from Guildford towards him, and found him extraordinary weake ; but on eighth Sept. I returned home with him in his litter.

15 Oct. I went to the Temple, it being Michaelmas ; Tearme it began then.

30th. I saw his Ma<sup>tie</sup> (coming from his Northern Expedition) ride in pomp and a kind of ovation, with all the marks of a happy peace, restor'd to the affections of his people, being conducted through Lond : with a most splendid cavalcade ; and on 3 Nov. following (a day never to be mention'd without a curse) to that long, ungratefull, foolish, and fatal Parliament, the beginning of all our sorrows for twenty yeares after, and the period of the most happy Monarch in the world : *Quis talia fando !*<sup>1</sup>

My Father's disorder appeared to be a dropsy, an indisposition the most unsuspected, being a person so exemplarily temperate. On the 24 Dec. he died, retaining his senses and piety to the last, which he most tenderly expressed in blessing us, whom he now left to the world, and the worst of times, whilst he was taken from the evill to come.

1641. 2 Jan. We at night followed the mourning hearse to the Church at Wotton, when, after a sermon and funeral oration, my Father was interred neere his formerly erected monument, and mingled with the ashes of our Mother, his deare wife. Thus we were bereft of both our parents in a period when we most of all stood in need of their counsell and assistance, especially mysele, of a raw, vaine, uncertain, and very unwary inclination ; but so it pleased God to make tryall of my conduct in a conjuncture of the greatest and most prodigious hazard that ever the youth of England saw. If I did not amidst all this peach my liberty, nor my vertue, with the rest who made shipwreck of

<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding this expression, it will afterwards appear that Mr. Evelyn by no means approved of arbitrary or tyrannical measures.

both, it was more the infinite goodness and mercy of God than the least discretion of myne owne, who now thought of nothing but the pursuite of vanity, and the confused imaginations of young men.

15. I went to London, to heare and see the famous tryall of the Earl of Strafford, who on 22d March before had been summon'd before both Houses of Parliament, and now appear'd in Westminster Hall, which was prepar'd with scaffolds for the Lords and Commons, who together with the King, Queene, Prince, and flower of the Noblesse, were spectators and auditors of the greatest malice and the greatest innocency that ever met before so illustrious an assembly. The E. of Arundell and Surrey, Earle Martial of England, was made High Steward. The sequel is too well known.

27. Came over from Holland the young Prince of Orange, with a splendid equipage, to make love to his Ma'ties eldest daughter, the now Princess Royal.

That evening was celebrated the pompous funerall of the Duke of Richmond, who was carried in effigie in an open chariot thro' London in great solemnity.

12 May. I beheld on Tower Hill the fatal stroke which sever'd the wisest head in England from the shoulders of the Earle of Strafford; whose crime coming under the cognizance of no human law, a new one was made, not to be a precedent, but his destruction; to such exorbitancy were things arived.

28 June. I went to London with my sister Jane, and the day after sate to one Vanderborcht for my picture in oyle, which I presented to her, being her request, on my resolution to absent myself from this ill face of things at home, which gave umbrage to wiser than myselfe, that the medaill was reversing, and our calamities were but yet in their infancy.

The 16 July, having procur'd a passe at the Costome-house, I went to Gravesend, accompany'd with one Mr. Caryll and our servants, with a purpose to take the first opportunity of a passage for Holland; but the wind as yet not favourable. On the 19th we rode to Rochester and Chatham, to see the Sovereigne, a monstrous vessel so called, being for burthen, defense, and ornament, the richest that ever spread cloth before the wind,<sup>1</sup> and especially for this remarkable, that her building cost his Ma'tie the affections of his subjects, who quarrell'd with him for a trifle, refusing to contribute either to their own safety or to his glory.

21. We embarqued in a Dutch Fregat, bound for Flushing, convoyed and accompanied by 5 other stoute vessells, whereof one was a man of war. The next day at noon we landed at Flushing.

'Being desirous to overtake the Leagure,<sup>2</sup> which was then before

<sup>1</sup> Accidentally burnt at Chatham in 1696.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Evelyn means, by this expression, to be in time to witness the siege, &c.

Genep,<sup>1</sup> 'ere the Summer should be too far expir'd, we went this evening to Midelbrogh and Derveer. From Derveer we passed over many townes, houses, and ruines of demolish'd suberbs, &c. which have formerly ben swallow'd up by the sea, at what time no less than 8 of those Ilands had been irrecoverably lost.

The next day we ariv'd at Dort, the first towne of Holland, furnish'd with all German commodities, and especially Rhenish wines and timber. It hath almost at the extremity a very spacious and venerable Church; a stately Senat-house, wherein was holden that famous Synod against the Arminians in 1618, and in that hall hangeth a picture of the *Passion*, an exceeding rare and much esteemed picce.

From Dort, being desirous to hasten towards the Army, I tooke wagon to Rotterdam, where we were hurried in lesse than an houre, though it be 10 miles distant, so furiously do these Foremen drive. I saw the publiq statue of the learn'd Erasmus, of brasse. They shew'd us his House, or rather the meane Cottage wherein he was borne, over which there were extant these lines in capital letters :

ÆDIBUS HIS ORTUS, MUNDUM DECORAVIT ERASMUS

ARTIBUS INGENUIS, RELIGIONE, FIDE.

The 26th I passed through Delft to the Hague; in which journey I observ'd divers leprous poor creatures dwelling in solitary huts on the brink of the water, and permitted to aske the charity of passengers, which is convey'd to them in a floating box that they cast out.

Ariv'd at the Hague, I went first to the Queene of Bohemia's Court; there were several of the Princesses her daughters, Prince Maurice newly come out of Germany, and my Ld. Finch not long before fled out of England from the fury of the Parliament. It was a fasting-day with the Queene, for the unfortunate death of her husband; and the Presence Chamber had been hung with black velvet ever since his discease.

The 28th I went by Leyden; and on the 29th to Utricht. We then came to Rynen, where the Queene of Bohemia hath a neate Palace or Country-house, built after the Italian manner as I remember. Then by Nimeguen. And, 2d of August, arriv'd at the Leagure, where was then the whole Army encamped about Genep, a strong castle on the river Wahale; but being taken 4 or 5 days before, we had only a sight of the demolitions. The next Sunday was the thanksgiving sermons perform'd in Col. Goreing's Regiment (eldest sonne of the since Earle of Norwich) by Mr. Goffe his Chaplin (now turned Roman and Father Confessor to the Queen-Mother). The evening was spent in firing canon, and other expressions of military triumphs.

<sup>1</sup> On the Waal—a place which having been greatly strengthened by the Cardinal Infante D. Fernando in 1635, was at this time besieged by the French and Dutch. There is a full account of the siege in the great work of Aitzema, a man who with extraordinary patience compiled materials for the History of the United Provinces during the greater part of the seventeenth century. One of his brothers was mortally wounded at this siege.

Now, according to the compliment, I was received a Volunteere in the Company of Cap. Apsley, of whose Capt. Lieut. Honywood (Apsley being absent) I received many civilities.

3 Aug., at night, we rode about the lines of circumvallation, the Gen'l being then in the field. The next day I was accom'odated with a very spacious and com'odious tent for my lodging, as before I was with an horse, which I had at com'and, and an hutt, which during the excessive heates was a greate convenience, for the sun piercing the convass of the tent, it was, during the day, unsufferable, and at night not seldome infested with mists and fogg, which ascended from the river.

6 Aug. As the turne came about, I watched on a horne worke neere our quarters, and trailed a pike, being the next morning reliev'd by a company of French. This was our continual duty till the Castle was re-fortified.

The 7th I went to see a Convent of Franciscan Friers, not far from our tents; the Chapell and Refectory full of the goods of such poor people as at the approach of the Army had fled with them thither for sanctuary. On the day following I went to view all the trenches, approaches, and mines, &c. of the Besiegers, and in particular the wheel-bridg, which engine his Excellency had made to run over the moate when they storm'd the castle. The walls and ramparts of earth, which a mine had broaken and crumbled, were of prodigious thickness.

8. I din'd in the Horse quarters with Sir Rob. Stone and his Lady, Sir Will. Stradling, and divers Cavaliers, where there was very good cheere, but hot service for a young drinker as I then was.— Being pretty well satisfied with the confusion of Armies and Sieges (if such that of the United Provinces may be called, where their quarters and encampments are so admirably regular, and orders so exactly observed as few Cittys excede it for all conveniences), I tooke my leave of the Leagure and Camerades.

12 Aug. I embarked on the Waal, in company with 3 grave Divines, who enntertayn'd us a greate part of our passage with a long dispute concerning the lawfulness of Church Musick. We touch'd at Bommell, that had divers English in garrison. It stands upon Contribution land, which subjects the environs to the Spanish incursions. We passed Lovestine, famous for the escape of the learned Grotius, whose lady conveyed him out as a trunk of books. We lay at Gorcum.

13. We arrived late at Roterdam, where was their annual marte or faire, so furnished with pictures (especially Landskips and Drolleries, as they call those clounish representations) that I was amaz'd. Some I bought and sent into England. The reson of this store of pictures and their cheapness proceedes from their want of land to employ their

stock, so that it is an ordinary thing to find a common Farmer lay out two or £3,000 in this com'odity. Their houses are full of them, and they vend them at their faires to very greate gaines. Here I first saw an Eliphant. I passed thro' Delft, and visited the Church, where was the monument of Prince William of Nassau, and his sonn and successor, Grave Maurice. The Senat-house hath a very stately Portico, supported with very choyse pillars of black marble, as I remember, of one entire stone. Within, there hangs a weighty vessell, not unlike a Butter Churne, which the adventurous woman that hath two husbands at one time is to weare for a time about the towne, her head coming out at the hole, and the rest hanging on her shoulders, as a pennance for her incontineny. Risewick is a stately country-house of the Prince of Orange, for nothing more remarkable than the delicious walkes planted with lime trees, and the moderne paintings within.

19 Aug. We visited the *Haff* or Prince's Court at the Hague, with the adjoining gardens, which were full of ornament, close-walks, statues, marbles, grotts, fountains, and artificiall musiq,<sup>1</sup> &c. There is a stately Hall, not much inferior to ours of Westminster, hung round with colours and other trophys taken from the Spanyards; and the sides below are furnish'd with shopps.<sup>2</sup> Next day I returned to Delft, Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Haerlem, and Amsterdam, where I went to a Synagogue of the Jews, being Saturday; the ceremonies, ornaments, lamps, law, and scholes, afforded matter for my wonder and enquiry. The women were seclused from the men, being seated above in galleries, and having their heads muffled with linnen after a fantasticall and somewhat extraordinary fashion. They have a seperate burying-ground, full of sepulchres with Hebrew inscriptions, some of them very stately. In one, looking through a narrow crevice, I perceiv'd divers bookes lye about a corpse, for it seems when any learned Rabbi dies, they bury some of his books with him. With the help of a stick I raked out some of the leaves, written in Hebrew characters, but much impaired.—We stepp'd in to see the *Spin-house*, a kind of Bridewell, where incorrigible and lewd women are kept in discipline and labour, but all neate.—We were shew'd an Hospital for poor travellers and pilgrimes, built by Queene Eliz. of England; and another maintained by the Citty.

The State or Senat-house, if the designe be perfected, will be a magnificent piece of architecture, especialy for the materialls and the carvings. In the *Doole* is paynted on a very large table *Marie de Medices' statue* to the breast, supported by foure royal diademes, the work of one Vandall, who hath set his name thereon, 1 Sept. 1638.

I went to heare an English sermon at the Presbyterian Congrega-

<sup>1</sup> As at Enstone in Oxfordshire, see afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> Westminster Hall used to be so in Term time and the sitting of Parliament, in the beginning of the reign of George III.

tion, where they had chalked upon a slate the psalms that were to be sung, so that all the congregation might see it without the bidding of a Clerk. After such an age no minister was permitted to preach, but had his maintenance continu'd during life.

I changed my lodgings out of a desire to converse amongst the Secretaries that swarm'd in this Citty. It was at a Brownists house, where we had an extraordinary good table. There was in pension with us my L. Keeper Finch, and one Sir Jo. Fotherbee. Here I also found an English Carmelite, with another Irish gentleman. I went to see the Weese-house, a foundation like our Charter-house, for the education of decay'd persons, orphans, and poore children, where they are taught several occupations. The girls are so well brought up to housewifry, that men of good worth who seeke that chiefly in a woman, frequently take their wives from this seminary. We went to see the Rasp-house, where the lusty knaves are compell'd to labour, and the rasping of Brasill and Logwood is very hard labour. Thence to the Dull-house, for madmen and fooles. But none did I so much admire as an Hospitall for their lame and decrepid souldiers, it being for state, order, and acom'odations, one of the worthiest things that the world can shew of that nature. Indeede it is most remarkable what provisions are here made and maintain'd for publiq and charitable purposes, and to protect the poore from misery, and the country from beggers.

On Sunday morning about 11, after their sermons were ended, I went to see their Dog-market, which lasts till two in the afternoon. I do not look on the structure of the Exchange to be comparable to that of Sir Tho. Gresham in our Citty of London, yet in one respect it exceeds, that ships of considerable burthen ride at the very key contiguous to it. It is by extraordinary industry that as well this Citty, as generally the townes of Holland, are so accommodated with graffs, cutts, sluces, moles, and rivers, that nothing is more frequent then to see a whole navy of marchands and others environ'd with streetes and houses, every man's barke or vessell at anker before his very doore, and yet the streete so exactly strait, even, and uniforme, that nothing can be more pleasing, especialy being so frequently planted and shaded with the beautifull lime-trees, set in rows before every man's house.

The next day we were entertain'd at a kind of tavern called the *Briloft*, appertaining to a rich Anabaptist, where, in the upper roomes of the house were divers pretty waterworkes, rising 108 foote from the ground; here were many quaint devices, fountaines, artificiall musiq, noyses of beasts, and chirping of birds, &c. There was a lamp of brasse, with eight socketts from the middle stem, like those we use in churches, having counterfeit tapers in them, streams of water issuing as out of their wickes, the whole branch hanging loose upon . . .

the middst of a beame, without any other perceptible com'erce with any pipe, so that, unlesse it were by compression of the ayre with a syringe, I could not comprehend how it should be don. There was a chime of purselan dishes, which fitted to the clock-worke rung many changes and tunes.

The Keisers Graft, or Emperors Streete, appears a citty in a wood through the goodly ranges of the stately lime-trees planted before each man's doore, and at the margent of that goodly aquæ-duct, or river, so curiously wharfed with clincars (a kind of white sun-bak'd brick), and of which the spacious streetes on either side are paved. This part of Amsterdam is gained upon the maine Sea, supported by piles at an im'ense charge. Prodigious it is to consider the multitude of vessels which continually ride before this Citty, which is certainly the most busie concourse of mortalls now upon the whole earth, and the most addicted to com'erce.

The Steeples are adorned after a particular manner for cost and invention; the Chimes of Bells are so rarely manag'd, that being curious to know whether the motion were from any engine, I went up to that of St. Nicholas (as I take it), where I found one who play'd all sorts of compositions from the tablature before him, as if he had fingered an organ, for so were the hammers fastened with wires to several keys, put into a frame 20 foote below the bells, upon which (by help of a wooden instrument, not much unlike a weavers shuttle, that guarded his hand), he struck on the keys and play'd to admiration: all this while through the clattering of the wires, din of the too nearly sounding bells, and noise that his wooden gloves made, the confusion was so greate that it was impossible for the musician, or any that stood neare him, to heare any thing himselfe; yet to those at a distance, and especialy in the streetes, the harmony and the time were the most exact and agreeable.

Generaly there are in all the Churches in Holland, organs, lamps, monuments, &c. carefully preserved from the fury and impiety of popular reformers, whose zeale had foolishly transported them in other places rather to act like mad-men than religious.

I went to Hundius's shop to buy some mapps, greatly pleased with the designes of that indefatigable person. Mr. Bleaw, the setter forth of the Atlas's and other workés of that kind, is worthy seeing. At another shop I furnish'd myselfe with some shells and Indian curiosities.

Towards the end of August I returned to Haerlem by the river 10 miles in length, straighte as a line and of competent breadth for ships to saile by one other. They shew'd us a cottage where, they told us, dwelt a woman who had been married to her 25th husband, and being now a widdow was prohibited to marry in future, yet it could not be proved that she had ever made any of her husbands away, though the suspicion had brought her divers times to trouble.

This is a very delicate towne, and hath one of the fairest Churches, of the Gotiq design, I had seene. There hang in the steeple two silver bells said to have been brought from Damiate in Egypt by an Earle of Holland, in memory of whose successe they are rung out every evening. In the Nave hang the goodliest branches of brasse for tapers that I had seene, esteem'd of great value for the curiosity of the workmanship ; also a faire payre of organs, which I could not find they made use of in divine service, or so much as to assist them in singing psalms, but only for shewe, and to recreate the people before and after their devotions, whilst the Burgomasters were walking and conferring about their affaires.—There hang near the West window two modell of shippes completely equipp'd, in memory of that invention of saws under their keeles with which they cutt the chayne before the Port of Damiatæ. Having visited this Church, the Fish-market, and made some enquiry about the Printing-house, the invention whereof is sayd to have been in this towne, I returned to Leyden.

At Leyden I was carried up to the Castle, or Pyrgus, built on a very steepe artificial mount, cast up (as reported) by Hengist the Saxon on his returne out of England, as a place to retyre to in case of any sudden inundations.

The Churches are many and very faire ; in one of them lyes interr'd that prodigy of learning the noble and illustrious Joseph Scaliger, without any extraordinary inscription, as having himself left so many monuments of his worth behind him, more lasting than marble, besides giving his Library to this University.

28. I went to see their Colledge and Schooles, which are nothing extraordinary, and was matriculated by the then Magnificus Professor, who first in Latine demanded of me where my lodging in the towne was, my name, age, birth, and to what faculty I addicted myself ; then recording my answers in a booke, he administered an oath to me that I should observe the statutes and orders of the University whiles I stay'd, and then deliver'd me a ticket by virtue whereof I was made excise-free, for all which worthy privileges and the paines of writing, he accepted of a rix-dollar.

Here was the famous Dan. Heinsius, whom I so long'd to see, as well as the Elzivirian printing-house and shop, renown'd for the politeness of the character and editions of what he has publish'd through Europe. I visited their garden of simples, which was indeede well stor'd with exotic plants, if the Catalogue presented to me by the Gardiner be a faithfull register.

I was much pleased with a sight of their Anatomy schole, theater, and repository adjoyning, which is well furnish'd with natural curiosities ; skeletons from the whale and eliphant to the fly and spider, which last is a very delicate piece of art, to see how the bones (if I may so call them) of so tender an insect could be separated from the

mucilaginous parts of y<sup>t</sup> minute animal. Amongst a great variety of other things, I was shew'd the knife newly taken out of a drunken Dutchman's gut's by an incision in his side, after it had slipped from his fingers into his stomach. The picture of the chyrurgeon and his patient, both living, were there.

There is without the Towne a faire Maill curiously planted.

I was shew'd the statue, cut in stone, of the happy Monke whom they report to have been the first inventor of Typography, set over the doore; but this is much controverted by others, who strive for the glory of it, besides John Guttenburg.

I was brought acquainted with a Burgundian Jew who had married an apostate Kentish woman. I asked him divers questions; he told me, amongst other things, that the world should never end, that our soules transmigrated. and that even those of the most holy persons did pennance in the bodys of bruits after death, and so he interpreted the banishment and salvage life of Nebucodnezer; that all the Jewes should rise again, and be lead to Jerusalem; that the Romans only were the occasion of our Saviour's death, whom he affirm'd (as the Turks do) to be a greate Prophet, but not the Messias; he shewed me severall bookes of their devotion, which he had translated into English for the instruction of his wife; he told me that when the Messias came, all the ships, barks, and vessells of Holland should, by the powere of certaine strange whirle-winds be loosed from their ankers and transported in a moment to all the desolat ports and havens throughout the world where ever the dispersion was, to convey their brethren and tribes to the holy Citty; with other such like stuff. He was a merry drunken fellow.

1 Sept. I went to Delft and Rotterdam, and two days after back to the Hague, to bespeake a suite of armore which I caused to be made to fit me, with the harnesse of a horseman. I went to see one of the Prince's Palaces, called The Hoff Van Hounsers Dyck, which is a very magnificent cloyster'd and quadrangular building. The gallery is prettily paynted with severall Huntings, and at one end a Gordian knot, with several rusticall instruments so artificially represented as to deceive an accurate eye, to distinguish it from actual relievo. The ceiling of the staire-case is painted with the *Rape of Ganymede*, and other pendent figures, the worke of F. Covenberg, of whose hand I bought an excellent drollery, which I afterwards parted with to my brother George of Wotton, where it now hangs still there. To this Palace joynes a faire garden and parke, curiously planted with limes.

8 Sept. to Rotterdam thro' Delfts-haven and Seedam, where was at that time Coll. Goring's winter-quarters. This towne has heretofore been much talk'd of for witches.

10. I took waggon for Dort, to be present at the reception of the Queen Mother, Maria de Medices, Dowager of France, Widdow of

Henry the Greate, and Mother to the French King Lewis xiiij and the Queene of England, whence she newly arived, toss'd to and fro by the various fortune of her life. From this Citty she design'd for Collin. [Cologne] conducted by the Earle of Arundell and the Here Van Bredered. At this interview I saw the Princesse of Orange, and the Lady her daughter, afterwards married to the House of Brandenburg. There was little remarkable in this reception befitting the greatnesse of her person, but an universal discontent, which accompany'd that unlucky woman wherever she went.

12 Sept. I went towards Bois le Duke. We arrived on the 16th, when the New Citidall was advancing with innumerable hands, and incomparable inventions for draining off the waters out of the fenns about it, being by bucketts, mills, cocklea's, pumps, and the like. Here were now 16 companies and 9 tropes of horse. They were cutting a new river to passe from the Towne to a Castle not far from it. Here we split our skiff, falling fowle on another through negligence of the master, who was faine to run on ground, to our no little hazard. A Soldier convey'd us to the Governor, where our names were taken, and our persons examin'd very strictly. I was permitted to walk the round and view the workes, and to visite a Convent of religious women of the order of St. Clara, who by the capitulation were permitted to enjoy their monastery and maintenance undisturbed at the surrender of the towne 12 years since. We had a collation, and very civil entertaynment. They had a neate Chapell, in which the heart of the Duke of Cleve, their founder's lies inhum'd under a plate of brasse. Within the Cloyster is a garden, and in the middle of it an overgrowne lime-tree, out of whose stem, neere the roote, issue 5 upright and exceeding tall suckers or boles, the like whereof for evenesse and heighth I had not observ'd.

The cheife Church is curiously carved within and without, with a paire of organs, and a most magnificent font, all of copper.

18. I went to that most impregnable towne and fort of Hysdune, where I was exceedingly obliged to one Coll: Crombe, the Lieut. Governor, who would needes make me accept the honor of being Capt. of the Watch, and to give the word this night. We departed towards Gorcum. Here Sir Kenelme Digby travelling towards Colin met us.

19. We arrived at Dort, passing by the Decoys, where they catch innumerable quantities of fowle.

22. I went to Roterdam to receive a passe which I expected from the Cardinal Infante, then Governor for his brother the K. of Spaine, in Flanders, being desirous to see that country in my return for England, whither I was now shaping my course; and within 2 days after, having obtained another from the Pr. of Orange, on 24 Sept. I departed through Dort, but met with very bad tempestuous weather, being several times driven back, and oblig'd to lie at anker off Keele, other vessells lying there waiting better weather. The 25th and 26th

we made other essays, but were driven back to the harbor, where lay 60 vessels waiting to sail. But on the 27th we, impatient of the tyme and inhospitableness of the place, sailed again with a contrary and impetuous wind, and a terrible sea, in greate jeopardy, for we had much ado to keepe ourselves above water, the billows breaking desperately on our vessel; we were driven into Williamstadt, a place garrison'd by the English, where the Governor had a faire house. The workes and especially the Countercamp are curiously hedg'd with quick, and are planted with a stately row of limes on the Rampart. The Church is of a round structure with a Cupola.

28. Failing of an appointment, I was constrained to returne to Dort for a bill of exchange, but it was 1st October ere I could get back; at Keele I numbered 141 vessells who durst not yet venture out; but animated by the master of a stout bark, after a small encounter of weather, we ariv'd by 4 that evening at Stene-bergen. In the passage we sailed over a sea call'd the Plaet, which is an exceeding dangerous water, by reason of 2 contrary tydes which meet there very impetuously. Here, because of the many shelves, we were forc'd to tyde it along the Channell; but, ere we could gaine the place, the ebb was so far spent, that we were compell'd to foote it at least a league thro' a most pelting shower of raine.

2 Oct. I went in a cart (for it was no better, and no other accomodation could be procured) of 2 wheeles and one horse to Bergen-op-Zome, meeting divers partys of his Highness' Army retiring towards their winter quarters. The Fort was heretofore built by the English.

The next morning I embarked for Lillo, having refused a convoy of horse which was afforded me. The tyde being against us, we landed short of the Fort, on the beach, where we marched half leg deep in mud ere we could gaine the dyke, which being 5 or 6 miles from Lillo, we were forced to walke on foote very wett and discompos'd, and then entering a boat we pass'd the Ferry, and came to the Castle. Being taken before the Governor, he demanded my passe, to which he set his hand, and asked 2 rix-dollars for a fee, which methought appeared very unhandsome in a Soldier of his quality. I told him that I had already purchased my passe of the Commissaries at Rotterdam; at which, in a greate fury snatching the paper out of my hand, he flung it scornfully under a table, and bad me try whether I could get to Antwerp without his permission; but when I drew out the money, he return'd it as scurvily again, bidding me pay 14 Dutch shill. to the Cantone, or Searcher, for my contempt, which I was also glad to do with a greate deale of caution and danger, concealing my Spanish passe, it being a matter of imprisonment, for that the States were therein treated by the names of Rebels. Besides all these exactions I gave the Commissary 6 shil., to the soldiers something, and 'ere perfectly cleare of this frontiere 31

stivers to the man of war who lay blocking up the river 'twixt Lillo and the opposite sponce called Lifkinshoeck.

4 Oct. We passed several Spanish Forts, out of one of which came some Dons, to whom I shewed my Spanish passe, which was signed by one, and I gave him 6 guilders. We pass'd by another man of war, to which we lower'd our topsails ; and at length arriv'd at Antwerp.

The lodgings here are very handsome and convenient. I lost little tyme, but with the conduct of one Mr. Lewkner visited divers Churches, Colledges, Monasteries, &c. The Church of the Jesuits is most sumptuous and magnificent, a glorious fabriq without, and within wholly incrusted with marble, inlay'd and polish'd into divers representations of histories, landskips, flowers, &c. On the high altar is plac'd the Statue of the B. Virgin and our Saviour in white marble. The quire is a glorious piece ; the pulpit is supported by foure angels, and adorn'd with other carvings. There are rare pictures by Rubens, now lately deceased, and divers votive tables and reliques. The tower of Notre Dame d'Anvers, which is the Cathedrall Church, is a very venerable fabriq, built after the Gotick manner ; the Tower is of an excessive heighth. I assended it to take a better view of the country. The sun shon exceeding hot, and darted the rayes without any intermission, affording so bright a reflection to us who were above, and had a full prospect of both land and water about it, that I was much confirmed in my opinion of the moon's being of some such substance as this earthy globe consists of ; perceiving all the subjacent country, at so small a horizontal distance, to repercuss such a light as I could hardly look against, save where the river, and other large water within our view, appeared of a more dark and uniforme colour, resembling those spotts in the moone supposed to be seas there, according to our new philosophy, and viewed by optical glasses.

We went to see Jerusalem Church, affirmed to have been founded by one who, upon divers greate wagers, went to and fro betweene that Citty and Antwerp on foote, by which he procur'd greate sums of mony, which he bestow'd in this pious structure. Hence to St. Mary's Chapell, where I had some conference with two English Jesuites, Confessors to Coll. Gage his regiment. These Fathers conducted us to the Cloyster of religious women, where we heard a Dutch sermon at a Quarantia, or exposure of the Sacrament as they tearme it. The Senate-house of this Citty is a very spacious and magnificent building.

5 Oct. I vissited the Jesuits schole, which for the fame of their method & institution I had greatly desir'd to see. They were divided into 4 classes with a several inscription over each ; as, 1, *Ad majorem Dei gloriam* ; over the 2d, *Princeps diligentia* ; the 3d, *Imperator Byzantiorum* ; over the 4th and upmost, *Imperator Romanorum*. Under these the scholars and pupils had their places or formes, with titles and priority according to their proficiency. Their dormitory and

lodgings above were exceeding neate. They have prisons for the offenders and lesse diligent ; a court to recreate themselves in, wherein is an aviary of birds, eagles, foxes, monkeys, &c., to divert the boys at their times of remission. To the house joyn music and mathematical scholes, and lastly a pretty chapell. The great streete is built after a mere Italian mode, and is very faire and noble, cleane and sweete.

The *Oesters house*, belonging to the East India Company, is a most beautifull palace, adorn'd with more than 300 windows. From hence walking into the Gun-garden, I was suffered to see as much of the Citadell as is easily permitted to strangers. It is a matchless piece of modern fortification, accommodated with logiaments for the souldiers and magazines. The graffs, ramparts, and platforms, are stupendious. Returning by the shop of Plantine, I bought some bookes for the name-sake onely of that famous printer.

But there was nothing about this Citty which more ravished me than those delicious shades and walkes of stately trees, which render the fortified workes of the towne one of the sweetest places in Europ ; nor did I ever observe a more quiet, cleane, elegantly built, and civil place, then this magnificent and famous Citty of Antwerp. In the evening I was invited to Signor Duert's, a Portuguese by nation, an exceeding rich merchant, whose palace I found to be furnish'd like a prince's ; his three daughters entertain'd us with rare musiq, vocal & instrumental, which was finish'd with a handsome collation. I tooke leave of the Ladys, and of sweete Antwerp, as late as it was, embarquing for Bruxelles on the Scheld, in a vessel which delivered us to a second boate (in another river) drawn or tow'd by horses. In this passage we frequently chang'd our barge, by reason of the bridges thwarting our course. Here I observed numerous families inhabiting their vessels, and floating dwellings, so built and divided by cabins, as few houses on land enjoy'd better accommodation, stor'd with all sorts of utensills, neate chambers, a pretty parlour, and kept so sweete that nothing could be more refreshing. The rivers on which they are drawne are very cleare & still waters, and passe through a most pleasant country on both the bankes. We had in our boate a very good ordnary, and excellent company. The cutt is straight as a line for 20 English miles. What I much admir'd was, neere the midway, another artificial river, which intersects this at right angles, but on an eminence of ground, and is carryed in an aqueduct of stone so far above the other as that the waters neither mingle nor hinder one another's passage.

At Villefrow all the passengers went on shore to wash at a fountaine issuing out of a pillar, and then came aboard again. On the margin of this long tract are abundance of Shrines and Images, defended from the injuries of the weather by niches of stone in which they are placed.

7 Oct. We arriv'd at Bruxelles at 9 in the morning. The State

house, neere the market-place, is for the carving in freestone a most laborious and finished piece, well worthy observation. The flesh-shambles are also built of stone. I was pleased with certain small engines by which a girl or boy was able to draw up, or let downe, greate bridges, which in divers parts of this Citty crossed the channell, for the benefit of passengers. The walls of this Town are very intyre, and full of towers at competent distances. The Cathedrall is on a very high and exceeding steepe ascent, to which we mounted by faire steps of stone. Hence I walked to a Convent of English Nunns, with whom I sate discoursing most part of the afternoone.

8 Oct. being the morning I came away, I went to see the Prince's Court, which is an ancient, confus'd building, not much unlike the Hoff at the Hague ; there is here likewise a very large Hall, where they vend all sorts of wares. Through this we passed by the Chapell, which is indeed rarely arch'd, and in the middle of it was the hearse or catafalco of the late Arch-Dutchesse, the wise & pious Clara Eugenia. Out of this we were conducted to the lodgings, tapistry'd with incomparable arras, and adorn'd with many excellent pieces of Rubens, old and young Breughel, Titian, and Stenwick, with stories of most of the late actions in the Netherlands.

By an accident we could not see the Library. There is a faire terrace which looks to the Vine-yard, in which, on pedestalls, are fix'd the statues of all the Spanish Kings of the House of Austria. The opposite walls are paynted by Rubens, being an history of the late tumults in Belgia ; in the last piece the Arch-Dutchesse shutts a greate payre of gates upon Mars, who is coming out of hell, arm'd, and in a menacing posture. On another, the Infanta is seen taking leave of Don Philip.

From hence we walked into the Parke, which for being intirely within the walls of the Citty is particularly remarkable ; nor is it less pleasant than if in the most solitary recesses, so naturally is it furnish'd with whatever may render it agreeable, melancholy, and country-like. Here is a stately heronry, divers springs of water, artificial cascades, rocks, grotts, one whereof is composed of the extravagant rootes of trees cunningly built and hung together. In this Parke are both fallow and red deare.

From hence we were led into the Manege, and out of that into a most sweete and delicious garden, where was another grott, of more neate and costly materials, full of noble statues, and entertaining us with artificial musiq ; but the hedge of water, in forme of lattice-worke, which the fontanier caused to ascend out of the earth by degrees, exceedingly pleased and surpris'd me, for thus with a pervious wall, or rather a palisad hedge, of water, was the whole parterre environ'd.

There is likewise a faire Aviary, and in the court next it are kept divers sorts of animals, rare & exotic fowle, as eagles, cranes, storks,

bustards, pheasants of several kinds, a duck having 4 wings, &c. In another division of the same close, are rabbits of an almost perfect yellow colour.

There was no Court now in the Palace, the Infante Cardinal, who was the Governor of Flanders, being dead but newly, and every one in deepe mourning.

At near 11 o'clock, I repaired to his Majesty's Agent Sir Hen. De Vic, who very courteously receiv'd me and accommodated me with a coach & six horses, which carried me from Bruxelles to Gant, where it was to meete my Lord of Arundel, Earle Marshal of England, who had requested me when I was at Antwerp to send it for him, if I went not thither myselfe.

Thus taking leave of Bruxelles and a sad Court, yet full of gallant persons (for in this small Cittye the acquaintance being universal, Ladys and Gentlemen, I perceiv'd, had greate diversions and frequent meetings), I hasted towards Gant. On the way I met with divers little wagons prettily contrived and full of pedling merchandises, drawne by mastive-dogs, harnessed compleately like so many coach-horses, in some 4, in others 6, as in Bruxelles itselfe I had observed. In Antwerp I saw, as I remember, 4 dogs draw 5 lusty children in a charriot: the master commands them whither he pleases, crying his wares about the streetes. After passing through Ouse, by 6 in the evening I arriv'd at Ghent. This is a Cittie of so great a circumference that it is reported to be 7 leagues round, but there is not half of it now built, much remaining in fields and pastures, even within the wall, which has strong gates towards the West, and two faire churches.

Here I beheld the Palace wherein John of Gaunt and Cha. V. were borne; the statue of the latter stands in the Market-place, on an high pillar, with his sword drawn, to which (I was told) the Magistrates and Bergers were wont to repaire on a certaine day every yeare with roaps about their necks, in toaken of submission & pennance for an old Rebellion of theirs; but now the hemp is changed to a blew ribbon. Here is the Basilisco, or great Gun, so much talked of. The Ley and the Scheldt meeting in this vast City divide it into 26 Islands, which are united by many bridges, somewhat resembling Venice. This night I supp'd with the Abbot of Andoyne, a pleasant and courteous priest.

8 Oct. I passed by boate to Bruges, taking in at a redoutt a convoy of 14 musketeers, because the other side of the river being Contribution land, was subject to the inroads and depredations of the bordering States. This river was cut by the famous Marquiss Spinola, and is in my judgment a wonderfull piece of labour, and is a worthy publiq worke, being in some places forced thro' the maine rock, to an incredible depth, for 30 miles. At the end of each mile is built a small redout, which communicates a line to the next, and so the whole way,

from whence we received many vollies of shot in compliment to my Lord Marshall, who was in our vessel, a passenger with us. At 5 that evening we were met by the Magistrates of Bruges, who came out to convoy my Lord to his lodgings, where he was entertaynd that night at their cost.

The morning after we went to see the State-house and adjoyning Aquæduct, the Church, and Market-place, where we saw cheeses and butter piled up in heapes ; also the Fortifications and Grafts, which are extreamly large.

The 9th we arived at Ostend by a straighte and artificial riyer. Here, with leave of the Captaine of the Watch, I was carried to survey the river and harbour, with fortifications on one side thereof : the East and South are mud & earth walls. It is a very strong place, and lately stood a memorable siege 3 years, 3 moneths, 3 weeks, & 3 dayes. I went to see the Church of St. Peter, and the Cloysters of the Franciscans.

10 Oct. I went by wagon, accompany'd with a jovial Commissary, to Dynkirk, the journey being made all on the sea sands. On our arrival we first viewed the Court of Guards, the Workes, the Towne-house, and the New Church ; the latter is very beautifull within ; and another, wherein they shew'd us an excellent piece of *our Saviour's bearing the Crosse*. The Harbour in two channels coming up to the Towne was choaked with a multitude of prizes.

From hence, the next day, I marched three English miles towards the packet-boate, being a pretty fregat of 6 guns, which embarked us for England about 3 in the afternoone.

At our going off, the Fort against which our pinnace ankered saluted my Lord Marshall with 12 greate guns, which we answered with 3. Not having the wind favourable, we ankered that night before Calais. About midnight we weighed ; and at 4 in the morning, tho' not far from Dover, we could not make the Peere till 4 in the afternoon, the wind proving contrary and driving us Westward ; but at last we got on shore, Oct. the 12th.

From Dover I that night rod post to Canterbury. Here I visited the Cathedrall, then in great splendour, those famous windows being intire, since demolish'd by the Phanatiks. The next morning by Sittinbourn I came to Rochester, and thence to Graves-end, where a Light-horse-man (as they call it) taking us in, we spent our tide as far as Greenwich. From hence, after we had a little refresh'd ourselves at the Colledge (for by reason of the contagion then in London we baulked the Inns), we came to London, landing at Arundel-stayres : here I took leave of his Lordship, and retyred to my lodgings in the Middle Temple, being about 2 in the morning.

16 Oct. I went to see my brother at Wotton. On the 31st of that moneth (unfortunate for the Irish Rebellion, which broke out on the 13rd) I was one and twenty yeares of age.

7 Nov. I visited my Lord Marshal at Albury.

23 Nov. I returned to London; and on the 25th saw his Majesty ride thro' the Citty after his coming out of Scotland, and a Peace proclaym'd, with greate acclamations and joy of the giddy people.

15 Dec. I was elected one of the Comptrolers of the Middle Temple-revellers, as the fashion of the young Students and Gentlemen was, the Christmas being kept this yeare with greate solemnity; but being desirous to passe it in the Country, I got leave to resigne my staffe of office, and went with my brother Richard to Wotton.

10 Jan. 1642. I gave a visite to my cousin Hatton of Ditton.

19. I went to London, where I stayed till 5th March, studying a little, but dancing and fooling more.

3 Oct. I went to Chichester, and hence the next day to see the Seige of Portsmouth, for now was that bloody difference betweene the King and Parliament broken out, which ended in the fatal tragedy so many yeares after. It was on the day of its being render'd to Sir William Waller, which gave me an opportunity of taking my leave of Coll. Goring the Governor, now embarqueing for France.

From thence I went to South'ton and Winchester, where I vissited the Castle, Schole, Church, and King Arthur's Round Table, but especialy the Church, and its Saxon Kings Monuments, which I esteemed a worthy antiquity.

3 Oct. was fought that signal Battaile at Edgehill.

12th Nov. was the Battle of Braineferd surprisingly fought, and to the greate consternation of the Citty had his Majesty (as twas believed he would,) persu'd his advantage. I came in with my horse and armes just at the retreate, but was not permitted to stay longer than the 15th by reason of the Army's marching to Glocester, which would have left both me and my brothers expos'd to ruine, without any advantage to his Majesty.

7 Dec. I went from Wotton to London to see the so much celebrated line of communication, and on the 10th returned to Wotton, no body knowing of my having been in his Majs. Army.

1643. 10 March. I went to Hartingfordberry, to visite my cousin Keightly.

11. I went to see my Lord of Salisbury's Palace at Hatfield, where the most considerable rarity besides the house (inferior to few then in England for its architecture) was the garden and vineyard rarely well watered and planted. They also shew'd us the picture of *Secretary Cecil* in mosaik worke, very well don by some Italian hand.

I must not forget what amazed us in the night before, viz. a shining clowd in the ayre, in shape resembling a sword, the point reaching to the North: it was as bright as the moone, the rest of the sky being very serene. It began about 11 at night, and vanish'd not till about one, being seen by all the South of England.

I made many journies to and from London.

15 April. I went to Hatfield, and neere the Town of Hertford I went to see Sir J. Harris [Harrison] his house new built.<sup>1</sup> Returning to London, I called to see his Majesty's house and gardens at Theobalds, since demolish'd by the rebels.

2nd May. I went to London, where I saw the furious and zealous people demolish that stately Crosse in Cheapside. On the 4th I return'd, with no little regrett for the confusion that threaten'd us. Resolving to possess myselfe in some quiet if it might be, in a time of so great jealousy, I built by my Brother's permission a *study*, made a *fishpond*, an island, and some other solitudes and retirements, at Wotton, which gave the first occasion of improving them to those water-works and gardens which afterwards succeeded them.

12 July. I sent my black manégé horse and furniture with a friend to his Majestie then at Oxford.

✓ 23. The Covenant being pressed, I absented myselfe; but finding it impossible to evade the doing very unhandsome things, and which had been a greate cause of my perpetual motions hitherto between Wotton & London, Oct. 2nd I obtained a lycence of his Majestie, dated at Oxford and sign'd by the King, to travell againe.

6 Nov. Lying by the way from Wotton at Sir Ralph Whitfield's, at Blechinglee, (whither both my Brothers had conducted me), I ariv'd at London on the 7th, and 2 days after took boate at the Tower-wharfe, which carry'd me as far as Sittingburne, tho' not without danger, I being onely in a payre of oares, expos'd to a hideous storme; but it pleas'd God we got in before the perill was considerable. From thence I went by post to Dover, accompany'd with one Mr. Thicknesse, a very deare friend of mine.

Having a reasonable good passage, though the weather was snowy and untoward enough, we came before Calais, where, as we went on shore, mistaking the tyde, our shallop struck on the sands, with no little danger, but at length we got off.

Calais is well fortified, in the old Castle and new Citadell, regarding the Sea. The haven consists of a long banke of sand, lying opposite to it. The Market-place and the Church are remarkable things, besides the reliques of our former dominion there. I remember there was engraven in stone on the front of an ancient dwelling which was shew'd us, these words in English, *God save the King*, with the name of the architect and date. The walls of the towne are substantial, but the situation towards the land is not pleasant, by reason of the marishes and low grounds about it.

12 Nov. After diner we tooke horse with the Messagere, hoping to

<sup>1</sup> Now called Balls Park, belonging to Lord John Townshend, who inherits it from his grandmother, Lady Viscountess Townshend, who was a Miss Harrison, and wife to Charles Viscount Townshend, Secretary of State to George II.

have arriv'd at Bollogne that night; but there fell so great a snow, accompanied with hayle, rain, and suddaine darknesse, that we had much adoe to gain the next village; and in this passage being to crosse a vally by a causeway and a bridge built over a small river, the raine that had fallen making it an impetuous streame for neere a quarter of a mile, my horse slipping had almost been the occasion of my perishing. We none of us went to bed, for the souldiers in those parts leaving little in the villages, we had enough to do to get ourselves dry by morning, between the fire and the fresh straw. The next day early we arriv'd at Bollogne.

This is a double towne, one part on a high Rock, or downes, the other, call'd the Lower Towne, is yet with a greate declivity towards the Sea. There is a strong Castle on a notable eminence. Under the towne runs the river, which is yet but an inconsiderable brooke. Hen. 8th. in the siege of this place is said to have used those greate leatherne guns which I have since seen in the Tower of London, inscribed *Non Marte opus est, cui non deficit Mercurius*, if at least the history be true, which my Lord Herbert in his History doubts.

The next morning, in some danger of party's [Spanish] surprising us, we came to Monstreuil, built on the sum'it of a most conspicuous hill, environ'd with faire and ample meadows, but all the suburbs had been from time to time ruin'd, and were now lately burnt by the Spanish inroads. This towne is fortified with 2 very deep dry ditches; the walls about the bastions and citadel are a noble piece of masonry.

The Church is more glorious without then within. The Market-place is large, but the inhabitants are miserably poore. The next day we came to Abbeville, having pass'd all this way in continual expectation of the volunteeres, as they call them. This Towne affords a good aspect towards the hill from whence we descended, nor does it deceive us, for it is handsomely built, and has many pleasant and useful streames passing through it, the maine river being the Some, which discharges itselfe into the Sea at St. Valery, almost in view of the towne. The principal Church is a very handsome piece of Gothiq architecture, and the ports and ramparts planted for ornament. They brought us choice of guns and pistolls to sell at reasonable rates, and neatly made, being here a merchandize of greate account, the towne abounding in gun-smiths.

Hence we advanced to Beauvais, a town of good noate, and having the first vineyards we had scen. The next day to Beaumont, and the morrow to Paris, having taken our repast at St. Denys, 2 leagues from that greate Citty. St. Denys is considerable only for its stately Cathedral, and the dormitory of the French Kings, there inhum'd as ours at Westminster Abbey. The treasury is esteemed one of the richest in Europe. The Church was built by King Dagobert, but since much enlarged, being now 390 foote long, 100 in bredth, and 80 in height,

without comprehending the cover ; it has a very high shaft of stone, and the gates are of brasse. In the choir are the sepulchres of the most ancient Kings ; without it are many more ; amongst the rest that of Bertrand du Guesclin, Constable of France ; in the Chapell of Charles V. all his posterity, and neere him the magnificent sepulchre of Francis I. with his children, warres, victories, and triumphs, engraven in marble. Above, are bodies of several Saints ; below, under a state of black velvet, the late Lewis xij. Every one of the 10 chapels, or oratories, had some Saints in them ; amongst the rests, one of the Holy Innocents. The treasury is in the sacristy above, in which are crosses of massy gold and silver, studded with precious stones, one of gold 3 feet high. Amongst the still more valuable reliques are a naile from our Saviour's Cross, in a box of gold full of precious stones ; a crucifix of the true wood of the Crosse, carved by Pope Clement III. inchas'd in a crystal covered with gold ; a box in which is some of the Virgin's haire ; some of the linnen in which our blessed Saviour was wrapped at his nativity ; in a huge reliquary modelled like a church, some of our Saviour's blood, hair, cloathes, linnen with which he wiped the Apostles feet ; with many other equally authentic reliques. Amongst the treasures is the Crowne of Charlemagne, his 7 foote high scepter and hand of justice, his sword, belt, and spurrs of gold ; the Crowne of St. Lewis, cover'd with precious stones, amongst which is one vast ruby, uncut, of inestimable value, weighing 300 carrats, (under which is set one of the thorns of our blessed Saviour's crowne,) his sword, seal, and hand of justice. The 2 crownes of Hen. IV. his sceptre, hand of justice, and spurrs. The 2 crowns of his son Lewis. In the cloak royal of Anne of Bretagne is a very greate and rare rubie. Divers bookes cover'd with solid plates of gold and studded with precious stones. Two vases of berill, 2 of achate, whereof one is esteemed for its bignesse, colour, and carving imboss'd, the best now to be seene ; by a special favour I was permitted to take the measure & dimensions of it ; the story is a Bachanalia. It is really antique. There is a large gundola of chrysolite, a huge urn of porphyry, another of chalcedone, a vasa of onyx, the largest I had ever seen of that stone ; 2 of chrystal ; a morsel of one of the water-pots in which our Saviour did his first miracle ; the effigies of the Queen of Saba, of Julius, Augustus, Marc Antony, Cleopatra, and others, upon saphyrs, topazes, agates, and cornelians ; that of the Queen of Saba has a Morish face ; those of Julius and Nero on achates rarely colour'd and cut. A cup in which Solomon was us'd to drinke. Apollo on a great amethyst. There lay in a window a miroir of a kind of stone said to have belonged to the poet Virgil. Charlemayne's chessemen, full of Arabic characters. In the presse next the doore, the brasse lanthorn full of crystals, said to have conducted Judas and his company to apprehend our B. S. A faire unicorne's horn, sent by a K. of Persia, about 7 foote long. In

another presse (over which stands the picture in oil of their Orleans Amazon with her sword), the effigies of the late French Kings in wax, like ours in Westminster, covered with their robes, with a world of other rarities. Having rewarded our courteous fryer, we tooke horse for Paris, where we arriv'd about five in the afternoone. In the way were faire crosses of stone carv'd with fleurs de lys at every furlong's end, where they affirme St. Denys rested and layd down his head after martyrdom, carrying it from the place where this monastery is builded. We lay at the Ville de Venice; I went to visite Sir Richard Browne, his Majesties Resident with the French King.

5 Dec. The Earl of Norwich, formerly Geo. Lord Goring, came as Ambassador Extraordinary; I went to meet him in a coach and six horses, at the palace of Mons. de Bassompierre, where I saw that gallant person, his gardens, terraces, and rare prospects. My lord was waited on by the master of the ceremonies, and a greate cavalcade of men of quality, to the Palais Cardinal, where on the 23d he had audience of the French King and the Queen Regent his mother, in the golden chamber of presence. From thence I conducted him to his lodgings in Rue St. Denys, and so tooke my leave.

24. I went to see the Isle encompassed by the Seine & the Oyse. The City is divided into 3 parts, whereof the Towne is greatest. The City lyes between it and the University, in form of an island. Over the Seine is a stately bridge called Pont Neuf, begun by Hen. 3. in 1578; finished by Hen. 4. his successor. It is all of hewn free stone found under the streets, but more plentifully at Mont-Martyre, and consists of 12 arches, in the midst of which ends the poynt of an island, on which are built handsome artificers houses. There is one large passage for coaches, and 2 for foot passengers 3 or 4 feet higher, and of convenient breadth for 8 or 10 to go abreast. On the middle of this stately bridge on one side stands that famous statue of Hen. the Great on horseback, exceeding the natural proportion by much; and on the 4 faces of a stately pedestal, (which is compos'd of various sorts of polish'd marble and rich mouldings,) inscriptions of his victories and most signal actions are engraven in brasse. The statue and horse are of copper, the worke of the greate John di Bologna, and sent from Florence by Ferdinand the First, and Cosmo the 2d, unkle & cousin to Mary di Medices, the wife of this K. Henry. It is inclos'd with a strong and beautifull grate of yron, about which there are allways mountebancs shewing their feates to idle passengers. From hence is a rare prospect towards the Louver and suburbs of St. Germaines, the Isle of du Palais, and Notre Dame. At the foote of this bridge is a water house, on the front whereof, at a great height, is the story of our Saviour and the Woman of Samaria powring water out of a bucket. Above is a very rare dyal of severall motions, with a chime, &c. The water is convey'd by huge wheelles, pumps, and other engines, from

the river beneath. The confluence of the people and multitude of coaches passing every moment over the bridge, to a new spectator is an agreeable diversion. Other bridges there are, as that of Notre Dame ; and the Pont au Change, &c. fairly built, with houses of stone which are laid over this river: only the Pont St. Anne, landing the suburbs of St. Germaine at the Thuilleries, is built of wood, having likewise a water-house in the midst of it, and a statue of Neptune casting water out of a whale's mouth, of lead, but much inferior to the Samaritane.

The University lyes S.W. on higher ground, contiguous to, but the lesser part of Paris. They reckon no less than 65 Colleges, but they in nothing approach ours at Oxford for state and order. The book-sellers dwell within the University. The Scholes (of which more hereafter) are very regular.

The suburbs are those of St. Denys, Honore, St. Marcel, Jaques, St. Michel, St. Victoire, and St. Germaines, which last is the largest, and where the nobility and persons of the best quality are seated ; and truly Paris, comprehending the suburbs, is, for the material the houses are built with, and many noble and magnificent piles, one of the most gallant Cittyes in the world ; large in circuit, of a round forme, very populous, but situated in a botome, environ'd with gentle declivities, rendering some places very dirty, and making it smell as if sulphure were mingled with the mud ; yet it is paved with a kind of free-stone, of neere a foote square, which renders it more easy to walk on than our pebles in London.

On Christmas eve I went to see the Cathedrall of Notre Dame, erected by Philip Augustus, but begun by K. Robert, son of Hugh Capet. It consists of a Gotiq fabriq, supported by 120 pillars, which make 2 ailes in the Church round about the quire, without comprehending the Chapells, being 174 paces long, 60 wide, and 100 high. The Quire is enclos'd with stone worke graven with the sacred history, and contains 45 Chapells cancell'd with iron. At the front of the chiefe entrance are statues in relievo of the Kings, 28 in number, from Childebert to the founder, Philip ; and above them are two high square Towers, and another of a smaller size, bearing a Spire in the middle, where the body of the Church-formes a Crosse. The greate Tow'r is ascended by 389 steps, having 12 gallerys from one to the other. They greatly reverence the Crucifix over the skreene of the Quire, with an image of the B. Virgin. There are some good modern paintings hanging on the pillars: the most conspicuous statue is the huge Colosse of St. Christopher, with divers other figures of men, houses, prospects, & rocks, about this gygantiq piece, being of one stone, and more remarkable for its bulke than any other perfection. This is the prime Church of France for dignity, having Arch-deacons, Vicars, Canons, Priests, and Chaplaines in good store, to the number of 127. It is also the

Palace of the Archbishop. The young King (Louis XIV.) was there with a greate and martial guard, who enter'd the Nave of the Church with drums and fifes, at the ceasing of which I was entertain'd with the church musiq.

1644. 4 January. I pass'd this day with one Mr. Jo. Wall, an Irish gentleman, who had been a Frier in Spaine, and afterwards a Reader in St. Isodors Chayre at Rome, but was, I know not how, getting away, and pretending to be a Souldier of fortune, an absolute Cavaliere, having as he told us been Capt. of Horse in Germany. It is certaine he was an excellent disputant, and so strangely given to it that nothing could passe him. He would needes perswade me to goe with him this morning to the Jesuites Colledge, to witness his polemical talent. We found the Fathers in their Church at the Rue St. Anthoine, where one of them shew'd us that noble fabriq, which for its cupola, pavings, incrustations of marble, the pulpit, altars (especially the high altar), organ, *lavatorium*, &c. but, above all, the richly carv'd and incomparable front, I esteeme to be one of the most perfect pieces of architecture in Europ, emulating even some of the greatest now at Rome itself; but this not being what our Frier sought, he led us into the adjoining Convent, where having shew'd us the Library, they began a very hot dispute on some poynts of Divinity, which our Cavalier contested onely to shew his pride, and to that indiscrete height that the Jesuits would hardly bring us to our coach, they being put beside all patience. The next day we went into the University, and into the College of Navarre, which is a spacious well-built quadrangle, having a very noble Library.

Thence to the Sorbonne, an antient fabriq built by one Robert de Sorbonne, whose name it retains, but the restauration which the late Cardinal de Richlieu has made to it renders it one of the most excellent moderne buildings; the sumptuous Church, of admirable architecture, is far superior to the rest. The cupola, portico, and whole designe of the Church is very magnificent.

We went into some of the Scholes, and in that of Divinity we found a grave Doctor in his chaire, with a multitude of auditors, who all write as he dictates; and this they call a Course. After we had sate a little, our Cavalier started up, and rudely enough began to dispute with the Doctor; at which, and especialy as he was clad in the Spanish habit, which in Paris is the greatest bugbare imaginable, the Scholars & Doctor fell into such a fit of laughter that nobody could be heard speake for a while; but silence being obtain'd, he began to speake Latine, and make his apology in so good a style, that their derision was turn'd to admiration, & beginning to argue, he so baffled the Professor, that with universal applause they all rose up and did him greate honors, waiting on us to the very streete and our coach, testifying greate satisfaction.

3 Feb. I went to the Exchange. The late addition to the buildings is very noble, but the gallerys where they sell their petty merchandize are nothing so stately as ours at London, no more than the place where they walke below, being onely a low vault.

The Palais, as they call the upper part, was built in the time of Philip the Faire, noble and spacious. The greate Hall annex'd to it is arched with stone, having a range of pillars in the middle, round which and at the sides are shops of all kinds, especialy Bookesellers. One side is full of pewes for the Clearkes of the Advocates, who swarme here (as ours at Westminster). At one of the ends stands an altar, at which Masse is said daily. Within are several Chambers, Courts, Treasuries, &c. Above that is the most rich and glorious Salle d'Audience, the Chamber of St. Lewis, and other superior Courts where the Parliament sits, richly guilt on embossed carvings & fretts, and exceeding beautified.

Within the place where they sell their wares is another narrower gallery full of shopps and toys, &c. which lookes downe into the Prison yard. Decending by a large payre of stayres, we passed by St. Chappelle, which is a Church built by St. Lewis, 1242, after the Gotiq manner; it stands on another Church which is under it, sustain'd by pillars at the sides, which seeme so weak as to appear extraordinary in the artist. This Chapell is most famous for its Reliques, having, as they pretend, almost the intyre Crowne of Thornes; the Achat Patine, rarely sculptur'd, judg'd one of the largest & best in Europ. There was now a very beautifull Spire erecting. The Court below is very spacious, capable of holding many coaches, and surrounded with shopps, especially Engravers, Goldsmiths, and Watchmakers. In it is a fayre Fountaine & Portico. The Isle du Palais consists of a triangular brick building, whereof one side, looking to the river, is inhabited by Goldsmiths. Within the court are private dwellings. The front looking on the greate bridge is possessed by Mountebanks, Operators, and Puppetplayers. On the other part is the every day's market for all sorts of provisions, especially bread, hearbs, flowers, orange-trees, choyce shrubbs; here is a shop called Noah's Arke, where are sold all curiosities naturall or artificial, Indian or European, for luxury or use, as cabinets, shells, ivory, porselan, dried fishes, insects, birds, pictures, and a thousand exotic extravagances. Passing hence we viewed the Port Dauphine, an arch of excellent workmanship; the street, bearing the same name, is ample and strait.

4 Feb. I went to see the Marais de Temple, where is a noble Church and Palace, heretofore dedicated to the Knights Templars, now converted to a Piazza, not much unlike ours at Covent Garden, but larger and not so pleasant, tho' built all about with divers considerable palaces.

The Church of St. Genevieve is a place of greate devotion, dedicated

to another of their Amazons sayd to have deliver'd the Citty from the English, for which she is esteem'd the tutelary Saint of Paris. It stands on a steepe eminence, having a very high spire, and is govern'd by Canons Regular.

At the Palais Royale Hen. IV. built a faire quadrangle of stately Palaces, arched underneath. In the middle of a spacious area stands on a noble pedestal, a brazen Statue of Lewis XIII. which tho' made in imitation of that in the Roman Capitol, is nothing so much esteem'd as that on the Pont Neuf.

The Hospital of the Quinz-Vingts in Rue St. Honorè is an excellent foundation; but above all is the Hotel Dieu for men and women, neare Notre Dame, a princely, pious, and expensive structure. That of the Charité gave me great satisfaction in seeing how decently and Christianly the sick people are attended, even to delicacy. I have seen them served by noble persons, men and women. They have also gardens, walks, & fountaines. Divers persons are here cutt for the stone with greate successe yearly in May. The 2 Chasteletts (supposed to have been built by Julius Cæsar) are places of Judicature in Criminal Causes, to which is a strong Prison. The Courts are spacious and magnificent.

8 Feb. I took coach and went to see the famous Jardine Royale, which is an enclosure walled in, consisting of all varieties of ground for planting and culture of medical simples. It is well chosen, having in it hills, meadows, wood and upland, naturall and artificial, and is richly stor'd with exotic plants. In the middle of the Parterre is a faire fontaine. There is a very fine house, chapel, laboratory, orangery, & other accommodations for the President, who is allways one of the King's cheife Physitians.

From hence we went to the other side of the towne, and to some distance from it, to the Bois de Vincennes, going by the Bastille, which is the Fortresse Tower and Magazine of this great Citty. It is very spacious within, and there the Grand Master of the Artillery has his house, with faire gardens and walks.

The Bois de Vincennes has in it a square and noble Castle, with magnificent apartments, fit for a Royal Court, not forgetting the Chapell. It is the chiefe Prison for persons of quality. About it there is a parke walled in, full of deere, and in one part is a grove of goodly pine-trees.

The next day I went to see the Louvre with more attention, its severall Courts and Pavilions. One of the quadrangles, begun by Hen. IV. and finish'd by his son and grandson, is a superb but mix'd structure. The cornices, mouldings, & compartments, with the insertion of severall colour'd marbles, have been of great expence.

We went through the long gallery, pav'd with white & black marble, richly fretted and paynted *a fresca*. The front looking to the river,

tho' of rare worke for the carving, yet wants of that magificence which a plainer and truer designe would have contributed to it.

In the Cour aux Thuilleries is a princely fabriq; the winding geometrical stone stayres, with the cupola, I take to be as bold and noble a piece of architecture as any in Europ of the kind. To this is a *Corps de Logis*, worthy of so greates a Prince. Under these buildings, thro' a garden in which is an ample fountaine, was the King's printing-house, and that famous letter so much esteem'd. Here I bought divers of the classiq authors, poets & others.

We return'd through another gallery, larger, but not so long, where hung the pictures of all the Kings and Queenes and prime Nobility of France.

Descending hence, we went into a lower very large room, call'd the Salle des Antiques, which is a vaulted Cimelia, destin'd for statues only, amongst which stands the so celebrated *Diana of the Ephesians*, said to be the same which utter'd oracles in that temple. There is a huge globe suspended by chaynes. The pavings, inlayings, and incrustations of this Hall are very rich.

In another more privat garden towards the Queene's apartment is a walke or cloyster under arches, whose terrace is paved with stones of a greates breadth; it looks towards the river, and has a pleasant aviary, fountaine, stately cypresses, &c. On the river are seene a prodigious number of barges and boates of great length, full of hay, corne, wood, wine, &c. Under the long gallery dwell goldsmiths, paynters, statuarys, and architects, who being the most famous for their art in Christendom, have stipends allowed them by the King. We went into that of Monsieur Saracin, who was moulding for an image of a Madona to be cast in gold, of a greates size, to be sent by the Queene Regent to Lauretto, as an offering for the birth of the Dauphine, now the young King of France.

I finish'd this day with a walke in the greates garden of the Thuilleries, which is rarely contrived for privacy, shade, or company, by groves, plantations of tall trees, especialy that in the middle, being of elmes, another of mulberys. There is a labyrinth of cypresse, noble hedges of pomegranates, fountains, fishponds, and an aviary. There is an artificial echo, redoubling the words distinctly, and it is never without some faire nymph singing to it. Standing at one of the focus's, which is under a tree, or little cabinet of hedges, the voice seems to descend from the clouds; at another as if it was under-ground. This being at the bottom of the garden, we were let into another, which being kept with all imaginable accuratenesse as to the orangery, precious shrubes, and rare fruites, seem'd a paradise. From a tarrace in this place we saw so many coaches, as one would hardly think could be maintained in the whole Citty, going, late as it was in the year, towards the Course, which is a place adjoyning, of neere an English

mile long, planted with 4 rows of trees, making a large circle in the middle. This Course is walled about, neere breast high, with squar'd freestone, and has a stately arch at the entrance, with sculpture and statues about it, built by Mary di Medices. Here it is that the gallants and ladys of the Court take the ayre and divert themselves, as with us in Hide Park, the circle being capable of containing an hundred coaches to turne commodiously, and the larger of the plantations for 5 or 6 coaches a brest.

Returning through the Thuilleries, we saw a building in which are kept wild beasts for the King's pleasure, a beare, a wolfe, a wild boare, a leopard, &c.

27 Feb. Accompany'd with some English gentlemen we tooke horse to see St. Germain's en Lay, a stately country-house of the King, some 5 leagues from Paris. By the way we alighted at St. Cloes, where, on an eminence neere the river, the Archbishop of Paris has a garden, for the house is not very considerable, rarely water'd and furnish'd with fountaines, statues, and groves; the walkes are very faire; the fountain of Laocoon is in a large square pool, throwing the water neere 40 feet high, and having about it a multitude of statues and basins, and is a surprising object; but nothing is more esteem'd than the cascade falling from the greates steps into the lowest and longest walke from the Mount Parnassus, which consists of a grotto, or shell house, on the summit of the hill, wherein are divers water-workes and contrivances to wet the spectators; this is covered with a fayre cupola, the walles paynted with the Muses, and statues placed thick about it, whereof some are antiq and good. In the upper walkes are two perspectives, seeming to enlarge the allys. In this garden are many other contrivances. The Palace, as I said, is not extraordinary. The outer walles onely paynted *a fresca*. In the Court is a Volary, and the statues of Charles IX. Hen. III. IV. and Lewis XIII. on horseback, mezzo-reliev'd in plaster. In the garden is a small chapell; and under shelter is the figure of *Cleopatra*, taken from the Belvidere original, with others. From the tarrace above is a tempest well paynted, and there is an excellent prospect towards Paris, the meadows, & river.

At an inn in this village is an host who treats all the greates persons in princely lodgings for furniture and plate, but they pay well for it, as I have don. Indeed the entertainment is very splendid, and not unreasonable, considering the excellent manner of dressing their meate, and of the service. Here are many debauches and excessive revellings, being out of observance.

About a league farther we went to see Cardinal Richelieu's villa at Ruell. The house is small, but fairely built, in form of a castle, moated round. The offices are towards the road, and over against are large vineyards walled in.

Though the house is not of the greatest, the gardens about it are so magnificent that I doubt whether Italy has any exceeding it for all rarities of pleasure. The garden nearest the pavilion is a parterre, having in the midst divers noble brasse statues, perpetually spouting water into an ample bassin, with other figures of the same metal ; but what is most admirable is the vast enclosure, and variety of ground, in the large garden, containing vineyards, cornfields, meadows, groves, (whereof one is one of perennial greens), and walkes of vast lengthes, so accurately kept and cultivated, that nothing can be more agreeable. On one of these walkes, within a square of tall trees. is a basilisc<sup>1</sup> of copper, which managed by the fountainere casts water neere 60 feet high, and will of itself move round so swiftly, that one can hardly escape wetting. This leads to the Citroniere, where is a noble conserve of all those rarities ; and at the end of it is the *Arch of Constantine*, painted on a wall in oyle, as large as the real one at Rome, so well don that even a man skill'd in painting may mistake it for stone and sculpture. The skie and hills which seem to be betweene the arches are so naturall that swallows and other birds, thinking to fly through, have dashed themselves against the wall. At the further part of this walke is that plentiful though artificial cascade which rolls down a very steepe declivity, and over the marble steps and bassins, with an astonishing noyse and fury ; each basin hath a jetto in it, flowing like sheetes of transparent glasse, especialy that which rises over the greate shell of lead, from whence it glides silently downe a channell thro' the middle of a spacious gravel walke terminating in a grotto. Here are also fountaines that cast water to a great height, and large ponds, 2 of which have islands for harbour of fowles, of which there is store. One of these islands has a receptacle for them built of vast pieces of rock, neere 50 feet high, growne over with mosse, ivy, &c. shaded at a competent distance with tall trees, in this the fowles lay eggs and breede. We then saw a large and very rare grotto of shell-worke, in the shape of satyres and other wild fancys : in the middle stands a marble table, on which a fontaine playes in forms of glasses, cupps, crosses, fanns, crownes, &c. Then the fontaineere represented a showre of raine from the topp, mett by small jetts from below. At going out two extravagant musqueteeres shot us with a streame of water from their musket barrells. Before this grotto is a long poole into which ran divers spouts of water from leaden escollop bassins. The viewing this paradise made us late at St. Germaines.

The first building of this palace is of Cha. V. called the Sage ; but Francis I. (that true virtuoso) made it compleate, speaking as to the style of magnificence then in fashion, which was with too greate a mixture of the Gothic, as may be seen in what there is remaining of his in the old Castle, an irregular peece as built on the old foundation, and

<sup>1</sup> The imaginary animal or serpent so called.

having a moate about it. It has yet some spacious & handsome roomes of state, & a chapell neatly paynted. The new Castle is at some distance, divided from this by a court, of a lower but more modern designe, built by Hen. IV. To this belong 6 tarraces built of brīck & stone, descending in cascads towards the river, cut out of the naturall hill, having under them goodly vaulted galleries; of these, 4 have subterranean grotts & rocks, where are represented severall objects in the manner of sceanes, and other motions by force of water, shewn by the light of torches onely; amongst these is Orpheus, with his musiq, & the animalls, which dance after his harp; in the second is the King and Dolphin (Dauphin); in the third is Neptune sounding his trumpet, his charriot drawne by sea-horses; in the fourth Perseus & Andromeda; mills; hermitages; men fishing; birds chirping; and many other devices. There is also a dry grott to refresh in, all having a fine prospect towards the river and the goodly country about it, especially the forrest. At the bottom is a parterre; the upper tarrace neere half a myle in length, with double declivities, arched and baluster'd with stone, of vast and royal cost.

In the Pavilion of the new Castle are many faire roomes, well paynted, and leading into a very noble garden and parke, where is a pall-maill, in the midst of which, on one of the sides, is a Chapell, with stone cupola, tho' small, yet of an handsome order of architecture. Out of the parke you goe into the forrest, which being very large is stor'd with deare, wild boares, wolves, and other wild game. The Tennis Court, and Cavalerizzo for the menag'd horses, are also observable.

We return'd to Paris by Madrid, another villā of the King's, built by Francis I. and called by that name to absolve him of his oath that he would not go from Madrid, in which he was prisoner in Spayne, but from whence he made his escape. This house is also built in a park, walled in. We next called in at the Bonnes hommes, well situated, with a faire Chapel and Library.

1 March. I went to see the Count de Liancourt's Palace in the Rue de Seine, which is well built. Towards his study and bedchamber joynes a little garden, which tho' very narrow, by the addition of a well painted perspective is to appearance greatly enlarged; to this there is another part, supported by arches, in which runs a streame of water, rising in the aviary, out of a statue, and seeming to flow for some miles, by being artificially continued in the painting, when it sinkes downe at the wall. It is a very agreeable deceit. At the end of this garden is a little theater, made to change with divers pretty seanes, and the stage so ordered that with figures of men & women paynted on light-boards, and cut out, and, by a person who stands underneath, made to act as if they were speaking, by guiding them, & reciting words in diferent tones as the parts require. We were led into a round cabinet, where

was a neate invention for reflecting lights by lining divers sconces with thin shining plates of gilded copper.

In one of the rooms of state was an excellent paynting of Poussin, being a *Satyre kneeling*; over the chimney, the *Coronation of the Virgin* by Paulo Veroneze : another *Madona* over the dore, and that of *Jos.* by Cigali ; in the Hall, a *Cavaliero di Malta attended by his page*, sayd to be of Mich. Angelo : the *Rape of Proserpine*, with a very large *landskip* of Corregio. In the next roome some payntings of Primaticcio, especially the *Helena*, the *naked Lady brought before Alexander*, well paynted, and a *Ceres*. In the bedchamber a picture of the *Cardinal de Liancourt* of Raphael, rarely colour'd. In the cabinet are divers pieces of Bassano, 2 of Polemburg, 4 of Paulo Brill, the skyes a little too blew. A *Madona* of Nicholao, excellently painted on a stone ; a *Judith* of Mantegna ; 3 *Women* of Jeronimo ; one of Stenwick ; a *Madona* after Titian, and a *Magdalen* of the same hand, as the Count esteemes it ; 2 small pieces of Paulo Veroneze, being the *Martyrdoms of St. Justina & St. Catherine*, ; a *Madona* of Lucas Van Leyden, sent him from our King ; 6 more of old Bassano ; 2 excellent drawings of Albert ; a *Magdalen* of Leonardo da Vinci ; 4 of Paulo : a very rare *Madona* of Titian, given him also by our King ; the *Ecce Homo*, shut up in a frame of velvet, for the life and accurate finishing exceeding all description. Some curious medals, and a chaplet of admirable invention, the intaglias being all on fruit-stones. The Count was so exceeding civill that he would needes make his Lady goe out of her dressing-roome, that he might shew us the curiosities and the pictures in it.

We went thence to visite one Mons. Perishot, one of the greatest virtuosos in France, for his collection of pictures, achates, medalls, and flowers, especially tulips & anemonies. The chieftest of his payntings was a *Sebastian* of Titian.

From him we went to Mons. Frene's, who shew'd us many rare drawings, a *Rape of Helen* in black chalke ; many excellent things of Sneider ; some of Julio & Michael Angelo ; a *Madona* of Passignano ; some things of Parmensis, & other masters.

The next morning being recommended to Mons. de Hausse, President du Parliament, and once Ambassador at Venice for the French King, we were very civilly receiv'd, and shew'd his Library. Amongst his paintings were, a rare *Venus & Adonis* of Veroneze, a *St. Anthony* after the first manner of Corregio, and a rare *Madona* of Palma.

Sunday 6 March. I went to Charenton, 2 leagues from Paris, to heare & see the manner of the French Protestant Churches service. The place of meeting they call the Temple, a very faire and spacious roome, built of free-stone, very decently adorn'd with payntings of the Tables of the Law, the Lords Prayer & Creede. The pulpit stands at the upper end in the middle, having an enclosure of seates about it,

where the Elders, & persons of greatest quality and strangers, sit; the rest of the congregation on formes & low stooles, but none in pews as in our Churches, to their greate disgrace & nothing so orderly, as here the stooles & other comber are remov'd when the assembly rises. I was greatly pleas'd with their harmonious singing the Psalms, which they all learn perfectly well, their children being as duely taught as their Catechisme.

In our passage we went by that famous bridge over the Marne, where echo returnes the voice of a good singer 9 or 10 times.

7 March. I went with some company towards Fontainebleau, a sumptuous palace of the King's, like ours of Hampton Court, about 14 leagues from the Citty. By the way we pass through a Forest so prodigiously encompass'd with hideous rocks of whitish hard stone, heaped one on another in mountainous heights, but I think the like is not to be found elsewhere. It abounds with staggss, wolves, boares, & not long after a lynx or ounce was kill'd amongst them, which had devour'd some passengers. On the summit of one of these gloomy precipices, intermingl'd with trees and shrubs, the stones hanging over, & menaceing ruine, is built an Hermitage. In these solitudes rogues frequently lurke & do mischief (& for whom we were all well appoynted with our carabines), but we arived safe in the evening at the village, where we lay at the Horne, going early next morning to the Palace.

This house is nothing so stately and uniforme as Hampton Court, but Francis I. began much to beautifie it; most of all, Hen. IV. and not a little the late King. It abounds with faire halls, chambers, and gallerys; in the longest, which is 360 foote long, and 18 broad, are paynted the Victories of that great Prince Hen. IV. That of Francis I. call'd the grand Gallery, has all the King's Palaces paynted in it; above these, in 60 pieces of excellent worke in fresca is the History of Ulysses, from Homer, by Primaticcio in the tyme of Hen. III. esteemed the most renown'd in Europ for the designe. The Cabinet is full of excellent pictures, especialy a *Woman* of Raphael. In the Hall of the Guards is a piece of tapistery painted on the wall, very naturally, representing the Victorys of Cha. VII. over our countrymen. In the Salle des Festins is a rare Chimny-piece, & Hen. IV. on horseback, of white marble, esteemed worth 18,000 crowns; *Clementia* & *Pax*, nobly don. On columns of jasper, 2 lions of brasse. The new Stayres, and a halfe circular Court, are of modern and good architecture, as is a Chapell built by Lewis XIII. all of jasper, with several incrustations of marble in the inside.

Having seene the roomes we went to the Volary, which has a cupola in the middle of it, greate trees and bushes, it being full of birds who drank at two fountaines. There is a faire Tennis Court & noble Stables; but the beauty of all are the Gardens. In the Court of the Fountaines

stand divers antiquities and statues, especially a Mercury. In the Queenes Garden is a Diana ejecting a fountaine, with numerous other brasse statues.

The Greate Garden, 180 toises long and 154 wide, has in the centre a fountayne of Tyber of a Colossean figure of brasse, with the Wolfe over Romulus & Rhemus. At each corner of the garden rises a fountaine. In the Garden of the Fish Pond is a Hercules of white marble. Next is the Garden of the Pines, and without that a Canale of an English mile in length, at the end of which rise 3 jettos in the form of a fleur de lys, of a great height; on the margin are excellent walkes planted with trees. The carps come familiarly to hand [to be fed]. Hence they brought us to a spring, which they say being first discover'd by a dog, gave occasion of beautifying this place, both with the Palace and Gardens. The rocks at some distance in the Forest yeald one of the most august & stupendous prospects imaginable. The Parke about this place is very large, & the Towne is full of noblemen's houses.

Next morning we were invited by a Paynter, who was keeper of the pictures and rarities, to see his owne collection: We were lead thro' a gallery of old Rosso's worke, at the end of which, in another cabinet, were 3 *Madonas* of Raphael, and 2 of Andrea del Sarto. In the Academy where the Paynter himselfe wrought, was a *St. Michael* of Raphael, very rare; *St. Jo. Baptist* of Leonardo, & a *Woman's head*; a *Queene of Sicily* & *St. Margaret* of Raphael; 2 more *Madonas*, whereof one very large, by the same hand; some more of del Sarto; a *St. Jerome* of Perino del Vaga; the *Rape of Proserpine*, very good; and a greate number of drawings.

Returning part of our way to Paris that day, we visited an house cal'd *Maison Rouge*, having an excellent prospect, grott, & fountaines, one whereof rises 50 feet, & resembles the noise of a tempest, battailles of gunns, &c, at its issue.

We went to Essone, a house of Monsieur Essling, who is a greate Vertuoso; there are many good payntings in it, but nothing so observable as his gardens, fountaines, fishe-pooles, especially that in a triangular forme, the water cast out by a multitude of heads about it; there is a noble cascade and pretty bathes, with all accommodations. Under a marble table is a fountaine of serpents twisting about a globe.

We alighted next at Corbeil, a towne famous for the siege of Hen. IV. Here we slept, & return'd next morning to Paris.

18 March. I went with Sir Jo. Cotton, a Cambridg-shire Knight a journey into Normandy. The first day we passed by Gaillon, the Archbishop of Rouen's Palace. The gardens are highly commended, but we did not go in, intending to reach Pontoise by dinner. This towne is built in a very gallant place, has a noble bridge over the Oize, and is well refresh'd with fountaines.

This is the first towne in Normandy, and the farthest that the Vine-

yards extend to on this side of the country, which is fuller of playnes, wood and enclosures, with some townes towards the sea, very like England.

We lay this night at a vilage call'd Magny. The next day, descending a very steepe hill, we din'd at Fleury, and after rode 5 leagues downe St. Catharine, to Rouen, which affords a goodly prospect to the ruines of that chapell & mountaine. This country so abounds with wolves, that a shepherd whom we met told us one of his companions was strangled by one of them the day before, & that in the midst of his flock. The feilds are mostly planted with pears & apples & other cider fruites. It is plentifully furnish'd with quarries of stone & slate, & hath iron in abundance.

I lay at the White Crosse in Rouen, which is a very large Citty, on the Seine, having two smaller rivers besides, call'd the Aubelt and Lobes. There stand yet the ruines of a magnificent bridge of stone, now supply'd by one of boates only, to which come up vessells of considerable burthen. The other side of the water consists of meadows, and there have the Reformed a Church.

The Cathedrall Nostre Dame was built, as they acknowledge, by the English; some English words graven in Gothic characters upon the front seeme to confirm it. The Towers & whole Church are full of carving. It has 3 steeples with a pyramid; in one of these I saw the famous bell so much talk'd off, 13 foote in height, 32 round, the diameter 11, weighing 40,000 pounds. In the Chapel d'Amboise, built by a Cardinal of that name, lies his body, with several faire monuments. The Quire has behind it a gréate dragon paynted on the wall, which they say had don much harme to the inhabitants till vanquished by St. Romain their Archbishop, for which there is an annual procession. It was now neere Easter, and many images were expos'd with scenes & stories representing the Passion, made up of little puppets, to which there was great resort and devotion, with offering. Before the Church is a faire Palace.—St. Owen is another goodly Church and an Abbey with fine gardens. Here the King hath lodgings when he makes his progresse through these parts. The structure where the Court of Parliament is kept is very magnificent, containing very faire halles & chambers, especialy La Chambre d'Orée. The Towne-house is also well built, and so are some gentlemen's houses; but most part of the rest are of timber, like our merchants of London, in the wooden part of the Citty.

21 March. On Easter Monday we din'd at Totes, a solitary inn between Rouen & Diepe, at which latter place we arived. This towne is situated betweene two mountaines, not unpleasantly, and is washed on the North by our English seas.

The Port is commodious, but the entrance is difficult. It has one ample and faire streete, in which is a pretty church. The Fort Pollet

consists of a strong earth-work, and commands the Haven, as on the other side does the Castle, which is also well fortified, with the Citadel before it; nor is the Towne itself a little strong. It abounds with workmen, who make and sell curiosities of ivory and tortoise-shells; & indeed whatever the East Indies afford of cabinets, purcelan, natural & exotic rarities, are here to be had with abundant choyce.

23 March. We pass'd along the Coast by a very rocky and rugged way, which forc'd us to alight many times before we came to Havre de Grace, where we lay that night.

The next morning we saw the Citadel, strong and regular, well stored with artillery, &c. The works furnish'd with faire brasse canon, having a motto, *Ratio ultima Regum*. The allogiaments of the garrison are uniforme; a spacious place for drawing up the soldiers, a pretty chapell, and a faire house for the Governor. The Duke of Richelieu being now in the fort, we went to salute him; who receiv'd us very civily, and commanded that we should be show'd whatever we desired to see. The Citadel was built by the late Card. de Richelieu, unkle of the present Duke, and is very strong. The haven is very capacious.

We embarqued ourselves and horses to passe to Honfleur, about 4 or 5 leagues distant, where the Seine falls into the Sea. It is a poore fisher towne, remarkable for nothing so much as the odd yet usefull habites which the good women weare, of beares and other skinns, as of raggs at Dieppe, and all along these coasts.

25 March. We arriv'd at Caen, a noble and beautifull towne, on the river Orne, which passes quite thro' it, the 2 sides of the towne joyn'd only by a bridg of one arch, We lay at the Angel, where we were very well us'd, the place being abundantly furnish'd with provisions at a cheape rate.

The most considerable object is the great Abby and Church, large and rich, built after the Gothic manner, having two spires and middle lanterne at the West end, all of stone. The quire round and large, in the centre whereof, elevated on a square, handsome, but plain sepulchre, is this inscription:

“Hoc Sepulchrum invictissimi juxta et clementissimi Conquestoris, Gulielmi, dum viveret Anglorum Regis, Normannorum Cænomanorumque Principis, hujus insignis Abbatiae piissimi Fundatoris: Cum anno 1562 vesano hereticorum furore direptum fuisset, pio tandem nobilium ejusdem Abbatiae religiosorum gratitudinis sensu in tam beneficum largitorem, instauratum fuit, anno D'ni 1642. D'no Johanne de Baulhache ascetarii Protopriore. P.D.D.P.”

On the other side are these monkish rhymes:

“Qui rexit rigidos Normanos, atq. Britanos  
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,

Et Cænomanenses virtute coërcuit enses,  
 Imperiique sui legibus applicuit,  
 Rex magus parvâ jacet hic Gulielmus in urnâ,  
 Sufficit et magno parva domus Domino.  
 Ter septem gradibus se volverat, atq. duobus  
 Virginis in gremio Phœbus, et hic obiit."

We went to the Castle, which is strong and fayre, and so is the Towne-house, built on the bridg which unites the two townes. Here are Scholes and an University for the Jurists.

The whole Towne is handsomly built of that excellent stone so well knowne by that name in England. I was lead to a pretty garden, planted with edges of Alaternus, having at the entrance a skreene at an exceeding height, accurately cutt in topiary worke, with well understood Architecture, cōsisting of pillars, niches, freezes, and other ornaments, with greate curiosity; some of the columns wreathed, others spiral, all according to art.

28 March. We went towards Paris, lying the first night at Evreux, a Bishop's seate, an ancient Towne, with a faire Cathedral.

The next day we arrived at Paris.

1 April. I went to see more exactly the roomes of the fine Palace of Luxemburge, in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, built by Mary de Medices, and I think one of the most noble, entire, and finish'd piles, that is to be seen, taking it with the garden and all its accomplishments. The gallery is of the painting of Rubens, being the history of the Foundresses life, rarely designed; at the end of it is the Duke of Orleans's Library, well furnished with excellent bookes, all bound in maroquin and gilded, the valans of the shelves being of greene velvet fring'd with gold. In the cabinet joyning it are onely the smaler volumes, with 6 cabinets of medails, and an excellent collection of shells, and achates, whereof some are prodigiously rich. This Duke being very learn'd in medails and plants, nothing of that kind escapes him. There are other spacious, noble, and princely furnish'd roomes, which looke towards the gardens, and which are nothing inferior to the rest.

The Court below is formed into a square by a corridor, having over the chiefe entrance a stately cupola, covered with stone; the rest is cloistered and arch'd on pillasters of rustiq worke. The tarrace ascending before the front paved with white & black marble, is balustred with white marble, exquisitely polish'd.

Onely the Hall below is lowe, and the stayrecase somewhat of an heavy designe, but the faciata towards the parterre, which is also arched & vaulted with stone, is of admirable beauty, and full of sculpture.

The Gardens are neere an English mile in compasse, enclos'd with a stately wall, and in a good ayre. The parterre is indeed of box, but so rarely design'd and accurately kept cut, that the embroidery makes

a wonderful effect to the lodgings which front it. 'Tis divided into 4 squares, & as many circular knots, having in the center a noble basin of marble neere 30 feet diameter (as I remember), in which a triton of brasse holds a dolphin that casts a girandola of water neere 30 foote high, playing perpetually, the water being convey'd from Arceuil by an aqueduct of stone, built after the old Roman magnificence. About this ample parterre, the spacious walkes & all included, runs a border of freestone, adorned with pedestalls for potts and statues, and part of it neere the stepps of the terrace, with a raile and baluster of pure white marble.

The walkes are exactly faire, long, & variously descending, and so justly planted with limes, elms, & other trees, that nothing can be more delicious, especialy that of the hornebeam hedge, which being high and stately, butts full on the fountaine.

Towards the farther end is an excavation intended for a vast fish-pool, but never finish'd. Neere it is an inclosure for a garden of simples, well kept, and here the Duke keepes tortoises in greate number; who use the poole of water on one side of the garden. Here is also a conservatory for snow. At the upper part towards the Palace is a grove of tall elmes cutt into a starr, every ray being a walk, whose center is a large fountaine.

The rest of the ground is made into severall inclosures (all hedge-worke or rows of trees) of whole fields, meadowes, boxages, some of them containing divers acres.

Next the streete side, and more contiguous to the house, are knotts in trayle or grasse worke, where likewise runs a fountaine. Towards the grotto and stables, within a wall, is a garden of choyce flowers, in which the Duke spends many thousand pistoles. In sum, nothing is wanting to render this palace and gardens perfectly beautifull & magnificent; nor is it one of the least diversions to see the number of persons of quality, citizens and strangers, who frequent it, and to whom all accesse is freely permitted, so that you shall see some walkes & retirements full of gallants and ladys; in others melancholy fryers; in others studious scholars; in others jolly citizens, some sitting or lying on the grasse, others runing, jumping, some playing at bowles and ball, others dancing and singing; and all this without the least disturbance, by reason of the largeness of the place.

What is most admirable is, you see no gardners or men at worke, and yet all is kept in such exquisite order as if they did nothing else but work; it is so early in the morning, that all is dispatch'd and don without the least confusion.

I have been the larger in the description of this Paradise, for the extraordinary delight I have taken in those sweete retirements. The Cabinet and Chapell neerer the garden front have some choyce pictures. All the houses neere this are also noble palaces, especialy *petite*

*Luxemburge.* The ascent of the streete is handsome from its breadth, situation, and buildings.

I went next to view Paris from the top of St. Jacques steeple, esteem'd the highest in the towne, from whence I had a full view of the whole Citty and suburbs, both which, as I judge, are not so large as London : though the dissimilitude of their formes and situations, this round, London long, renders it difficult to determine ; but there is no comparison between the buildings, palaces, and materials, this being entirely of stone and more sumptuous, tho' I esteeme our piazza's to exceede their's.

In St. Innocent's Church-yard, where the story of the devouring quality of the ground (consuming bodys in 24 hours), the vast charnells of bones, tombs, piramids, and sepulchres, took up much of my time, together with the hieroglyphical characters of Nicholas Flamen's philosophical worke, who had founded this church, and divers other charitable workes, as he testifies in his booke.

Here divers clarks get their livelyhood by inditing letters for poor mayds and other ignorant people who come to them for advise, and to write for them into the Country, every large grave-stone serving for a table. Joyning to this Church is a com'on fountaine, with good relievo's on it.

The next day I was carried to see a French gentleman's curious collection, which abounded in faire & rich jewels of all sorts of precious stones, most of them of greate sizes and value ; achates & onixes, some of them admirably colour'd & antique ; nor inferior were his landskips from the best hands, most of which he had caused to be copy'd in miniature ; one of which, rarely painted on stone, was broken by one of our company, by the mischance of setting it up ; but such was the temper & civility of the gentleman, that it altered nothing of his free & noble humor.

The next morning I went to the Garden of Monsieur Morine, who from being an ordinary gardner is become one of the most skillful and curious persons in France for his rare collection of shells, flowers, & insects.

His Garden is of an exact oval figure, planted with cypresse cutt flat & set as even as a wall : the tulips, anemonies, ranunculus's, crocus's, &c. are held to be of the rarest, and draw all the admirers of such things to his house during the season. He lived in a kind of Hermitage at one side of his garden, where his collection of purselane and coral, whereof one is carved into a large Crucifix, is much esteemed. He has also bookes of prints, by Albert [Durer], Van Leyden, Calot, &c. His collection of all sorts of insects, especially of Butterflies, is most curious ; these he spreads and so medicates that no corruption invading them, he keepes them in drawers, so plac'd as to represent a beautifull piece of tapistre.

He shew'd me the remarks he had made on their propagation, which he promis'd to publish. Some of these, as also of his best flowers, he had caus'd to be painted in miniature by rare hands, and some in oyle.

I went to see divers of the fairest Palaces, as that of Vendosme, very large and stately ; Longueville ; Guyse ; Condi ; Chevereuse ; Nevers, esteem'd one of the best in Paris towards the river.

I often went to the Palais Cardinal, bequeathed by Richelieu to the King, on condition that it should be called by his name ; at this time the King resided in it, because of the building of the Louvre. It is a very noble house, tho' somewhat low ; the gallerys, paintings of the most illustrious persons of both sexes, the Queenes bathes, presence chamber with its rich carved and gilded roose, theatre, & large garden, in which is an ample fontaine, grove, and maille, are worthy of remark. Here I also frequently went to see them ride and exercise the Greate Horse, especialy at the Academy of Monsieur du Plessis, and de Veau, whose scholes of that art are frequented by the Nobility ; and here also young gentlemen are taught to fence, daunce, play on musiq, and something in fortification & the mathematics. The designe is admirable, some keeping neere an hundred brave horses, all managed to the greate saddle.

12th. I took coach to see a general muster of all the gens d'armes about the Citty in the Bois de Boulogne before their Majesties and all the Grandees. They were reputed to be neere 20,000, besides the spectators who much exceeded them in number. Here they performed all their motions, and being drawne up, horse & foote, into several figures, represented a battell.

The sum'er now drawing neere, I determined to spend the rest of it in some more remote towne on the river Loire ; and on 19 April I tooke leave of Paris, and, by the way of the messenger, agreed for my passage to Orleans.

The way, as indeed most of the roades in France, is paved with a small square freestone, so that there is little dirt and bad roads, as in England, onely 'tis somewhat hard to the poor horses feete, which causes them to ride more temperately, seldom going out of the trot, or *grand pas*, as they call it. We passed several wall'd townes or villages ; amongst others of note, Chartres and Estampes, where we lay the first night. This has a faire church.

20 April. We had an excellent road, but had like to come short home ; for no sooner were we entred two or three leagues into the Forest of Orleans (which extends itself many miles), but the company behind us were set on by rogues, who, shooting from the hedges and frequent covert, slew foure upon the spot. This disaster made such an alarme in Orleans at our arrival, that the Prevost Martial, with his assistants, going in persuite, brought in two whom they had shot, and exposed them in the greate market-place, to see if any would take cog-

nizance of them. I had greate cause to give God thanks for this escape. I lay at the White Lion, where I found Mr. John Nicholas, eldest son to Mr. Secretary [Nicholas]. In the night a cat kitten'd on my bed, and left on it a young one having six ears, eight leggs, two bodys from the navil downwards, and two tayles. I found it dead, but warm, in the morning when I awaked.

21 April. The citty is well built of stone, on the side of the Loyre. About the middle of the river is an island, full of walkes and faire trees, with some houses. There is a stately stone bridge, reaching to the opposite suburbs, built likewise on the edge of an hill, from whence is a beautifull prospect. At one end of the bridge are strong toures, and about the middle, on one side, is the statue of the Virgin Mary or Pieta, with the dead Christ in her lap, as big as the life. At one side of the Crosse kneeles Cha. VII. arm'd, and at the other Joan d'Arc, arm'd like a cavalier, with boots and spurrs, her hayre dischevel'd, as the deliveress of the towne from our countrymen, when they besieg'd it. The figures are all cast in copper, with a pedistall full of inscriptions as well as a faire columnne joyning it, which is adorn'd with fleurs de lys and a crucifix, with two saints proceeding as it were from two branches out of its capital. The inscriptions on the Crosse are in Latine: "Mors Christi in cruce nos a contagione labis et æturnorum morborum sanavit." On the pedestal: "Rex in hoc signo hostes profligavit, et Johan'a Virgo Aureliam obsidio liberavit. Non diu ab impiis diruta, restituta sunt hoc anno D'ni 1578. Jean Buret, m. f."—"Octannoq' Galliam servitute Britannicâ liberavit. A Domino factum est illud, et est mirabili in oculis nostris; in quorum memoriâ hæc nostræ fidei Insignia." To this is made an annual procession on 12 May, Masse being sung before it, attended with great ceremony and concourse of people. The wine of this place is so strong, that the King's cup-bearers are, as I was assured, sworne never to give the King any of it; but it is a very noble liquor, and much of it transported into other countrys. The town is much frequented by strangers for the greate purity of the language here spoken, as well as for divers other priviledges; and the University makes the towne much frequented by strangers, especialy Germans, which causes the English to make no long sojourne hear, except such as can drinke and debauch. The Citty stands in the County of Beaulse, was once stiled a Kingdom, afterwards a Dutchy, as at present, belonging to the second son of France. Many Councils have been held here, and some Kings crown'd. The University is very antient, divided now by the students into that of four nations, French, High Dutch, Normans, and Picardins, who have each their respective protectors, severall officers, Treasurers, Consuls, Seals, &c. There are in it two reasonable faire publiq Libraries, whence one may borrow a booke to one's chamber, giving but a note under hand, which is an extraordinary custome, and a confidence that has cost

many Libraries deare. The first church I went to visit was St. Croix ; it has been a stately fabric, but has been much ruin'd by the late Civil Warrs. They report the towre of it to have been the highest in France. There is the beginning of a faire reperation. About this cathedrall is a very spacious cemeterie. The towne-hous is nobly built, with a high tower to it. The market-place and streetes, some whereof are deliciously planted with limes, are ample and strait, so well paved with a kind of pebble, that I have not seen a neater towne in France. This Citty was by Francis I. esteemed the most agreeable of his great dominions.

28 April. Taking boate on the Loir, I went towards Blois, the passage and river being both very pleasant. Passing Mehun, we dined at Baugency, and slept at a little towne called St. Dieu. Quitting our barke, we hired horses to Blois, by the way of Chambourg, a famous house of the King's, built by Francis I. in the middle of a solitary parke, full of deere ; the enclosure is a wall. I was particularly desirous of seeing this palace from the extravagance of the designe, especially the stayre-case mentioned by Palladio. It is said that 1800 workmen were constantly employ'd in this fabric for twelve yeares : if so, it is wonderfull that it was not finish'd it being no greater than divers gentlemens houses in England, both for rone or circuit. The carvings are very rich and full. The stayre-case is devised with four entries or ascents, which cross one another, so that tho' four persons meete, they never come in sight, but by small loopeholes, till they land. It consists of 274 stepps (as I remember), and is an extraordinary worke, but of far greater expense than use or beauty. The chimnys of the house appeare like so many towres. About the whole is a large deepe moate. The country about it full of corne and wine, with many faire noblemens houses.

We ariv'd at Blois in the evening. The town is hilly, uneven, and rugged. It stands on the side of the Loire, having suburbs joyn'd by a stately stone bridg, on which is a pyramid with an inscription. At the entrance of the castle is a stone statue of Lewis XII. on horseback, as large as life, under a Gothic state ; and a little below are these words :

' Hic ubi natus erat dextro Ludovicus Olympe  
Sumpsit honorata regia scepra manu :  
Fælix quæ tanti fulsit Lux nuncia Regis  
Gallica non alio principe digna fuit.'

Under this is a very wide payre of gates, nailed full of wolves and wild-boars' heads. Behind the castle the present Duke Gastion had begun a faire building, through which we walked into a large garden, esteemed for its furniture one of the fairest, especially for simples and exotic plants, in which he takes extraordinary delight. On the right hand is a longe gallery full of ancient statues and inscriptions, both of

marble and brasse ; the length, 300 paces, divides the garden into higher and lower ground, having a very noble fountaine. There is the portrait of an hart, taken in the forest by Lewis XII. which has 24 antlers on its head. In the Collegiate Church of St. Saviour we saw many sepulchres of the Earls of Blois.

Sunday, being May day, we walked up into the Pall Mall, very long and so nobly shaded with tall trees (being in the midst of a greete wood), that, unless that of Tours, I had not seen a statelier.

From hence we proceeded with a friend of mine through the adjoining forestt to see if we could meete any wolves, which are here in such numbers that they often come and take children out of the very streetes ; yet will not the Duke, who is sov'raigne here, permite them to be destroy'd. We walked five or six miles outright, but met with none ; yet a gentleman who was resting himselfe under a tree, with his horse grazing by him, told us that, halfe an houre before, two wolves had set upon his horse, and had in probability devour'd him, but for a dog which lay by him. At a little village at the end of this wood we eat excellent creame, and visited a castle builded on a very steepe cliff.

Bloys is a towne where the language is exactly spoken ; the inhabitants very courteous ; the ayre so good, that it is the ordinary nursery of the King's children. The people are so ingenious, that, for goldsmith's worke and watches, no place in France affords the like. The pastures by the river are very rich and pleasant.

2 May. We took boate, passing by Charmont, a proud castle on the left hand ; before it is a sweete island, deliciously shaded with tall trees. A little distance from hence we went on shore at Ambois, a very agreeable village, built of stone, and the houses covered with blue slate, as the towns on the Loyre generally are ; but the castle chiefly invited us, the thicknesse of whose towers, from the river to the top, was admirable. We enter'd by the draw-bridg, which has an invention to let one fall, if not premonished. It is full of halls and spacious chambers, and one stayre-case, is large enough, and sufficiently com'odious to receive a coach, and land it on the very towre, as they told us had been don. There is some artillery. In the ancient chapell is a stag's head or branches, hung up by chayns, consisting of twenty brow antlers, the beame bigger than a man's middle, and of an incredible length. Indeed it is monstrous, and yet I cannot conceive how it should be artificial ; they show also the ribs and vertebræ of the same beast ; but these might be made of whalebone.

Leaving the Castle we pass'd Mont Louis, a village having no house above ground, but such onely as are hewn out of the maine rocks which are of excellent free-stone. Here and there the funnell of a chimney appears on the surface amongst the vineyards which are over them, and in this manner they inhabite the caves, as it were sea-cliffs, on one side of the river for many miles.

We now come within sight of Tours, where we were design'd for the rest of the time I had resolv'd to stay in France, the sojournment being so agreeable. Tours is on the easy side of an hill on the river Loyre, having a faire bridge of stone, called St. Edme ; the streetes are very long, strait, spacious, well built, & exceeding cleane ; the suburbs large and pleasant, joyn'd to the citty by another bridge. Both the Church and Monastery of St. Martin are large, of Gothic building, having 4 square towers, faire organs, and a stately altar where they shew the bones and ashes of St. Martine, with other reliques. The Mall without comparison is the noblest in Europe for length and shade, having 7 rowes of the tallest and goodliest elms I had ever beheld, the innermost of which do so embrace each other, & at such a height, that nothing can be more solemn and majesticall. Here we play'd a party or two, and then walked about the Towne walles, built of square stone, fill'd with earth, & having a moate. No citty in France exceeds it in beauty or delight.

6 May. We went to St. Gratian, reported to have been built by our countrymen ; the dial and clock-work are much esteem'd. The Church has two handsom towres & spires of stone, and the whole fabric is very noble & venerable. To this joynes the Palace of the Archbishop of old and new building, with many faire roomes, and a faire garden. Here I grew acquainted with one Mons. Merey, a very good Musitian. The Archbishop treated me very courteously. We visited divers other Churches, Chapells, & Monasteries, for the most part neatly built, and full of pretty payntings, especialy the Convent of the Capucines, which has a prospect over the whole Citty and many faire walks.

8th. I went to see their manufactures in Silke (for in this towne they drive a very considerable trade with silk-wormes), their pressing & watering the grograms and chamblets, with weights of an extraordinary poyse, putte into a rolling engine. Here I took a master of the language and studied the tongue very diligently recreating myself sometimes at the Maill, and sometymes about the Towne. The house opposite my lodging had been formerly a Palace of the King's, the outside was totaly cover'd with fleurs de lyes, emboss'd out of the stone. Here Mary de Medici had her Court when she was compell'd to retire from Paris by the persecution of the Cardinal.

25. Was the *Fete Dieu*, and a goodly procession of all the religious orders, the whole streetes hung with their best tapistrys, and their most precious moveables expos'd ; silks, damasks, velvets, plate, and pictures in abundance ; the streets strew'd with flowres, and full of pageantry, banners, and bravery.

6 June. I went by water to visit that goodly and venerable Abby of Marmoustier, being one of the greatest in the Kingdome. There is a large Church of stone, with a very high pyramid. Amongst other

reliques the Monkes shew'd us is the Holy Ampoule, the same with that which sacres their Kings at Rhemes, this being the one which anoynted Hen. IV. Ascending many stepps we went into the Abbot's Palace, where we were shew'd a vast Tun (as big as that at Heidelberg), which they report St. Martin (as I remember) filled from one cluster of grapes growing there.

7. We walked about 2 miles from the Citty to an agreeable solitude called du Plessis, a house belonging to the King. It has many pretty gardens, full of nightingales. In the Chapell lyes buried the famous Poet Ronsard.

Returning, we stepp'd into a Convent of Franciscans called St. Cosmo, where the Cloister is painted with the miracles of their St. Francis à Paula, whose ashes lie in their Chapell, with this inscription: 'Corpus Sancti Fran. à Paula 1507. 13 Aprilis. concrematur verò ab Hæreticis anno 1562, cujus quidem ossa et cineres hic jacent.' The tomb has 4 small pyramids of marble at each corner.

9 June. I was invited to a Vineyard, which was so artificialy planted and supported with arched poles that stooping downe one might see from end to end, a very greate length, under the vines, the bunches hanging down in abundance.

20 June. We took hors to see certain natural Caves, caled Goutiere, neare Colombiere, where there is a spring within the bowells of the earth very deepe, & so excessive cold that the dropps meeting with some stony matter it converts them into an hard stone, which hangs about like icicles, having many others in the form of comfitures and sugar plums as wee call them.

Neere this we went under the ground almost two furlongs, lighted with candles, to see the source and spring which serves the whole Citty, by a passage cut through the maine rock of free-stone.

28. I went to see the Palace and Gardens of Chevereux, a sweete place.

30. I walked through the vineyards as far as Roche Corbé, to the ruines of an old & very-strong Castle sayd to have ben built by the English, of great hight, on the precipice of a dreadfull cliff, from whence the country and river yeald a most incomparable prospect.

27 July. I heard excellent musiq at the Jesuites, who have here a Schole and Convent, but a meane Chapell. We had now store of those admirable melons so much celebrated in France for the best of the kingdom.

1 Augt. My valet, one Garno, a Spaniard borne in Biscay, having misbehaved, I was forced to discharge him; he demanded of me (besides his wages) no lesse then 100 crownes to carry him to his country; refusing to pay it, as no part of our agreement, he had the impudence to arrest me: the next day I was to appear in Court, where both our Advocats pleaded before the Lieutenant Civile. The Judge imme-

diately acquitting me, after he had reproached the Advocate who tooke part with my servant, he rose from the Bench, and making a courteous excuse to me, that being a stranger I should be so us'd, he conducted mee through the Court to the streete-dore. This varlet afterwards threatened to pistol me. The next day I waited on the Lieutenant to thanke him for his greate civility.

18 Aug. The Queene of England came to Tours, having newly ariv'd in France, and going for Paris. She was very nobly receiv'd by the People and Cleargy, who went to meete her with the trained bands. After the harangue the Archbish'p entertain'd her at his Palace, where I paid my duty to her. The 20th she set forward to Paris.

8 Sept. Two of my kinsmen came from Paris to this place, where I settled them in their pension and exercises.

14. We tooke post for Richlieu, passing by l'Isle Bouchart, a village.—15. We ariv'd at the Towne, and went to see the Cardinal's Palace neare it. The Towne is in a low, marshy ground, having a small river cut by hand, very even and strait, capable of bringing up a small vessell. It consists of onely one considerable streete, the houses on both sides (as indeed throughout the towne) built exactly uniforme, after a modern handsome designe. It has a large goodly Market-house and Place, opposite to which is the Church built of free-stone, having two pyramids of stone, which stand hollow from the towers. The Church is well-built, of a well-ordered architecture, handsomely pav'd and adorn'd. To this towne belongs an Academy, where, besides the exercise of the horse, armes, dauncing, &c. all the sciences are taught in the vulgar French by Professors stipendiated by the greate Cardinal, who by this, the cheape living there, and divers priviledges, not only design'd the improvement of the vulgar language, but to draw people and strangers to the towne; but since the Cardinal's death it is thinly inhabited, standing so much out of the way, and in a place not well situated for health or pleasure. He was allured to build by the name of the place, and an old house there belonging to his ancestors. This pretty town is handsomely wall'd about & moated, with a kind of slight fortification, two faire gates & draw-bridges. Before the gate towards the Palace is a spacious circle, where the Faire is annually kept. About a flite-shot from the towne is the Cardinal's house, a princely pile, tho' on an old designe, not altogether Gotiq, but mix'd, inviron'd by a cleare moate. The roomes are stately, most richly furnish'd with tissue, damask, aras, and velvet, pictures, statues, vases, & all sorts of antiquities, especialy the Cæsars in oriental alabaster. The long gallery is paynted with the famous acts of the Founder; the rooffe with the life of Julius Cæsar; at the end of it is a Cupola or singing theatre, supported by very stately pillars of black marble. The Chapell anciently belonging to the family of the Founder. The Court is very ample. The Gardens without are very large, and the parterres

of excellent imbrodry, set with many statues of brasse and marble; the groves, meadows, and walkes are a real paradise.

16. We return'd to Tours, from whence, after 19 weekes sojourne, we went towards the more Southern parte of France, minding now to shape my course so as I might winter in Italy.

16 Sept. With my friend Mr. Thicknesse and our guide we went the first day 7 leagues to a castle called Chenonceaux, built by Cath. de Medici, and now belonging to the Duke of Vendosme, standing on a bridg. In the gallery, amongst divers other excellent statues, is that of Scipio Africanus, of oriental alabaster.

21st. We pass'd by Ville Franche, where we din'd, and so by Muneton, lying at Viaron au mouton, which was 20 leagues. The next day by Murg to Bourges, 4 leagues, where we spent the day. This is the capital of Berry, an University much frequented by the Dutch, situated on the River Eure. It stands high, is strong, & well placed for defence. It is inviron'd with meadows and vines; the living here is very cheap. In the suburbs of St. Prie there is a fountaine of sharp water which they report wholesome against the stone. They shew'd us a vast tree which they say stands in the center of France. The French tongue is spoken with great purity in this place. St. Stephen's Church is the Cathedrall, well built *à la Gotic*, full of sepulchres without-side, with the representation of the final judgment over one of the ports. Here they shew the Chapel of Claude de la Chastre, a famous souldier who had serv'd six Kings of France in their warrs.

St Chapell is built much like that at Paris, full of reliques, and the bones of one Briat, a gyant of 15 cubits high. This was built by John Duke of Berry, and they shew'd the coronet of the dukedom. The great tour is a Pharos for defence of the towne, very strong, in thicknesse 18 foote, fortified with a graff and workes; there is a garri-son in it, and a strange engine for throwing great stones, and the yron Cage where Lewes Duke of Orleans was kept by Charles VIII. Neere the Town-house stands the Colledge of Jesuites, where was heretofore an Amphitheatre. I was courteously entertayned by a Jesuit, who had us into the garden. The house of Jaques Coeur is worth seeing. Bourges is an Archbishopric, Primate of Aquitain. I tooke my leave of Mr. Nicholas and some other English there; and on the 23d proceeded on my journey by Pont du Charge; and lay that evening at Coulaiure, 13 leagues.

24, by Franchede St. Menou, thence to Moulins where we din'd. This is the chiefe towne of the Bourbonois, on the river Allier very navigable. The streetes are faire; the Castle has a noble prospect, and has been the seat of the Dukes. Here is a pretty parke and garden. After dinner came many who offered knives and scissars to sell, it being a towne famous for those trifles. This Dutchy of Bourbon is ordinarily assigned for the dowry of the Queenes of France.

Hence we tooke horse for Varenne, an obscure village, where we lay that night. The next day we went somewhat out of the way to see the towne of Bourbon l'Archambaut, from whose ancient and ragged castle is deriv'd the name of the present Royal Family of France. The castle stands on a flinty rock, overlooking the towne. In the midst of the streetes are some bathes of medicinal waters, some of them excessively hot, but nothing so neatly wall'd & adorn'd as ours in Som'ersetshire ; and indeede they are chiefly for drinking, *our Queen* being then lodged there for that purpose. After dinner I went to see the St. Chapel, a prime place of devotion, where is kept one of the thornes of our Saviour's crowne, & a piece of the real crosse ; excellent paintings on glasse, and some few statues of stone and wood, which they show for curiosities. We went forward to Palisse, a village that lodged us that night.

26 Sept. We ariv'd at Roan, where we quitted our guide and tooke post for Lions. Roan seem'd to me one of the pleasantest and most agreeable places imaginable for a retyred person : besides the situation on the Loire, there are excellent provisions cheape and abundant.

It being late when we left this towne, we rode no farther than Tarrare that night (passing St. Saforin), a little desolate village in a vally near a pleasant streame, encompass'd with fresh meadows and vineyards. The hills which we rod over before we descended, and afterwards on the Lions side of this place, are high and mountainous ; fir and pines grow frequently on them. The ayre methought was much alter'd, as well as the manner of the houses, which are built flatter, more after the Easterne manner. Before I went to bed I tooke a landskip of this pleasant terrace. There followed a most violent tempest of thunder and lightning.

27. We rod by Pont Charu to Lions, which being but six leagues we soone accomplish'd it, having made 85 leagues from Toures in seven days. There at the Golden Lion, rue de Flandre, I met divers of my acquaintance, who coming from Paris, design'd for Italy. We lost no time in seeing the Citty, because of being ready to accompany these gentlemen in their journey.

Lions is excellently situated on the confluence of the rivers Soane and Rhodanus, which wash the walls of the Citty in a very rapid streame ; each of these has its bridg ; that over the Rhone consists of 28 arches. The two high cliffs called St. Just and St. Sebastian are very stately ; on one of them stands a strong fort, garrison'd. We vissited the Cathedrall, St. Jean, where was one of the fairest clockes for art and buisy invention I had ever seene. The fabriq of the Church is Gothic, as are likewise those of St. Estienne and St. Croix. From the top of one of the towers of St. Jean (for it has 4) we beheld the whole citty and country, with a prospect reaching to the Alpes, many

leagues distant. The Archbishop's Palace is fairely built. The Church of St. Niser is the greatest; that of the Jacobins is well built. Here are divers other fine Churches, with other noble buildings. We went to that of the Charité, or greate Hospitall for poor infirme people, entertaining about 1500, with a *school*, granary, gardens, and all conveniences, maintained at a wonderful expence, worthy seeing. The place of the Belle Court is very spacious, observable for the view it affords, so various and agreeable, of hills, rocks, vineyards, gardens, precipices, and other advantages, presenting themselves together. The *Pall Mall* is sett with faire trees. This stately, cleane and noble Citty built all of stone, abounds in persons of quality and rich merchants. Those of Florence obtain greate privileges above the rest. In the Towne-house they shew 2 tables of brass on which is engraven Claudius's speech to the Senat as to giving the Towne the Roman priviledges. There are also other antiquities.

30 Sept. We bargain'd with a waterman to carry us to Avignon on the river, and got the first night to Vienne in Dauphiné. This is an Archbishoprick, and the Province gives title to the Heir Apparent of France. Here we supped and lay, having amongst other dainties, a dish of truffles, an earth nut, found out by an hogg train'd to it, and for which those animals are sold at a great price.\* We were shew'd the ruines of an Amphitheatre pretty entire; and many handsome Palaces, especialy that of Pontius Pilate not far from the towne, at the foote of a solitary mountain neere the river, having 4 pinnacles. Here 'tis reported he pass'd his exile, and precipitated himselfe into the lake not far from it. The house is modern, and seemes to be the seate of some gentleman, being in a very pleasant place. The Cathedral of Vienne is St. Maurice; and there are many other pretty buildings, but nothing more so than the Mills where they hammer and polish the sword-blades.

Hence the next morning we swam (for the river here is so rapid that the boat was only steered) to a small village called Tain, where we dyn'd.

Over against this is another towne named Tournon, where is a very strong castle under a high precipice. To the castle joynes the Jesuits Colledge where they have a fayre library. The prospect was so tempting that I designed it with my crayon.

We then came to Valence, a capital Citty carrying the title of a Dutchy, but the Bishop is now sole lord temporal of it and the country about it. The towne having an University famous for the study of the civil law, is much frequented; but the Churches are none of the fairest, having been greatly defaced in the time of the warrs. The streets are full of pretty fountaines. The Citadell is strong and garrison'd. Here we pass'd the night. The next morning by Pont St.

\* In England they are found by dogs.

Esprit, which consists of 22 arches ; in the piers of the arches are windowes as it were, to receive the water when it is high and full. At this place we went on shore, it being very dangerous to passe the bridg in a boat.

Hence leaving our barg. we tooke horse, seing at a distance the Towne and Principality of Orange, and lodging one night on the way we ariv'd at noone at Avignon. This towne has belonged to the Popes ever since the time of Clement VI. being in 1352 alienated by Jane Queene of Naples and Sicily. Entering the gates the soldiers at the guard tooke our pistols and carbines, and examin'd us very strictly ; after that, having obtain'd the Governor's leave and the Vice-Legat's to tarry three days, we were civilly conducted to our lodging. The City is on the Rhodanus, and divided from the newer part or towne, which is on the other side of the river, by a very faire stone bridge (which has been broken) ; at one end is a very high rock, on which is a strong castle well furnish'd with artillery. The walls of the City are of large square free-stone, the most neate and best in repaire I ever saw. It is full of well-built Palaces ; those of the Vice-Legat and Archbishop being the most magnificent. There are many sumptuous Churches, especially St. Magdalene and St. Martial, wherein [the tomb of] the Cardinal d'Amboise is the most observable. Clement VI. lies buried in that of the Celestines, the altar whereof is exceeding rich. There is the tomb of Laura the celebrated mistress of Petrarch. We saw the Arsenal, the Pope's Palace, and the Synagogue of the Jewes who here are distinguished by red hats. Vaucluse, so much renowned for the solitude of Petrarch, we beheld from the Castle, but could not go to visit it for want of time. We now took mules and a guide for Marseilles.

30 Sept. We lay at Loumas ; the next morning came to Aix, having pass'd that extremely rapid and dangerous river of Durance. In this tract all the heathes or com'ons are cover'd with rosemary, lavender, lentiscs, and the like sweet shrubes, for many miles together, which to me was very pleasant. Aix is the chiefe City of Provence, being a Parliament and Presidential Town, with other Royal Courts and Metropolitan jurisdiction. It is well built, the houses very high and the streetes ample. The Cathedrall, St. Saviour's, is a noble pile adorn'd with innumerable figures especialy that of St. Michael ; the Baptisterie, the Palace, the Court, built in a most spacious Piazza, are very faire. The Duke of Guise's house is worth seeing, being furnished with many antiquities in and about it. The Jesuites have here a Royal Colledge, and the City is an University.

7 Oct. We had a most delicious journey to Marseilles, thro' a country sweetely declining to the South and Mediterranean coasts, full of vine-yards and olive-yards, orange trees, myrtles, pomegranads, and the like sweete plantations, to which belong pleasantly-situated

villas to the number of above 1500 built all of freestone, and in prospect shewing as if they were so many heapes of snow dropp'd out of the clouds amongst those perennial greens. It was almost at the shutting of the gates that we arived. Marseilles is on the sea coast, on a pleasant rising ground, well walled, with an excellent port for ships and gallys, secur'd by a huge chayne of yron drawn across the harbour at pleasure, and there is a well-fortified tower with 3 other forts, especialy that built on a rock; but the castle commanding the Citty is that of Nostre dame de la Guard. In the Chapel hung up divers crocodiles skinns.

We went to visite the Gallys, being about 25; the Captaine of the Gally Royal gave us most courteous entertainment in his cabine, the slaves in the interim playing both loud and soft musiq very rarely. Then he shew'd us how he commanded their motions with a nod and his whistle, making them row out. The spectacle was to me new and strange, to see so many hundreds of miserably naked persons, having their heads shaven close and having onely high red bonnets, a payre of course canvas drawers, their whole backs and leggs naked, doubly chayn'd about their middle and leggs, in couples, and made fast to their seates, and all commanded in a trise by an imperious and cruell seaman. One Turke he much favor'd, who waited on him in his cabin, but with no other dress than the rest, and a chayne lock'd about his leg but not coupled. This gally was richly carv'd and gilded, and most of the rest were very beautifull. After bestowing something on the slaves, the captain sent a band of them to give us musiq at dinner where we lodged. I was amaz'd to contemplate how these miserable catyfs lie in their gally crowded together, yet there was hardly one but had some occupation by which, as leisure and calmes permitted, they gat some little monye, insomuch as some of them have, after many yeares of cruel servitude, been able to purchase their liberty. Their rising forward and falling back at their oare is a miserable spectacle, and the noyse of their chaines with the roaring of the beaten waters has something of strange and fearfull to one unaccustom'd to it. They are rul'd and chastiz'd by strokes on their backs and soles of their feete on the least disorder, and without the least humanity; yet are they chereful and full of knavery.

In the church of St. Victoire is that Saint's head in a shrine of silver which weighs 600 lb. Nostre Dame is well built; it is the Cathedrall. The Duke of Guyse has a Palace: there is the Palais of Justice, the Maison du Roy, but nothing is more strange than the great number of slaves working in the streets, and carrying burthens, with their confus'd noises and gingling of their huge chaynes. The cheife trade of the towne is in silks and drougs out of Africa, Syria, and Egypt, and Barbary horses which are brought hither in great numbers. The towne is govern'd by 4 Captaines, has three Consuls and one Assessor, three

Judges Royal ; the Merchants have a Judge for ordinary causes. Here we bought umbrellas against the heats, and consulted of our journey to Canes by land, for feare of the Pickaron Turkes, who make prize of many small vessels about these parts, we not finding a gally bound for Genoa, whither we were design'd.

9 Oct. We tooke mules, passing the first night very late in sight of St. Baume, and the solitary grott where they affirme Mary Magdalen did her pennance. The next day we lay at Perigueux, a Citty built on an old foundation, witnesse the ruines of a most stately amphitheater which I went out to design, being about a flight shoote from the Towne ; they call it now the Rolsies. There is a strong towre neere the Towne call'd the Visone, but the Towne and Citty are at some distance from each other. It is a bishoprick ; has a Cathedral ; with divers noble-men's houses in sight of the sea. The place was formerly call'd Forum Julij, well known by Antiquaries.

10 Oct. We proceeded by the ruines of a stately aqueduct. The soile about the Country is rocky, full of pines and rare simples.

11. We lay at Canes, which is a small Port on the Mediterranean ; here we agreed with a seaman to carry us to Genoa, and having procur'd a bill of health (without which there is no admission at any towne in Italy,) we embarq'd on the 12th. We touched at the Islands of St. Margaret and St. Honore, lately retaken from the Spanyards with great bravery by Prince Harcourt. Here, having payd some small duty, we bought some trifles offer'd us by the souldiers, but without going on shore. Hence we coasted within 2 leagues of Antibes, which is the utmost towne in France. Thence by Nice, a Citty in Savoy built all of brick, which gives it a very pleasant appearance towards the sea, having a castle built very high, which com'ands it. We sailed by Morgus, now cal'd Monaco, having passed Villa Franca, heretofore Portus Herculis, when, ariving after the gates were shut, we were forc'd to abide all night in the barg, which was put into the haven the wind coming contrary. In the morning we were hastned away, having no time permitted us by our avaricious master to go up and see this strong and considerable place ; it now belongs to a Prince of the family of Grimaldi, of Genoa, who has put both it and himself under the protection of the French. The situation is on a promontory of solid stone and rock. The towne walls very fayre. We were told that within it was an ample court, and a palace, furnish'd with the most rich and princely moveables, and a collection of statues, pictures, and massie plate to an immense amount.

We sailed by Menton and Vintimiglia, being the first Citty of the Republiq of Genoa : supp'd at Oneglia, where we anker'd and lay on shore. The next morning we coasted in view of the Isle of Corsica and St. Remo, where the shore is furnish'd with evergreens, oranges, citrons, and date-trees ; we lay at Fort Mauritio. The next morning

by Diano Aroisso, famous for the best corral fishing, it growing in abundance on the rocks deepe and continually covered by the sea. By Albenga and Finale a very faire and strong towne belonging to the King of Spain, for which reason a Monsieur in our vessell was extremely afraide, as was the patron of our barke, for they frequently catch French prizes as they creepe by these shores to go into Italy ; he therefore ply'd both sayles and oars to get under the protection of a Genoese gally that pass'd not far before us, and in whose company we sayl'd as far as the Cape of Savona, a towne built at the rise of the Apennines ; for all this coast (except a little at St. Remo) is an high and steepe mountainous ground consisting all of rock marble, without any grasse, tree, or rivage, formidable to looke on. A strange object it is to consider how some poore cottages stand fast on the declivities of these precipices, and by what steps the inhabitants ascend to them. The rocks consist of all sorts of the most precious marbles.

Here, on the 15th, forsaking our gally, we encounter'd a little foule weather, which made us creepe *Terra, Terra*, as they call it, and so a vessell that encounter'd us advised us to do ; but our Patron, striving to double the point of Savona, making out into the wind put us into great hazard, for blowing very hard from land betwixt those horrid gapps of the mountaines, it set so violently as rais'd on the sudden so great a sea that we could not recover the weather shore for many houres, insomuch that, what with the water already enter'd, and the confusion of fearful passengers (of which one who was an Irish Bishop, and his brother, a priest, were confessing some as at the article of death), we were almost abandon'd to despaire, our pilot himselfe giving us up for lost. And now, as we were weary with pumping and laving out the water, almost sinking, it pleas'd God on the suddaine to appease the wind, and with much ado and greate perill we recover'd the shore, which we now kept in view within halfe a league, in sight of those pleasant villas, and within scent of those fragrant orchards which are on this coast, full of princely retirements for the sumptuousnesse of their buildings and noblesse of the plantations, especialy those at St. Pietro d'Arena, from whence, the wind blowing as it did, might perfectly be smelt the joys of Italy in the perfumes of orange, citron, and jassmine flowers for divers leagues seaward.<sup>1</sup>

16 Oct. We got to anker under the Pharos, or watch-tower, built on a high rock at the mouth of the Mole of Genoa, the weather being still so fowle that for two houres at least we durst not stand into the haven. Towards evening we adventured, and came on shore by the Prattiq-house, where, after strict examination by the Syndics, we were had to the Ducal Palace, and there, our names being taken, we were conducted to our inne kept by one Zacharias an Englishman.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Evelyn was so struck with the circumstance of the fragrancy of the air on this coast, that he has noticed it again in his Dedication of the Fumifugium to Charles II.

I shall never forget a story of our host Zachary, who on the relation of our perill told us another of his owne, being shipwreck'd, as he affirm'd solemnly, in the middle of a greate sea somewhere in the West Indies, that he swam no lesse than 22 leagues to another island, with a tinder-box wraped up in his hayre, which was not so much as wett all the way ; that picking up the carpenter's tooles with other provisions in a chest, he and the carpenter, who accompany'd him, (good swimmers it seemes both) floated the chest before them, and ariving at last in a place full of wood, they built another vessell and so escaped. After this story we no more talked of our danger, Zachary put us quite downe.

17 Oct. Accompany'd by a most courteous merchand call'd Tomson, we went to view the rarities. The Citty is built in the hollow or bosom of a mountaine, whose ascent is very steepe, high, and rocky, so that, from the Lantern and Mole to the hill, it represents the shape of a theater ; the streetes and buildings so ranged one above another as our seates are in play-houses ; but, from their materials, beauty, and structure, never was an artificial scene more beautiful to the eye, nor is any place, for the size of it, so full of well-design'd and stately palaces, as may be easily concluded by that rare booke in a large folio which the great virtuoso and paynter Paull Rubens has published, tho' it contains [the description of] only one streete and 2 or 3 churches.

The first Palace we went to visit was that of Hieronymo del Negros, to which we pass'd by boate acrossse the harbour. Here I could not but observe the sudden and devilish passion of a seaman, who plying us was intercepted by another who interpos'd his boate before him and tooke us in ; for the teares gushing out of his eyes, he put his finger in his mouth and almost bit it off by the joynt, shewing it to his antagonist as an assurance to him of some bloody revenge if ever he came neere that part of the harbour again. Indeed this beautifull Citty is more stayn'd with such horrid acts of revenge and murthers than any one place in Europ, or haply in the world, where there is a political government, which makes it unsafe to strangers. It is made a gally matter to carry a knife whose point is not broken off.

This Palace of Negros is richly furnish'd with the rarest pictures ; on the terrace, or hilly garden, there is a grove of stately trees amongst which are sheepe, shepherds, and wild beasts, cut very artificially in a grey stone ; fountaines, rocks, and fish-ponds : casting your eyes one way, you would imagine yourselfe in a wilderness and silent country ; sideways, in the heart of a great citty ; and backwards, in the middst of the sea. All this is within one acre of ground. In the house I noticed those red-plaster flores which are made so hard, and kept so polished, that for some time one would take them for whole pieces of porphyrie. I have frequently wonder'd that we never practic'd this in England for cabinets and rooms of state,<sup>1</sup> for it appears to me beyond

<sup>1</sup> There are such at Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, a seat of the Duke of Devonshire.

any invention of that kind ; but by their carefull covering them with canvas and fine mattresses, where there is much passage, I suppose they are not lasting in their glory.

There are numerous other Palaces of particular curiosities, for the merchants being very rich have, like our neighbours the Hollanders, little or no extent of ground to employ their estates in : as those in pictures and hangings, so these lay it out on marble houses and rich furniture.

One of the greatest here for circuit is that of the Prince d'Orias, which reaches from the sea to the sum'it of the mountaines. The house is most magnificently built without, nor less gloriously furnish'd within, having whole tables<sup>1</sup> and bedsteads of massy silver, many of them sett with achates, onyxes, cornelians, lazulis, pearls, turquizes, and other precious stones. The pictures and statues are innumerable. To this Palace belong three gardens, the first whereof is beautified with a terrace, supported by pillars of marble ; there is a fountaine of eagles, and one of Neptune with other Sea-gods, all of the purest white marble ; they stand in a most ample basine of the same stone. At the side of this garden is such an aviary as Sir Fra. Bacon describes in his *Sermones fidelium*, or Essays, wherein grow trees of more than two foote diameter, besides cypresse, myrtles, lentiscs, and other rare shrubs, which serve to nestle and perch all sorts of birds, who have ayre and place enough under their ayrie canopy, supported with huge iron worke, stupendious for its fabrick and the charge. The other two gardens are full of orange-trees, citrons, and pomegranads, fountains, grotts, and statues ; one of the latter is a Colossal Jupiter, under which is the sepulchre of a beloved dog, for the care of which one of this family receiv'd of the K. of Spaine 500 crownes a yeare during the life of that faithfull animal. The reservoir of water here is a most admirable piece of art ; and so is the grotto over against it.

We went thence to the Palace of the Dukes, where is also the Court of Justice ; thence to the Merchants Walke, rarely covered. Neere the Ducal Palace we saw the publiq armoury, which was almost all new, most neatly kept and order'd, sufficient for 30,000 men. We were shew'd many rare inventions and engines of warr peculiar to that armory, as in the state where gunns were first put in use. The garrison of the towne chiefly consists of Germans and Corsicans. The famous Strada Nova, built wholly of polish'd marble, was design'd by Rubens, and for statelinessse of the buildings, paving, and evennesse of the streete, is far superior to any in Európe, for the number of houses ; that of Doñ Carlo d'Orias is a most magnificent structure. In the gardens of the old Marquiss Spinola I saw huge citrons hanging on the trees, apply'd like our apricots to the walls. The Churches are no less

<sup>1</sup> One of which, Lassells says, weighed 24,000 lbs.

splendid than the Palaces : than of St. Francis is wholly built of Parian marble ; St. Lawrence, in the middle of the City, of white and black polish'd stone, the inside wholly incrust'd with marble and other precious materials ; on the altar of St. John stand 4 sumptuous columns of porphyry ; and here we were shew'd an emerald supposed to be one of the largest in the world.<sup>1</sup> The Church of St. Ambrosio belonging to the Jesuites will, when finish'd, exceed all the rest. That of the Annunciada, founded at the charges of one family,<sup>2</sup> in the present and future designe can never be outdone for cost and art. The Mole is a worke of solid huge stone stretching neere 600 paces into the main sea, and secures the harbour, heretofore of no safety. Of all the wonders of Italy, for the art and nature of the designe, nothing parallels this.<sup>3</sup> We pass'd over to the Pharos, or Lantern, a towre of very great height. Here we tooke horses and made the circuite of the Citty as far as the new walles would let us ; they are built of a prodigious height, and with Herculean industry, witnesse those vast pieces of whole mountaines which they have hewn away, and blown up with gunpowder, to render them steepe and inaccessible. They are not much lesse than<sup>4</sup> 20 English miles in extent, reaching beyond the utmost buildings of the Citty. From one of these promontories we could easily discern the Island of Corsica ; and from the same, Eastward, we saw a Vale having a great torrent running thro' a most desolate barren country ; and then turning our eyes more Northward we saw those delicious Villas of St. Pietro d'Arena, which present another Genoa to you, the ravishing retirements of the Genoese nobility. Hence, with much paine, we descended towards the Arsenale, where the gallies lie in excellent order.

The inhabitants of this City are much affected to the Spanish mode and stately garbe.<sup>5</sup> From the narrowness of the streetes they use sedans and litters, and not coaches.

19 Oct. We embarked in a filuca for Ligorne [Leghorn], but the sea running very high we put in at Porta Venere, which we made with peril, between 2 narrow horrid rocks, against which the sea dashed with great velocity ; but we were soone delivered into as great a calme and a most ample harbour, being the Golpho di Spetia. From hence we

<sup>1</sup> Lassells calls it a great dish, in which they say here that our Saviour ate the Paschal Lamb with his Disciples ; but he adds that he finds no authority for it in any ancient writer, and that Venerable Bede writes that the dish used by our Saviour was of silver. Of an authentic relic of St. John he observes that Baronius writes credibly.

<sup>2</sup> Two brothers, named Lomellini, allow the third part of their gains. Lassells.

<sup>3</sup> The Break-water now (1816) forming at Plymouth is at least as stupendous a work.

<sup>4</sup> Lassells says, finished in 18 months, and yet 6 miles in compass.

<sup>5</sup> Thus described by Lassells : broad hats without hatbands, broad leather girdles with steel buckles, narrow britches with long-waisted doublets and hanging sleeves. The great ladies go in guard infant's (child preservers) ; that is, in horrible overgrown vertigals of whalebone, which being put about the waiste of the lady, and full as broad on both sides as she can reach with her hands, bear out her coats in such a manner that she appears to be as broad as long. The men look like tumblers that leap thro' hoops, and the women like those that anciently danced the Hobby-horse in country mummings.

could see Pliny's *Delphini Promontorium*, now call'd Cap fino. Here stood that famous City of Luna, whence the Port was named *Lunaris*, being about 2 leagues over, more resembling a lake than an haven, but defended by castles and excessive high mountaines. We landed at Larici, where, being Sunday, was a great procession, carrying the Sacrament about the streetes in solemn devotion. After dinner we took post horses, passing through whole groves of olive-trees, the way somewhat rugged and hilly at first, but afterwards pleasant. We passed thro' the townes of Sarazana and Massa, and the vast marble quarries of Carrara, and lodged in an obscure inn at a place called Viregio. The next morning we ariv'd at Pisa, where I met my old friend Mr. Thomas Henshaw, who was then newly come out of Spaine, and from whose company I never parted till more than a yeare after.

The City of Pisa is as much worth seeing as any in Italy ; it has contended with Rome, Florence, Sardinia, Sicily, and even Carthage. The Palace and Church of St. Stephano (where the order of knighthood called by that name was instituted) drew first our curiosity, the outside thereof being altogether of polish'd marble ; within it is full of tables relating to this order ; over which hang divers banners and pendants, with other trophies taken by them from the Turkes, against whom they are particularly oblig'd to fight ; tho' a religious order, they are permitted to marry. At the front of the Palace stands a fountaine, and the statue of the greate Duke Cosmo. The Campanile, or Settezonio, built by John Venipont, a German, consists of several orders of pillars, 30 in a row, design'd to be much higher. It stands alone on the right side of the Cathedrall, strangely remarkable for this, that the beholder would expect it to fall, being built exceedingly declining, by a rare addresse of the architect ; and how it is supported from falling I think would puzzle a good geometrician. The Domo, or Cathedrall, standing neere it, is a superb structure, beautified with 6 columns of greate antiquity ; the gates are of brasse, of admirable workmanship. The Cemeterie cal'd Campo Santo is made of divers gally ladings of earth formerly brought from Jerusalem, said to be of such a nature as to consume dead bodies in fourty houres. 'Tis cloistred with marble arches ; here lies buried the learned Philip Decius who taught in this University. At one side of this Church stands an ample and well-wrought marble vessell which heretofore contain'd the tribute paid yearly by the Citty to Cæsar. It is plac'd, as I remember, on a pillar of opilestone, with divers other antiq urnes. Neere this, and in the same field, is the Baptistery of San Giovanni, built of pure white marble and cover'd with so artificial a cupola that the voice uttered under it seemes to breake out of a cloud. The font and pulpit supported by 4 lyons is of inestimable value for the preciousnesse of the materials. The place where these buildings stand they call the Area. Hence we went to the Colledge, to which joynes a

Gallery so furnish'd with natural rarities, stones, minerals, shells, dry'd animals, skeletons, &c. as is hardly to be seen in Italy. To this the Physiq Garden lyes, where is a noble palm-tree and very fine water-workes. The river Arno runs through the middle of this stately Citye, whence the streete is named Longarno. It is so ample that the Duke's gallys, built in the Arsenal here, are easily conveyed to Livorno; over the river is an arch, the like of which, for its flatness, and serving for a bridge, is no where in Europ. The Duke has a stately Palace, before which is placed the statue of Ferdinand the Third; over against it is the Exchange, built of marble. Since this Citty came to be under the Dukes of Tuscany it has been much depopulated, tho' there is hardly in Italy any which exceeds it for stately edifices. The situation of it is low and flat, but the inhabitants have spacious gardens and even fields within the walls.

21 Oct. We tooke coach to Livorno, thro' the Great Duke's new Parke full of huge corke-trees, the underwood all myrtils, amongst which were many buffalos feeding, a kind of wild ox, short-nos'd, with hornes revers'd; those who worke with them com'and them as our bearewards do the beares, with a ring thro' the nose, and a cord. Much of this Parke, as well as a greate parte of the country about it, is very fenny, and the ayre very bad.

Ligorne is the prime Port belonging to all the Duke's territories; heretofore a very obscure Towne, but since Duke Ferdinand has strongly fortified it (after the modern way), has drain'd the marshes by cutting a channell thence to Pisa navigable 16 miles, and has rais'd a Mole, emulating that at Genoa, to secure the shipping, it is become a place of great receipt: it has also a place for the gallys, where they lye safe. Before the sea is an ample Piazza for the market, where are the statues in copper of the fower slaves, much exceeding the life for proportion, and, in the judgment of most artists, one of the best pieces of modern worke.<sup>1</sup> Here, especialy in this Piazza, is such a concourse of slaves, Turkes, Mores, and other nations, that the number and confusion is prodigious; some buying, others selling, others drinking, others playing, some working, others sleeping, fighting, singing, weeping, all nearly naked, and miserably chayn'd. Here was a tent, where any idle fellow might stake his liberty against a few crownes, at dice or other hazard, and, if he lost, he was immediately chayn'd and led away to the gallys, where he was to serve a tearm of yeares, but from whence they seldom return'd: many sottish persons in a drunken bravado would try their fortune in this way.

The houses of this neate Towne are very uniforme, and excellently paynted *a fresca* on the outer walls with representations of many of their victories over the Turkes. The houses, though low on account

<sup>1</sup> They had attempted to steal a galley, meaning to have rowed it themselves, but were taken in this great enterprise.

of the earthquakes which frequently happen here (as did one during my being in Italy) are very well built; the Piazza is very fayre and com'odious, and with the Church whose 4 columns at the portico are of black marble polish'd, gave the first hint to the building both of the Church and Piazza in Covent Garden with us, tho' very imperfectly persu'd.

22 Oct. From Livorno I took coach to Empoly, where we lay, and the next day arriv'd at Florence, being recommended to the house of Sig. Baritiere, in the Piazza dal Spirito Santo, where we were exceedingly well treated. Florence is at the foot of the Appenines, the West part full of stately groves and pleasant meadows, beautified with more than a thousand houses and country palaces of note, belonging to gentlemen of the towne. The river Arno runs through this Citty, in a broad but very shallow channell, dividing it, as it were, in the middle; and over it are fower most sumptuous bridges of stone. On that nearest to our quarter are the 4 Seasons in white marble; on another are the goldsmiths shops; at the head of the former stands a column of opite on which is a statue of Justice with her balance and sword, cut out of porphyrie, and the more remarkable for being the first which had been carved out of that hard material, and brought to perfection after the art had been utterly lost; they say this was done by hardening the tools in the juice of certaine herbs. This statue was erected in that corner because there Cosmo was first saluted with the newes of Sienna being taken.

Neere this is the famous Palazzo di Strozzi, a princely piece of architecture, in a rustiq manner. The Palace of Pitti was built by that family, but of late greatly beautified by Cosmo with huge square stones of the Doric, Ionic, and the Corinthian orders, with a terrace at each side having rustic uncut balustrades, with a fountain that ends in a cascade seen from the great gate, and so forming a vista to the gardens. Nothing is more admirable than the vacant stayrecase, marbles, statues, urnes, pictures, courte, grotto, and waterworkes. In the quadrangle is a huge jetto of water in a volto of 4 faces, with noble statues at each square, especialy the Diana of porphyrie above the grotto. We were here shew'd a prodigious greate load-stone.

The garden has every variety, hills, dales, rocks, groves, aviaries, vivaries, fountaines, especialy one of five jettos, the middle basin being one of the longest stones I ever saw. Here is every thing to make such a paradise delightfull. In the garden I saw a rose grafted on an orange-tree. There was much topiary worke, and columns in architecture about the hedges. The Duke has added an ample laboratorye, over against which stands a Fort on a hill where they told us his treasure is kept. In this Palace the Duke ordinarily resides, living with his Swiss guards, after the frugal Italian way, and even selling what he can spare of his wines, at the cellar under his very house, wicker

bottles dangling over even the chiefe entrance into the Palace, serving for a vintner's bush.

In the church of Santo Spirito the altar and reliquary are most rich, full of precious stones ; there are 4 pillars of a kind of serpentine, and some of blue. Hence we went to another Palace of the Duke's, called Palazzo Vecchio, before which is a statue of David by Michael Angelo, and one of Hercules killing Cacus, the work of Baccio Bandinelli. The quadrangle about this is of the Corinthian order, and in the hall are many rare marbles, as those of Leo the Tenth and Clement VII. both Popes of the Medicean family ; also the acts of Cosmo in rare painting. In the Chapell is kept (as they would make one believe) the original Gospel of St. John, written with his owne hand ; and the famous Florentine Pandects, and divers precious stones. Neere it is another pendant Towre like that at Pisa, always threatning ruine.

Under the Court of Justice is a stately Arcade for men to walke in, and over that the shops of divers rare artists who continually worke for the great Duke. Above this is that renowned Ceimeliarcha, or Repository, wherein are hundreds of admirable antiquities, statues of marble and mettall, vases of porphyrie, &c. ; but amongst the statues none so famous as the Scipio, Boare, the Idol of Apollo brought from the Delphic Temple, and two triumphant columnes. Over these hang the pictures of the most famous persons and illustrious men in arts or armes, to the number of 300, taken out of the Museum of Paulus Jovius. They then led us into a large square roome in the middle of which stood a Cabinet of an octangular forme, so adorn'd and furnish'd with christals, achat, sculptures, &c. as exceeds any description. This cabinet is called the *Tribuna*, and in it is a pearle as big as a hazale nut.<sup>1</sup> The cabinet is of ebonie, lazuli, and jasper ; over the door is a round of M. Angelo ; in the cabinet, *Leo the Tenth*, with other paintings of Raphael, del Sarto, Perugino, and Correggio, viz. a *St. John*, a *Virgin*, a *Boy*, 2 *Apostles*, 2 Heads of Durer rarely carved. Over this cabinet is a Globe of ivory, excellently carved ; the Labours of Hercules in massy silver, and many incomparable pictures in small. There is another, which had about it 8 oriental columnes of alabaster, on each whereof was placed a head of a Cæsar, cover'd with a canopy so richly set with precious stones that they resembled a firmament of starrs. Within it was our Saviour's Passion and 12 Apostles in amber. This cabinet was valued at two hundred thousand crownes. In another, with Calcidon pillars, was a series of golden medaills. Here is also another rich ebony Cabinet cupola'd with a tortoise-shell and containing a collection of gold medaills esteem'd worth 50,000 crownes ; a wreathed pillar of oriental alabaster, divers paintings of

<sup>1</sup> Sir Gore Ouseley brought from Persia a picture of the Khan, now (1816) in his house in Bruton-street, on whose dress are represented pearls of such a size as to make the one here spoken of very insignificant.

Da Vinci, Pontorno, del Sarto, an *Ecce Homo* of Titian, a *Boy* of Bronzini, &c. They shew'd us a branch of corall fixed on the rock which they affirme dos still grow. In another roome is kept the Tabernacle appointed for the Chapel of St. Lawrence, about which are placed small statues of Saints, of precious materials ; a piece of such art and cost, that, having been these 40 years in perfecting, it is one of the most curious things in the world. Here were divers tables of Pietra Comessa, which is a marble ground inlay'd with severall sorts of marbles and stones of various colours, representing flowers, trees, beasts, birds, and landskips. In one is represented the town of Ligorne by the same hand who inlay'd the altar of St. Lawrence, Domenico Benotti. I purchased of him 19 pieces of the same worke for a cabinet. In a presse neere this they shew'd an yron nayle, one halfe whereof being converted into gold by one Thornheuser, a German chymist, is look'd on as a greate rarity, but it plainly appeared to have been soldered together. There is a curious watch, a monstrous turquoise as big as an egg, on which is carved an emperor's head.

In the Armory are kept many antiq habits, as those of Chinese kings ; the sword of Charlemain ; Hannibal's head-piece ; a loadstone of a yard long, which bears up 86 lbs. weight, in a chaine of 17 links, such as the slaves are tied to. In another roome are such rare tourneries in ivory as are not to be described for their curiosity. There is a faire pillar of oriental alabaster ; 12 vast and compleate services of silver plate, and one of gold, all of excellent workmanship ; a rich embrodred saddle of pearls sent by the Emperor to this Duke ; and here is that embrodred chaire set with precious stones in which he sits, when, on St. John's Day, he receives the tribute of the Citties.

25 Oct. We went to the Portico where the famous statues of Judith and Holofernes stand, also the Medusa, all of copper ; but what is most admirable is the Rape of a Sabine with another man under foot, the confusion and turning of whose limbs is most admirable. It is of one entire marble, the worke of John di Bologna, and is most stupendous ; this stands directly against the greate Piazza, where, to adorne one fountaine, are erected four marble statues and eight of brasse, representing Neptune and his family of sea-gods, of a Colossean magnitude, with four sea-horses in Parian marble of Lamedrati ; this is in the midst of a very great basin, a work, I think, hardly to be parallel'd. Here is also the famous statue of David by M. Angelo ; Hercules and Cacus by Baccio Bandinelli ; the Perseus in copper by Benevento, and the Judith of Donatelli, which stand publickly before the old palace with the Centaur of Bologna, huge Colossean figures. Neere this stands Cosmo di Medici on horseback, in brasse on a pedistal of marble, and four copper bass relievos by John di Bologna, with divers inscriptions ; the Ferdinand the First on horseback is of Pietro Tacca. The brazen Boare which serves for another publiq fountaine is admirable.

After dinner we went to the church of Annunciata, where the Duke and his Court were at their devotions, being a place of extraordinary repute for sanctity; for here is a shrine that dos greate miracles, [proved] by innumerable votive tablets, &c. covering almost the walles of the whole church. This is the image of Gabriel who saluted the Bl. Virgin, and which the artist finish'd so well that he was in despaire of performing the Virgin's face, whereupon it was miraculously don for him whilst he slept; but others say it was painted by St. Luke himselfe. Whoever it was, infinite is the devotion of both sexes to it. The altar is set off with four columns of oriental alabaster, and lighted by thirty greate silver lamps. There are innumerable other pictures by rare masters. Our Saviour's passion in brasse tables inserted in marble is the worke of John di Bologna and Baccio Bandinelli.

To this church joynes a Convent whose cloister is painted in *fresca* very rarely. There is also neere it an Hospital for 1000 persons, with nurse children, and several other charitable accom'odations.

At the Duke's Cavalerizzo, the Prince has a stable of the finest horses of all countries, Arabs, Turks, Barbs, Gennets, English, &c. which are continually exercis'd in the *manège*.

Nere this is a place where are kept several wild beasts, as wolves, catts, beares, tygers, and lions. They are loose in a deep wall'd court, and therefore to be seene with more pleasure than at the Tower of London, in their grates. One of the lions leaped to a surprising height to catch a joynt of mutton which I caused to be hung downe.

<sup>1</sup> There are many playne brick towers erected for defence when this [Sienna] was a free state. The highest is called the *Mangio*, standing at the foote of the Piazza, which we went first to see after our arival. At the entrance of this tower is a Chapel, open towards the Piazza, of marble well adorn'd with sculpture.

On the other side is the Signoria, or Court of Justice, well built *a la moderna* of brick; indeed the bricks of Sienna are so well made that they look almost as well as porphyrie itselfe, having a kind of natural polish.

In the Senate House is a very faire hall where they sometimes entertain the people with publiq shews and operas as they call them. Towards the left are the statues of Romulus and Rémus with the Wolf, all of brasse, plac'd on a columnne of ophite stone which they report was brought from the renowned Ephesian Temple. These en-signes being the armes of the towne, are set up in divers of the streetes and publiq wayes both within and far without the citty.

The Piazza compasses the faciata of the Court and Chapel, and being made with descending steps, much resembles the figure of an escalop shell. The white ranges of pavement intermix'd with the excellent bricks above mentioned, with which the town is generally well-paved,

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be an omission in the MS. as to their leaving Florence and going to Sienna.

render it very clean. About this market-place (for so it is) are many faire palaces, though not built with excesse of elegance. There stands an Arch the worke of Baltazar di Sienna, built with wonderfull ingenuity so that it is not easy to conceive how it is supported, yet it has some imperceptible contignations which do not betray themselves easily to the eye. On the edge of the Piazza is a goodly fountaine beautified with statues, the water issuing out of the wolves mouths, being the worke of Jacobo Quercei, a famous artist. There are divers other publiq fountains in the Citty, of good designe.

The Sapienza is the University, or rather Colledg, where the High Germans enjoy many particular privileges when they addict themselves to the Civil Law. This place has produced many excellent scholars, besides those three Popes, Alexander, Pius the IInd and the IIInd of that name the learned Æneas Sylvius, and both were of the antient house of the Piccolomini.

The chiefe streete is called Strada Romana, in which Pius the IInd has built a most stately Palace of square stone with an incomparable portico joyning neere to it. The towne is com'anded by a Castle which hath four bastions and a garison of souldiers. Neere it is a List to ride horses in, much frequented by gallants in summer.

Not far from hence is the Church and Convent of the Dominicans, where in the Chapel of St. Catherine of Sienna they shew her head, the rest of her body being translated to Rome. The Domo or Cathedral, both without and within, is of large square stones of black and white marble polish'd, of inexpressible beauty, as is the front adorn'd with sculpture and rare statues. In the middle is a stately cupola and two columns of sundry streaked colour'd marble. About the body of the Church on a cornice within, are inserted the heads of all the Popes. The pulpit is beautified with marble figures, a piece of exquisite worke ; but what exceeds all description is the pavement, where (besides the various emblemes and other figures in the nave) the quire is wrought with the History of the Bible, so artificialy express'd in the natural colours of the marbles that few pictures excede it. Here stands a Christo rarely cut in marble, and on the large high Altar is a brasen vessell of admirable invention and art. The organs are exceeding sweete and well tun'd. On the left side of the altar is the Library, where are painted the acts of Æneas Sylvius and others by Raphael. They shew'd us an arme of St. John the Baptist, wherewith, they say, he baptized our Saviour in Jordan ; it was given by the King of Peloponesus to one of the Popes, as an inscription signifies. They also have St. Peter's Sword, with which he smote off the ear of Malchus.

Just against the Cathedral we went into the Hospital, where they entertain and refresh for three or four days, gratis, such pilgrimes as go to Rome. In the Chapel belonging to it lies the body of St. Susorius their founder, as yet uncorrupted though dead many hundreds of

yeares. They show one of the nailes which pierced our Saviour, and St. Chrysostom's Comment on the Gospel written by his owne hand. Below the hill stands the pool called Fonte Brande, where fish are fed for pleasure more than foode.

St. Francis's Church is a large pile, neere which, yet a little without the Citty, growes a tree which they report in their legend grew from the Saint's staff, which on going to sleepe he fix'd in the ground, and at his waking found it had grown a large tree. They affirme that the wood of it in decoction cures sundry diseases.

2 Nov. We went from Sienna; desirous of being present at the Cavalcade of the new Pope Innocent X.<sup>1</sup> who had not yet made the grand procession to St. John de Lateran. We set out by Porto Romano, the country all about the towne being rare for hunting and game. Wild boare and venison are frequently sold in the shops in many of the townes about it. We pass'd neere Mont Oliveto, where the Monastrie of that Order is pleasantly situated and worth seeing. Passing over a bridg, which by the inscription, appears to have been built by Prince Matthias, we went through Buon-Conventa, famous for the death of the Emperor Hen. VII. who was here poison'd in the holy Eucharist. Thence we came to Tormiero, where we din'd. This village is in a sweete vally in view of Monte Alcini, famous for the rare Muscatello wine. After three miles more we go by St. Querico, and lay at a privat Osteria neere it, where, after we were provided of lodging came in Cardinal Doughi, a Genoese by birth, now come from Rome; he was so civil as to entertaine us with greate respect, hearing we were English, for that, he told us, he had been once in our country. Amongst other discourse he related how a dove was seen to sit on the chayre in the Conclave at the election of Pope Innocent, which he magnified as a greate good omen, with other particulars which we enquir'd of him, till our suppers parted us. He came in great state with his owne bedstead and all the furniture, yet would by no meanes suffer us to resigne the roome we had taken up in the lodging before his arival. Next morning we rod by Monte Pientio, or, as vulgarly called, Monte Mantuamiato, which is of an excessive height, ever and anon peeping above any cloudes with its snowy head, till we had climbed to the inn at Radicofany built by Ferdinand the greate Duke for the necessary refreshment of travellers in so inhospitable a place. As we ascended we entered a very thick, solid, and dark body of cloudes, which look'd like rocks at a little distance, which lasted neere a mile in going up; they were dry misty vapours, hanging undissolved for a vast thicknesse, and obscuring both the sun and earth, so that we seemed to be in the sea rather than in the cloudes, till, having pierced through it we came into a most serene heaven, as if we had been above all human conversation,

<sup>1</sup> John Baptista Pamphili, chosen Pope in Oct. 1644, died in 1655.

the mountain appearing more like a greate island than joyn'd to any other hills, for we could perceive nothing but a sea of thick cloudes rowling under our feete like huge waves, every now and then suffering the top of some other mountaine to peepe through, which we could discover many miles off : and betweene some breaches of the cloudes we could see landskips and villages of the subjacent country. This was one of the most pleasant, newe, and altogether surprizing objects that I had ever beheld.

On the sum'it of this horrid rock (for so it is) is built a very strong Fort, garrison'd, and somewhat beneath it is a small Towne ; the provisions are drawne up with ropes and engines, the precipice being otherwise inaccessible. At one end of the towne lie heapes of rocks so strangely broaken off from the ragged mountaine as would affright one with their horror and menacing postures. Just opposite to the inn gushed out a plentifull and most useful fountaine, which falls into a great trough of stone, bearing the Duke of Tuscany's armes. Here we din'd, and I with my black lead pen tooke the prospect.<sup>1</sup> It is one of the utmost confines of the Etrurian State towards St. Peter's Patrimony since the gift of Matilda to Gregory 7, as they say.

Here we passe a stone bridg built by Pope Gregory XIV. and thence immediately to Aquapendente,<sup>2</sup> a town situated on a very ragged rock, down which precipitates an intire river with a horrid roaring noise. From this river it has its name. We lay at the Post-house, on which is this inscription :

“ L'Insegna della Posta, é posta a posta,  
In questa posta, fin che habbia à sua posta  
Ogn' un Cavallo a Vetturi in Posta.”

Before it was darke we went to see the Monastery of the Franciscans, famous for 6 learned Popes and sundry other great scholars, especially the renowned physician and anatomist Fabricius de Aquapendente, who was bred and borne here.

4 Nov. After a little riding we descend towards the Lake of Bolsena, which being above 20 miles in circuit yields from hence a most incomparable prospect. Neere the middle of it are 2 small islands, in one of which is a Convent of melancholy Capucines, where those of the Farnesian family are interred. Pliny calls it Tarquiniensis Lacus, and talks of divers floting islands about it, but they did not appear to us. The Lake is environ'd with mountaines, at one of whose sides we pass'd towards the towne, Bolsena, anciently Vulsinium, famous in those times, as is testified by divers rare sculptures in the court of St. Christiana's Church, the urne, altar, and jasper columns.

After 7 miles riding, passing thro' a wood heretofore sacred to Juno, we came to Monte Fiascone, the head of the Falisci a famous people

<sup>1</sup> An etching of it, with others, is in the Library at Wotton.

<sup>2</sup> 12 miles from the Duke's Inn, according to Lassells.

in old time, heretofore Falernum, as renowned for its excellent wine, as now for the story of the Dutch Bishop, who lyes buried in Faviano's Church with this epitaph :

“ Propter Est, Est, dominus meus mortuus est.”

Because having ordered his servant to ride before, enquire where the best wine was, and there write *Est*, the man found some so good that he wrote *Est, Est*, and the Bishop drinking too much of it died.

From hence we travell a plain and pleasant champain to Viterbo, which presents itselfe with much state afarr off, in regard of her many lofty pinnacles and toweres ; neither dos it deceive our expectation, for it is exceedingly beautified with publiq fountaines, especialy that at the entrance which is all of brasse and adorn'd with many rare figures, and salutes the passenger with a most agreeable object and refreshing waters. There are many Popes buried in this Citty, and in the Palace is this odd inscription :—

“ Osiridis victoriam in Gigantes litteris historiographicis in hoc antiquissimo marmore inscriptam, ex Herculis olim, nunc Divi Laurentij Templo translata, ad conversam : vetustiss : patriæ monumenta atq' decora hic locandum statuit S. P. Q. V.

. Under it :

Sum Osiris Rex Jupiter  
universo in terrarum  
orbe.

Sum Osiris Rex qui  
ab Italia in Gigantes  
exercit u veni, vidi, et  
vici.

Sum Osiris Rex qui  
terrarum pacato Italia  
decem a'nos  
quorum inventor fui.”

Neere the towne is a sulphureous fountaine which continually boils. After dinner we tooke horse by the new way of Capranica, and so passing near Mount Ciminus and the Lake, we began to enter the plains of Rome, at which sight my thoughts were strangely elevated, but soon allay'd by so violent a shower which fell just as we were contemplating that proud mistress of the world, and descending by the Vatican (for at that gate we entered), that before we got into the Citty I was wet to the skin.

I came to Rome on the 4 Nov. 1644, about 5 at night, and being perplexed for a convenient lodging wandered up and down on horseback, till at last one conducted us to Mons. Petit's, a Frenchman, near the Piazza Spagnola. Here I alighted, and having bargained with my host for 20 crownes a moneth I caused a good fire to be made in my chamber and went to bed, being so very wet. The next morning (for I was resolved to spend no time idly here) I got acquainted with several persons who had long lived in Rome. I was especialy recommended to Father John, a Benedictine monke and Superior of his Order for the English College of Douay, a person of singular learning, religion, and humanity ; also to Mr. Patrick Carey, an Abbot, brother to our learned Lord Falkland, a witty young priest who afterwards came over to our

Church ; Dr. Bacon and Dr. Gibbs,<sup>1</sup> physicians who had dependence on Cardinal Caponi, the latter being an excellent poet ; Father Cortnee, the Chiefe of the Jesuites in the English Colledge ; my Lord of Somerset brother to the Marquiss of Worcester, and some others, from whom I received instructions how to behave in towne, with directions to masters and bookes to take in search of the antiquities, churches, collections, &c. Accordingly the next day, Nov. 6th, I began to be very *pragmatical*.<sup>2</sup>

In the first place our *Sights-man*<sup>3</sup> (for so they name certain persons here who get their living by leading strangers about to see the City) went to the Palace Farnezi, a magnificent square structure, built by Michael Angelo of the 3 orders of columns after the ancient manner, and when Architecture was but newly recovered from the Gothic barbarity. The court is square and tarrass'd, having two payre of staires, which leade to the upper roomes, and conducted us to that famous gallery painted by Agostino Caracci, than which nothing is more rare of that art ; so deepe and well-studied are all the figures, that it would require more judgment than I confesse I had, to determine whether they were flat or emboss'd. Thence we passed into another painted in *chiaro oscuro*, representing the fabulous history of Hercules. We went out on a terrace, where was a pretty garden on the leads, for it is built in a place that has no extent of ground backwards. The greate Hall is wrought by Salviati and Zuccharo, furnish'd with statues, one of which being modern is a figure of one of the Farnese in a triumphant posture, of white marble, worthy of admiration. Here we were shewed the Museum of Fulvius Ursinos replete with innumerable collections ; but the Major Domo being absent, we could not at this time see all we had a desire to see. Descending into the court we with astonishment contemplated the 2 statues of Hercules and Flora, so much celebrated by Pliny. There is a modern statue of Hercules and two Gladiators not to be despis'd. In a second court was a temporary shelter of boards over the most stupendous and never to be sufficiently admir'd Torso of Amphion and Dirces, represented in 5 figures exceeding the life in magnitude, of the purest white marble, the contending work of those famous statuaries, Apollonius and Taurisco in the time of Augustus, hewed out of one entire stone, and remaining unblemished, to be valued beyond all the marbles of the world for its

<sup>1</sup> James Alban Gibbs, a Scotchman bred at Oxford, who resided many years at Rome, where he died in 1677, and was buried in the Pantheon there with an epitaph to his memory under a marble bust of him. He was an extraordinary character. In Wood's *Athenæ* is a long account of him, and also some curious particulars in Warton's *Life of Dr. Bathurst*. He was a great writer of Latin Poetry, a small collection of which he published at Rome, to which is prefixed his portrait neatly engraved.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Evelyn must intend *this* in a good sense, very active and full of business, viz. what he came upon, to view the antiquities and beauties of Rome, both ancient and modern.

<sup>3</sup> The present name for these gentlemen is with the Italians a *Cicerone*, but they affect universally the title of *Antiquaries*.

antiquity and workmanship. There are divers other heads and busts. At the entrance of this stately Palace stands 2 rare and vast fountains of garnito stone, brought into this Piazza out of Titus's Bathes. Here in sum'er the gentlemen of Rome take the fresco in their coaches and on foote. At the sides of this court we vissited the Palace of Sign. Pichini, who has a good collection of antiquities, especialy the Adonis of Parian marble, which my Lord Arundel would once have purchas'd if a greate price would have been taken for it.

7 Nov. We went into the Campo Vaccino by the ruines of the Temple of Peace built by Titus Vespasianus, thought to be the largest, as well as the most richly furnish'd, of all the Roman dedicated places ; it is now an heape rather than a temple, yet the roofe and volto continue firme, shewing it to have been formerly of incomparable workmanship. This goodly structure was, none knows how, consum'd by fire the very night, 'by all computation, that our Saviour was born.

Hence we passed by the place into which Curtius precipitated himself for the love of his country, now without any sign of a lake or vorago. Neere this stand some columns of white marble, of exquisite worke, supposed to be part of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans built by Augustus ; the worke of the capitals (being Corinthian) and architrave is excellent, full of sacrificing utensils. There are 3 other of Jupiter Stator. Opposite to these are the Oratories or Churches of St. Cosmo and Damiano, heretofore the Temples of Romulus and Remus, a pretty odd fabriq, with a Tribunal, or Tholus within, wrought all of Mosaic. The gates before it are brasse, and the whole much obliged to Pope Urban the 8th. Here lie the bodies of those 2 Martyrs ; and in a Chapel on the right hand is a rare painting of Cavaliero Baylione. We next entered St. Lorenzo in Miranda. The portico is supported by a range of most stately columns ; the inscription cut in the architrave shews it to have been the Temple of Faustina. It is now made a faire Church, and has an Hospital which joines it. On the same side is St. Adriano, heretofore dedicated to Saturne. Before this was once placed a Miliary Column, supposed to be set in the center of the Citty, from whence they us'd to compute the distance of all the citties and places of note under the dominion of those universal Monarchs. To this Church are likewise brazen gates and a noble front. Just opposite they shew'd us heapes and ruines of Cicero's Palace. Hence we went towards Mons Capitolinus, at the foote of which stands the Arch of Septimius Severus, full and entire, save where the pedestal and some of the lower members are choaked up with ruines and earth. This Arch is exceedingly inrich'd with sculpture and trophies, with a large inscription. In the terrestrial and naval battailes here graven is seen the Roman *Aries* [the battering-ram]. This was the first triumphal arch set up in Rome. The Capitol, to which we climbed by very broad steps, is built about a

square court, at the right hand of which going up from Campo Vaccino gushes a plentiful streame from the statue of Tybur in porphyry, very antiq, and another representing Rome ; but above all is the admirable figure of Marforius casting water into a most ample Concha. The front of this court is crowned with an excellent fabriq containing the Courts of Justice, and where the Criminal Notary sits, and others. In one of the Halls they shew the statues of Gregory XIII. and Paule III. with several others. To this joynes a handsome Tower, the whole faciata adorn'd with noble statues both on the outside and on the battlements, ascended by a double payre of staires, and a stately Posario. In the center of the court stands that incomparable Horse bearing the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, as big as the life, of Corinthian mettall, placed on a pedestal of marble, esteemed one of the noblest pieces of worke now extant, antique and very rare. There is also a vast Head of a Colossean magnitude, of white marble, fixed in the wall. At the descending stayres are sett two Horses of white marble governed by 2 naked Slaves, taken to be meant for Castor and Pollux, brought from Pompey's Theatre. On the balustrade the Trophies of Marius against the Cimbrians, very ancient and instructive. At the foote of the steps towards the left hand is that Colonna Miliaria with the globe of brasse on it, mention'd to have been formerly sett in Campo Vaccino. On the same hand is the Palace of the Signori Conservatori, or 3 Consuls, now the Civil Governors of the Citty, containing the Fraternities or Halls (or Guilds, as we call them) of sundry Companys, and other officers of state. Under the Portico within, are the statues of Augustus Cæsar, a Bacchus, and the so renowned Colonna Rostrata of Duillius, with the excellent bassi relievi. In a smaller court are the statue of Constantine on a fountaine, a Minerva's head of brasse, and that of Com'odus to which belongs an hand the thumb of which is at least an ell long, but the rest of the Colosse is lost. In the corner of this Court stand an horse and lyon fighting, as big as life, in white marble, exceedingly valu'd ; likewise the Rape of the Sabines ; 2 cumbent figures of Alexander and Mammea ; 2 monstrous feete of a Colosse of Apollo ; the sepulchre of Agrippina ; and the Standard, or antiq measure of the Roman footè. Ascending by the steps of the other corner, are inserted fower basse relievo's, *vis.* the triumph and sacrifice of Marcus Aurelius, which last, for the antiquity and rareness of the worke, I caused my painter Carlo Neapolitano to copy. There are also 2 statues of the Muses, and one of Adrian the Emperor ; above stands the figure of Marius, and by the wall Marsias bound to a tree ; all of them excellent and antique. Above, in the Lobby, are inserted into the walls those ancient laws on brasse call'd the 12 Tables ; a faire Madona of Pietro Perugino, painted on the wall ; neere which are the Archives full of ancient records. In the great Hall are divers excellent paintings of Cavaliero Giuseppe d'Arpino, a statue in brasse of Sixtus

V. and of Leo X. of marble. In another Hall are many modern statues of their late Consuls and Governors, set about with fine antique heads ; others are painted by excellent masters, representing the actions of M. Scævola, Horatius Cocles, &c.—The room where the Conservatori now feast on solemn days is tapisstred with crimson damasq embrodred with gold, haveing a state or balduquino of crimson velvet very rich, the frieze above rarely painted. Here are in brasse, Romulus and Remus sucking the wolfe, with the shepherd Faustulus by them ; also the Boy plucking the thorne out of his foote (in brasse) so much admir'd by artists. There are also holy statues and heads of saints. In a Gallery neere adjoyning are the names of the ancient Consuls, Prætors, and Fasti Romani, so celebrated by the learned ; also the figure of an old woman ; 2 others representing Poverty ; and more in fragments. In another large roome furnish'd with velvet are the statue of Adonis very rare, and divers antiq heads. In the next chamber is an old statue of Cicero, one of another Consul, an Hercules in brasse, 2 women's heads of incomparable worke, six other statues, and over the chimney a very rare basso relievo and other figures. In a little Lobby before the Chapell is the statue of Hanniball, a Bacchus very antiq, bustos of Pan and Mercury, with other old heads. All these noble statues, &c. belong to the Citty, and cannot be dispos'd of to any privat person or remov'd hence, but are preserv'd for the honor of the place, though greate sumes have been offer'd for them by divers greate Princes lovers of art and antiquity. We now left the Capitol, certainly one of the most renowned places in the world, even as now built by the designe of the famous M. Angelo.

Returning home by Ara Cœli, we mounted to it by more than 100 marble stepps, not in devotion, as I observed some to do on their bare knees, but to see those two famous statues of Constantine in white marble, placed there out of his Bathes. In this Church is a *Madona*, reported to be painted by St. Luke, and a column, on which we saw the print of a foote which they affirme to have been that of the Angel, seene on the Castle of St. Angelo. Here the feast of our blessed Saviour's nativity being yearely celebrated with divers pageants, they began to make the preparation. Having viewed the Palace and Fountaine at the other side of the stayres, we return'd weary to our lodgings.

On the 7th we went again towards the Capitol, towards the Tarpeian rock, whence it has a goodly prospect of the Tyber. Thence descending by the Tullianum, where they told us St. Peter was imprisoned, they shew'd us a Chapell in which a rocky side of it beares the impression of his face. In the nave of the Church gushes a fountaine which they say was caused by the Apostle's prayers, when having converted some of his fellow-captives he wanted water to baptize them. We then walked about Mount Palatinus and the Aventine, and thence to the Circus Maximus, capable of holding 40,000 spectators, now a heap of

ruines converted into gardens. Then by the Forum Boarium, where they have a tradition that Hercules slew Cacus, some ruines of his Temple remaining. The Temple of Janus quadrifrontis, having 4 arches importing the 4 Seasons, and on each side niches for the Monethes, is still a substantial and pretty entire antiquity. Neere this is the Arcus Argentariorum. Bending now towards the Tyber we went into the Theater of Marcellus, which would hold 80,000 persons, built by Augustus and dedicated to his nephew ; the architecture from what remaines appears to be inferior to none. It is now wholly converted into the house of the Savelli, one of the old Roman families. The people were now generally busye in erecting temporary triumphs and arches with statues and flattering inscriptions against his Holinesse's grand procession to St. John de Lateran, amongst which the Jewes also began one in testimony of gratitude for their protection under the Papal State. The Palazzo Barberini, designed by the present Pope's Architect, Cavaliero Bernini, seems from the size to be as princely an object as any moderne building in Europ. It has a double Portico, at the end of which we ascended by 2 paire of oval stayres all of stone and voide in the well. One of these led us into a stately Hall, the volto whereof was newly painted *a fresca* by the rare hand of Pietro Berretini di Cortona. To this is annex'd a Gallery compleately furnish'd with whatever art can call rare and singular, and a Library full of worthy collections, medails, marbles, and manuscripts, but above all an Egyptian Osyris, remarkable for the material being unknown and for its antiquity. In one of the rooms neere this hangs the Sposaliccio of St. Sebastian, the original of Annibal Caracci, of which I procured a copy little inferior to the prototype ; a table in my judgment superior to any thing I had seen in Rome. In the Court is a vast broaken Gulio Obelisk having divers hieroglyphics cut on it.

8 Nov. We visited the Jesuites Church, the front whereof is esteem'd a noble piece of architecture, the designe of Jacomo della Porta and the famous Vignola. In this Church lies the body of their renown'd Ignatius Loyola, an arme of Xaverius, their other Apostle, and at the right end of their high altar their Champion Card : Bellarmine. Father Kircherus (professor of Mathematics and of the Oriental tongues) shew'd us many singular courtesies, leading us into their Refectory, Dispensatory, Laboratory, Gardens, and finally (through an Hall hung round with pictures of such of their order as had been executed for their pragmatikal and buisy adventures) into his own study, where, with Dutch patience, he shew'd us his perpetual motions, catoptrics, magnetical experiments, models, and a thousand other crotchets and devices, most of them since published by himselfe or his industrious scholar Schotti.

Returning home we view'd the Palazzo de Medici, which was a house of the Duke of Florence, neere our lodging, on the brow of

Mons Pincius, having a fine prospect towards the Campo Marzo. It is a magnificent, strong building, having a substruction very remarkable, and a portico supported with columns towards the gardens, with two huge lions of marble at the end of the balustrade. The whole outside of the faciaata is incrusted with antiq and rare basse-relieves and statues. Descending into the garden is a noble fountaine govern'd by a Mercury of brasse. At a little distance on the left is a lodge full of fine statues, amongst which the Sabines is antiq and singularly rare. In the arcado neere this stand 24 statues of great price, and hard by is a mount planted with cypresses representing a fortresse, with a goodly fountaine in the middle. Here is also a row balustred with white marble, covered over with the natural shrubbs, ivy, and other perennial greenes, divers statues and heads being placed as in niches. At a little distance are those fam'd statues of Niobe and her family, in all 15, as large as the life, of which we have ample mention in Pliny, esteemed among the best pieces of worke in the world for the passions they expresse, and all other perfections of that stupendous art. There is in this garden a faire obelisq full of hieroglyphics. In going out, the fountaine before the front casts water neere 50 foote in height when it is received in a most ample marble basin. Here they usually rode the greate-horse every morning, which gave me much diversion from the terrace of my owne chamber, where I could see all their motions. This evening I was invited to heare rare musiq at the Chiesa Nova; the black marble pillars within led us to that most precious Oratory of Philippus Neri their founder, they being of the oratory of secular priests, under no vow. There are in it divers good pictures, as the *Assumption* of Girolamo Mutiano; the *Crucifix*; the *Visitation of Elizabeth*; the *Presentation of the Blessed Virgin*; *Christo Sepolto* of Guido Rheno, Caravagio, Arpino, and others. This faire Church consists of 14 altars and as many chapells. In it is buried (besides their Saint) Cæsar Baronius the greate annalist. Through this we went into the Sacristia, where, the tapers being lighted, one of the Order preach'd; after him stepp'd up a child of 8 or 9 years old who pronounced an oration with so much grace, that I never was better pleas'd than to heare Italian so well and so intelligently spoken. This course it seemes they frequently use, to bring their scholars to a habit of speaking distinctly, and forming their action and assurance, which none so much want as ours in England. This being finish'd began their Motettos, which, in a lofty cupola richly painted, were sung by eunuchs and other rare voices, accompanied with theorbos, harpsicors, and viols, so that we were even ravish'd with the entertainment of the evening. This roome is painted by Cortona, and has in it two figures in the niches, and the Church stands in one of the most stately streetes of Rome.

10 Nov. We went to see Prince Ludovisio's villa where was for-

merly the *Viridarium* of the poet Sallust. The house is very magnificent, and the extent of the ground is exceeding large considering that it is in a Citty ; in every quarter of the garden are antiq statues, and walkes planted with cypresse. To this garden belongs a house of retirement built in the figure of a crosse after a particular ordonance, especially the stayrecase. The whitenesse and smoothnesse of the pargeting was a thing I much observ'd, being almost as even and polish'd as if it had been marble. Above is a faire prospect of the Citty. In one of the chambers hang two famous pieces of Bassano, the one a *Vulcan*, the other a *Nativity* ! there is a German clock full of rare and extraordinary motions, and in a little room below are many precious marbles, columns, urnes, vasas, and noble statues of porphyry, Oriental alabaster, and other rare materials. About this fabriq is an ample area, environ'd with 16 vast jarrs of red earth wherein the Romans us'd to preserve their oyle, or wine rather, which they buried, and such as are properly called *Testæ*. I must never forget the famous statue of the Gladiator spoken of by Pliny, so much follow'd by all the rare artists as the many copies testifie, dispersed through almost all Europ both in stone and metal. There is also an Hercules, a head of porphyrie, and one of Marcus Aurelius. In the villa-house is a man's body, flesh and all, petrified and even converted to marble, as it was found in the Alps, and sent by the Emperor to one of the Popes ; it lay in a chest or coffin, lin'd with black velvet, and one of the armes being broken, you may see the perfect bone from the flesh which remains intire. The Rape of Proserpine in marble is of the purest white, the worke of Bernini. In the cabinet neere it are innumerable small brasse figures and other curiosities. But what some look upon as exceeding all the rest, is a very rich bedstead (which sort of grosse furniture the Italians much glory in, as formerly did our grandfathers in England in their inlaid wooden ones) inlaid with all sorts of precious stones and antiq heads, onyxes, achates, and cornelians, esteem'd to be worth 80 or 90,000 crownes. Here are also divers cabinets and tables of the Florence work, besides pictures in the gallery especialy the *Apollo*. There is a chayre to sleepe in with the leggs stretcht out, with books, and pieces of wood to draw out longer or shorter.

From this we went to see Sign. Angeloni's study, who very courteously shew'd us such a collection of rare medaills as is hardly to be parallel'd ; divers good pictures, and many outlandish and Indian curiosities and things of nature.

Hence we went to Monte Cavallo, heretofore call'd Mons. Quirinalis, where we saw those two rare horses, the worke of the rivals Phidias and Praxiteles, as they were sent as a present to Neró [by Tiri-dates King] out of Arminia. They were placed on pedestals of white marble by Sixtus V. by whom I suppose their injuries were repair'd. They are govern'd by 4 naked slaves like those at the foote of the

Capitol. Here runs a most noble fountaine, facing fower of the most stately streetes for building and beauty to be seen in any Citty of Europ. Opposite to these statues is the Pope's Sum'er Palace, built by Gregory XIII. and in my opinion for the largeness and the architecture one of the most conspicuous in Rome. It has a stately portico which leads round the court under columns, in the center of which runs a beautifull fountaine. The chapell is incrusted with such precious materials, that nothing can be more rich or glorious, nor are the other ornaments and moveables about it at all inferior. The hall is painted by Lanfranci and others. The garden which is call'd the *Belvedere di Monte Cavallo*, in emulation to that of the Vatican, is most excellent for ayre and prospect, its exquisite fountains, close walkes, grotts, piscinas or stews for fish, planted about with venerable cypresses, and refresh'd with water-musiq, aviaries, and other rarities.

12 Nov. We saw Dioclesian's Bathes, whose ruines testifie the vastness of the original foundation and magnificence; by what M. Angelo tooke from the ornaments about it, 'tis sayd he restor'd the then almost lost art of architecture. This monstrous pile was built by the labour of the primitive Christians, then under one of the ten great persecutions. The Church of St. Bernardo is made out of one onely of these ruinous cupolas, and is in the form of an urne with a cover.

Opposite to this is the Fontana delle Therme, otherwise call'd Fons Felix; in it is a basso relievo of white marble representing Moses striking the rock, which is adorn'd with camels, men, women, and children drinking, as large as life; a worke for the designe and vastnesse truly magnificent. The water is convey'd no lesse than 22 miles in an aquæduct by Sixtus V. *ex agro Columna* by way of Præneste, as the inscription testifies. It gushes into three ample lavors rais'd about with stone, before which are placed two lions of a strange black stone very rare and antiq. Neere this are the Store-houses for the Citty's corne, and over against it the Church of St. Susanna where were the gardens of Sallust. The faciata of this church is noble, the soffito within is gilded and full of pictures; especialy famous is that of *Susanna*, by Baldassa di Bologna. The tribunal of the high altar is of exquisite worke, from whose marble stepps you descend underground to the repository of divers Saints. The picture over this altar is the worke of Jac. Siciliano. The foundation is for Bernadine Nunns.

Santa Maria della Vittoria presents us with the most ravishing front. In this church was sung the *Te Deum* by Greg. XV. after the signal victory of the Emperour at Prague; the standards then taken still hang up, and the impresse waving with this motto over the Pope's armes, *Extirpentur*. The high altar was much frequented for an image of the Virgine. There are some rare statues: there is Paule ravish'd into the third heaven, by Ger. Fiamengo, and some good pictures.

We went again to Dioclesian's Bathes, never satisfied with contemplating that immense pile, in building which 150,000 Christians were destin'd to labour 14 yeares and were then all murther'd. Here is a Monastery of Carthusians call'd Santa Maria degli Angeli, the architecture of M. Angelo, the cloister encompassing walls in an ample garden.

Mont Alto's Villa is enter'd by a stately gate of stone built on the Vimihalis, and is no other than a spacious parke full of fountaines, especialy that which salutes us at the front ; stews for fish ; the cypresse walkes are so beset with statues, inscriptions, relievos, and other ancient marbles, that nothing can be more stately and solemn. The citron-trees are uncommonly large. In the Palace joining to it are innumerable collections of value.

In St. Agnes Church is a tribunal of antiq Mosaiq, and on the altar a most rich Ciborio of brasse with a statue of St. Agnes in Oriental alabaster. The Church of Santa Constanza has a noble cupola. Here they shew'd us a stone ship borne on a column heretofore sacred to Bacchus, as the relievo intimates by the drunken emblemes and instruments wrought upon it. The altar is of rich porphyrie, as I remember. Looking back we had the intire view of the Via Pia downe to the two houses before the Monte Cavallo before mention'd, one of the most glorious sights for state and magnificence that any Citty can shew a traveller. We return'd by Porta Pia and the Via Salaria, neere Campo Scelerato, in whose gloomy caves the wanton vestals were heretofore im'ufed alive.

Thence to Via Felix a straite and noble streete but very precipitous, till we came to the Fountaines of Lepidus, built at the abbutments of 4 stately wayes, making an exact Crosse of right angles ; and at the Fountaines are as many cumbent figures of marble under very large niches of stone, the water pouring into huge basins. The Church of St. Carlo is a singular fabriq for neatnesse, of an oval designe, built of a new white stone ; the columns are worth notice. Under it is another Church of a structure nothing lesse admirable.

Santa Maria Maggiore is on the Esquiline Mountaine, which gives it a most conspicuous face to the streete at a greate distance. The design is mix'd, partly antiq, partly moderne. Here they affirme that the Bl. Virgin appearing, shew'd where it should be built 300 yeares since. The first pavement is rare and antiq ; so is the portico built by P. P. Eugenius II. The Ciborio is the worke of Paris Romano, and the Tribunal of Mosaic. We were shew'd in the Church a Concha of porphyrie wherein they say Patricius the founder lyes. This is one of the most famous of the 7 Roman Churches, and is in my opinion at least, after St. Peter's, the most magnificent. Above all, for incomparable glory and materials, are the two Chapels of Sextus V. and Paulus V. That of Sextus was design'd by Dom. Fontana, in which are two rare greate statues, and some good pieces of painting ; and here they pre-

tended to shew some of the Holy Innocents bodies slaine by Herod. That renown'd tabernacle of metall gilt, sustain'd by 4 angels holding as many tapers, is placed on the altar. In this Chapel is the statue of Sextus in copper, with basse relievo's of most of his famous acts in Parian marble. But that of P. Paulus opposite to this, is beyond all imagination glorious and beyond description. It is so incircl'd with achates and other most precious materials as to dazzle and confound the beholders. The basse relievo's are for the most part of pure snowy marble, intermixed with figures of molten brasse double gilt on lapis lazuli. The altar is a most stupendous piece ; but most incomparable is the cupola, painted by Cavaliero Giuseppe Rheni and the present Baglioni, full of exquisite sculptures. There is a most sumptuous Sacristia ; and the piece over the altar was by the hand of St. Luke, if you will believe it. Paule V. hath here likewise built two other altars ; under the one lye the bones of the Apostle St. Mathias. In another Oratory is the statue of this Pope, and the head of the Congo Ambassador who was converted at Rome and dy'd here. In a third Chapel design'd by M. Angelo lyes the body of Platina, and the Cardinal of Toledo, Honorius III. Nicephorus IV. the ashes of St. Hierom, and many others. In that of Sextus V. before mentioned was shew'd us part of the crib in which Christ was swaddl'd at Bethlem ; there is also the statue of Pius V. Going out at the further end is the resurrection of Lazarus by a very rare hand. In the portico is this late inscription : "Cardinali Antonio Barberino Archipresbytero, aream marmoream quam Christianorum pietas exculpit, laborante sub Tyrannis ecclesia, ut esset loci sanctitate venerabilior, Franciscus Gualdus Arm. Eques S. Stephani, è suis ædibus huc transtulit et ornavit 1632." Just before this portico stands a very sublime and stately Corinthian columnne of white marble, translated hither for an ornament from the old Temple of Peace built by Vespasian, having on the plinth of the capital the image of our Lady gilt on mettall ; at the pedestal runs a fountaine.—Going downe the hill we saw the Obelisq taken from the Mausoleum of Augustus, and erected in this place by Domenico Fontana, with this epigraphe: "Sixtus V. Pont. Max. obeliscum Ægypto ad- vectum, Augusti in mausoleo dicatum, eversum deinde et in plures confractum partes, in via ad. S. Rochum jacentem, in pristinam faciem restitutum, Salutiferæ Cruci felicius hic erigi jussit anno M.D.L.XXXVIII. Pont III."

At the foote of this hill is the Church of Pudentia, in which is a well fill'd with the blood and bones of several Martyrs, but grated over with yron ; it is visited by many Devota's. Neere this is the Church of her sister S. Praxedes, much frequented for the same reason. In a little obscure place cancelled in with yron worke, is the Pillar or Stump at which they relate our Bl. Saviour was scourged, being full of bloody spots, at which the devout sex are always rubbing their chaplets, and

convey their kisses by a stick having a tassel on it. Here, besides a noble statue of St. Peter is the tombe of the famous Cardinal Cajetan, an excellent piece. Here they hold that St. Peter sayd his first masse at Rome with the same altar and the stone he kneeled on, he having been first lodged in this house, as they compute, about the 44th yeare of the incarnation. They also shew many reliques, or rather raggs, of his mantle. In the Church of Laurence in Panisperna is the Gridiron on which that Martyr was broyl'd. St. Brigit is buried in this Church under a stately monument. In the front of the pile is the suffering of St. Laurence painted *a fresca* on the wall. The frabrig is nothing but Gothic. On the left is the Therma Novatii, and on the right Agrippina's Lavacrum.

14 Nov. We pass'd againe thro' the stately Capitol and Campo Vaccino towards the Amphitheatre of Vespasian, but were first stay'd to looke at Titus's triumphal Arch erected by the people of Rome in honour of his victory at Jerusalem, on the left hand whereof he is represented drawne in a charriot with 4 horses abreast; on the right-hand, or side of the arch within, is sculptur'd in figures, or basse relievo as big as the life, and in one intire marble, the Arke of the Covenant, on which stands the seaven-branch'd candlestick describ'd in Leviticus, as also the two Tables of the Law, all borne on men's shoulders by the barrs, as they are describ'd in some of St. Hierom's Bibles; before this go many crown'd and laureated figures, and 12 Roman fasces, with sacred vessels. This much confirmed the idea I before had; and, for the light it gave to the Holy History, I caused my paynter Carlo to copy it exactly. The rest of the worke of the Arch is of the noblest, best understood composita.

Santa Maria Nova is on the place where they told us Simon Magus fell out of the ayre at St. Peter's prayer, and burst himselfe to pieces on a flint. Neere this is a marble monument erected by the people of Rome in memory of the Pope's returne from Avignon.

Being now pass'd the ruines of *Meta sudante* (which stood before the Colosseum) provided to refresh the gladiators, we enter the mighty ruines of the Vespasian Amphitheatre, begun by Vespasian, and finished by that excellent prince Titus. It is 830 Roman palmes in length (*i. e.*, 130 paces), 90 in breadth at the area, with caves for the wild beasts which us'd to be baited by men instead of doggs; the whole oval peripheria 2888½ palmes, and capable of containing 87,000 spectators with ease and all accom'odation: the 3 rowes of circles are yet entire; the first was for the senators, the middle for the nobility, the third for the people. At the dedication of this place were 5000 wild beasts slain in 3 months during which the feast lasted, to the expence of 10 millions of gold. It is built of Tiburtine stone, a vast height, with the 5 orders of architecture, by 30,000 captive Jewes. It is, without, of a perfect circle, and was once adorn'd thick with statues, and remained intire till of late that some of the stones were carried

away to repaire the Citty walls and build the Farnesian Palace. That which still appeares most admirable is, the contrivance of the porticos, vaults, and staires, with the excessive altitude, which well deserves this distich of the poet :

“Omnis Cæsario cedat labor Amphitheatro,  
Unum pro cunctis fama loquatur opus.”

Neere it is a small chapell call'd Sta Maria della Pieta nel Colisseo, which is erected on the steps or stages very lofty at one of its sides or ranges within, and where there lives only a melancholy hermite. I ascended to the very top of it with wonderfull admiration.

The Arch of Constantine the Great is close by the Meta sudante before mentioned, at the beginning of the Via Appia on one side of Monte Celio, and is perfectly intire, erected by the people in memory of his victory over Maxentius at the Pons Milvius, now Ponte Mole. In the front is this inscription :

IMP. CAES. FL. CONSTANTINO MAXIMO  
P. F. AVGVSTO S. P. Q. R.  
QVOD INSTINCTV DIFINITATIS MENTIS  
MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO  
TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS  
FACTIONE VNO TEMPORE IVSTIS  
REMPVBLICAM VLTVS EST ARMIS  
ARCVN TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAUIT.

Hence we went to St. Gregorio in Monte Celio, where are many privileged altars, and there they shew'd us an arme of that Saint and other reliques. Before this Church stands a very noble portico.

17. I walked to Villa Borghesi, a house and ample garden on Mons Pincius, yet somewhat without the Citty walls, circumscrib'd by another wall full of small turrets and banqueting-houses, which makes it appeare at a distance like a little towne. Within it is an elysium of delight, having in the centre a noble Palace; but the enterance of the garden presents us with a very glorious fabrick or rather dore-case adorn'd with divers excellent marble statues. This garden abounded with all sorts of delicious fruit and exotiq simples, fountaines of sundry inventions, groves, and small rivulets. There is also adjoining to it a vivarium for estriges, peacocks, swanns, cranes, &c. and divers strange beasts, deare, and hares. The grotto is very rare, and represents among other devices artificial raine, and sundry shapes of vessells, flowers, &c. which is effected by changing the heads of the fountaines. The groves are of cypresse, laurell, pine, myrtill, olive, &c. The 4 sphinxes are very antique and worthy observation. To this is a volary full of curious birds. The house is square, with turrets from which the prospect is excellent towards Rome and the invironing hills covered as they now are with snow, which indeed commonly continues even a great part of the sum'er, affording great

refreshment. Round the house is a balustre of white marble, with frequent jettos of water, and adorn'd with a multitude of statues. The walls of the house are cover'd with antiq incrustations of history, as that of Curtius, the Rape of Europa, Leda, &c. The cornices above consist of frutages and festoons, between which are niches furnish'd with statues, which order is observ'd to the very rooffe. In the lodge at the entry are divers good statues of consuls, &c. with two pieces of field artillery upon carriages (a mode much practized in Italy before the great men's houses), which they looke on as a piece of state more than defence. In the first hall within are the 12 Roman Emperors, of excellent marble: 'twixt them stand porphyry columns and other precious stones of vast height and magnitude, with urnes of Oriental alabaster. Tables of Pietra-Commessa. Here is that renown'd Diana which Pompey worshipp'd; the most incomparable Seneca, of touch bleeding in an huge vasa of porphyrie, resembling the dropps of his blood; the so famous gladiator, and the Hermaphrodite upon a quilt of stone. The new piece of Daphne, and David, of Cavaliero Bernini, is observable for the pure whiteness of the stone, and the art of the statuary which is stupendious. There are a multitude of rare pictures of infinite value by the best masters; huge tables of porphyrie, and two exquisitely-wrought vases of the same. In another chamber are divers sorts of instruments of musiq: amongst other toyes that of a satyre with so artificialy express'd an human voice, with the motion of eyes and head, that it might easily affright one who was not prepared for that most extravagant sight. They shew'd us also a chayre which catches any who sits downe in it so as not to be able to stirr out, by certaine springs concealed in the armes and back thereoff, which at sitting downe surprizes a man on the suddaine, locking him in by the armes and thighs, after a true tretchorous Italian guise. The perspective is considerable, compos'd by the position of looking-glasses, which render a strange multiplication of things resembling divers most richly-furnish'd roomes. Here stands a rare clock of German worke; in a word, nothing but what is magnificent is to be seen in this paradise.

The next day I went to the Vatican, where in the morning I saw the ceremony of Pamfilio the Pope's nephew receiving a Cardinal's hat; this was the first time I had seen his holiness *in pontificalibus*. After the Cardinals and Princes had met in the Consistory, the ceremony was in the Pope's Chapell, where he was at the altar invested with most pompous rites.

17 Nov. I visited St. Peter's, that most stupendious and incomparable Basilicum, far surpassing any now extant in the world, and perhaps, Solomon's Temple excepted, any that was ever built. The largeness of the piazza before the portico is worth observing, because it affords a noble prospect of the Church, not crowded up as for the most

part is the case in other places where greate churches are erected. In this is a fountaine out of which gushes a river rather than a streeme, which ascending a good height breakes upon a round embosse of marble into millions of pearles that fall into the subjacent basons with greate noise ; I esteeme this one of the goodliest fountaines I ever saw.

Next is the Obelisq transported out of Egypt and dedicated by Octavius Augustus to Julius Cæsar, whose ashes it formerly bore on the sumit ; but being since overturn'd by the Barbarians, was re-erected with vast cost and a most stupendious invention by Domenico Fontana, architect to Sixtus V. The Obelisk consists of one intire square stone without hieroglyphic, in height 72 foote, but comprehending the base and all 'tis 108 foote high. It rests on 4 lyons of gilded copper. You may see through the base of the Obelisq and plinth of the pedestal. Upon two faces of the Obelisq is engraven :

DIVO CAES. DIVI  
IVLII F. AVGVSTO  
TI. CAES. DIVI AVG.  
F. AVGVST. SACRVM.

It now beares on the top a crosse in which 'tis sayd that Sixtus V. inclosed some of the holy wood ; and under it is to be read by good eyes :

SANCTISSIMAE CRVCI  
SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.  
CONSECRAVIT.

E PRIORE SEDE AVVLSVM  
ET CAESS. AVG. AC TIB.  
I. L. ABLATVM M.D.LXXXVI.

On the foure faces of the base below :

1. CHRISTVS VINCIT.  
CHRISTVS REGNAT.  
CHRISTVS IMPERAL.  
CHRISTVS AB OMNI MALO  
PLEBEM SVAM DEFENDAT.

2. SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.  
OBELISCVM VATICANVM DIIS GENTIVM  
IMPIO CVLTV DICATVM  
AD APOSTOLORVM DIIS LIMINA  
OPEROSO LABORE TRANSTVLIT  
AN. M.D.LXXXVI. PONT. II.

3. ECCE CRVX DOMINI  
FVGITE PARTES  
ADVERSAE  
VINCIT LEO  
DE TRIBV IVDA.

4. SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.  
CRVCI INVICTAE

OBELISCVM VATICANVM  
 AB IMPIA SVPERSTITIONE  
 EXPIATVM IVSTIVS  
 ET FELICIVS CONSECRAVIT  
 AN. M.D.L.XXXVI. PONT. II.

A little lower :

DOMINICVS FONTANA EX PAGO MILIAGRI NOVO COMENSIS TRANSTVLIT  
 ET EREXIT.

It is reported to have taken a year in erecting, to have cost 37,975 crowns, the labor of 907 men and 75 horses ; it was the first of the 4 Egyptian Obelisks set up at Rome, and one of the 42 brought to the Citty out of Egypt, set up in several places, but thrown down by the Goths, Barbarians, and Earthquakes. See Platina in Vita Pontiff. p. 315.—Some coaches stood before the steps of the ascent, whereof one belonging to Card. Medici had all the metall worke of massy silver ; *viz.* the bow behind and other places. The coaches at Rome, as well as cover'd wagons which are also much in use, are generally the richest and largest I ever saw. Before the faciata of the Church is an ample pavement. The Church was first begun by St. Anacletus when rather a Chapel, on a foundation as they give out of Constantine the Great, who in honour of the Apostles carried 12 baskets full of sand to the work. After him Julius II. tooke it in hand, to which all his successors have contributed more or less.

The front is suppos'd to be the largest and best studied piece of architecture in the world ; to this we went up by 4 steps of marble. The first entrance is supported by huge pilasters ; the volto within is the richest in the world, overlayd with gold. Between the 5 large anti-ports are columns of enormous height and compass, with as many gates of brasse the worke and sculpture of Pollajuolo the Florentine, full of cast figures and histories in a deepe relievo. Over this runs a terrace of like amplitude and ornament, where the Pope at solemn times bestowes his benediction on the vulgar. On each side of this portico are two campaniles, or towers, whereof there was but one perfected, of admirable art. On the top of all runns a balustrade which edges it quite round, and upon this at equal distances are Christ and the 12 Disciples of gigantic size and stature, yet below shewing no greater than the life. Entring the Church, admirable is the bredth of the volto or rooffe which is all carv'd with foliage and roses overlayd with gold in nature of a deepe bass relievo, *a l'antique*. The nave, or body, is in forme of a crosse, whereof the foote part is the longest ; and at the internodium of the transept rises the cupola, which being all of stone and of prodigious height is more in compasse than that of the Pantheon (which was the largest amongst the old Romans, and is yet intire) or any other in the world. The inside or concave is cover'd with most exquisite Mosaique representing the Celestial Hierarchy, by

Giuseppe d'Arpino, full of stars of gold ; the convex or outside expos'd to the aire, is cover'd with lead with great ribs of metall double gilt (as are also the ten other lesser cupolas, for no fewer adorn this glorious structure) which gives a great and admirable splendor in all parts of the City. On the sum'it of this is fix'd a brasen globe gilt, capable of receiving 35 persons. This I entered and engrav'd my name amongst other travellers. Lastly is the crosse, the access to which is betweene the leaden covering and the stone convex or arch-worke, a most truly astonishing piece of art. On the battlements of the Church, also all overlayd with lead and marble, you would imagine yourself in a town, so many are the cupolas, pinnacles, towers, juttings, and not a few houses inhabited by men who dwell there, and have enough to do to looke after the vast reparations which continually employ them.

We descended into the body of the Church, which is full of collaterall Chapells and large Oratories, most of them exceeding the size of ordinary Churches ; but the principal are fowre incrusted with most precious marbles and stones of various colours, adorn'd with an infinity of statues, pictures, stately altars, and innumerable reliques. The altar-piece of St. Michael being of Mosaiq I could not passe without particular note, as one of the best of that kind. The Chapel of Gregory XIII. where he is buried, is most splendid. Under the cupola, and in the center of the Church, stands the high altar, consecrated first by Clement VIII. adorn'd by Paul V. and lately cover'd by Pope Urban VIII. with that stupendous canopy of Corinthian brasse which heretofore was brought from the Pantheon ; it consists of 4 wreath'd columns partly channel'd and incircl'd with vines, on which hang little puti, birds and bees (the armes of the Barbarini), sustaining a baldachino of the same mettall. The 4 columns weigh an hundred and ten thousand pounds, all over richly gilt ; this with the pedestalls, crowne, and statues about it, form a thing of that art, vastness, and magnificence, as is beyond all that man's industry has produced of the kind : it is the work of Bernini, a Florentine sculptor, architect, painter, and poet, who, a little before my coming to the City, gave a publiq Opera (for so they call shews of that kind) wherein he painted the scenes, cut the statues, invented the engines, compos'd the musiq, writ the comedy, and built the theatre. Opposite to either of these pillars, under those niches which with their columns support the weighty cupola, are placed 4 exquisite statues of Parian marble, to which are 4 altars ; that of St. Veronica made by Fra. Mochi, has over it the Reliquary, where they shew'd us the miraculous Sudarium indued with the picture of our Saviour's face, with this inscription : "*Salvatoris imaginem Veronicæ Sudario excepta ut loci majestas decentè custodiret, Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. Marmoreum signum et Altare addidit, Conditorium extruxit et ornavit.*"

Right against this is that of Longinus, of a Colossean magnitude, also by Bernini, and over him the Conservatory of the iron lance inserted in

a most precious chrystal, with this epigraph : “ Longini Lanceam quam Innocentius VIII. a Basagete Turcarum Tyranno accepit, Urbanus VIII. statuâ appositâ et Sacello substructo, in exornatum Conditorium transtulit.”

The third Chapel has over the altar the statue of our countrywoman St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, the worke of Boggi, an excellent sculptor ; and here is preserved a greate piece of the pretended wood of the holy crosse, which she is said to have first detected miraculously in the Holy Land. It was placed here by the late Pope with this inscription : “ Partem Crucis quam Helena Imperatrix è Calvario in Urbem adduxit, Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. è Sissorianâ Basilicâ desumptam, additis arâ et statuâ, hic in Vaticano collocavit.”

The 4th hath over the altar, and opposite to that of St. Veronica, the statue of St. Andrew, the worke of Fiamingo, admirable above all the other ; above is preserv'd the head of that Apostle richly inchas'd. It is said that this excellent sculptor died mad to see his statue placed in a disadvantageous light by Bernini the chiefe architect, who found himselfe outdone by this artist. The inscription over it is this :

“ St. Andreæ caput quod Pius II. ex Achaiâ in Vaticanum asportandum curavit, Urbanus VIII. novis hic ornamentis decoratum sacrisq' statuæ, ac Sacelli honoribus coli voluit.”

The Reliques shew'd and kept in this Church are without number, as are also the precious vessels of gold, silver, and gems, with the vests and services to be seene in the Sacristy, which they shew'd us. Under the high altar is an ample grot inlaid with Pietra Com'essa, wherein half of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul are preserv'd ; before hang divers greate lamps of the richest plate burning continually. About this and contiguous to the altar runns a balustrade in forme of a theatre, of black marble. Towards the left as you goe out of the Church by the portico, a little beneath the high altar is an old brasse statue of St. Peter sitting, under the soles of whose feete many devout persons rub their heads and touch their chaplets. This was formerly cast from a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus. In another place stands a colunne grated about with yron, whereon they report that our Bl. Saviour was often wont to leane as he preached in the Temple. In the work of the reliquary under the cupola there are 8 wreathed columns which were brought from the Temple of Solomon. In another Chapell they shew'd us the chayre of St. Peter, or as they name it, the Apostolical Throne ; but amongst all the Chapells the one most glorious has for an altar-piece, a Madona bearing a dead Christ on her knees in white marble, the work of M. Angelo. At the upper end of the Cathedral are several stately monuments, especialy that of Urban VIII. Round the cupola and in many other places in the Church are confession-seates for all languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, English, Irish, Welsh, Sclavonian, Dutch, &c. as it is written

on their freezes in golden capitals, and there are still at confessions some of all nations. Towards the lower end of the Church and on the side of a vast pillar sustaining a weighty roof, is the depositum and statue of the Countess Matilda, a rare piece, with basso-relievos about it of white marble, the worke of Bernini. Here are also those of Sextus IV. and Paulus III. &c. Amongst the exquisite pieces in this sumptuous fabriq is that of the Ship with St. Peter held up from sinking by our Saviour; the emblems about it are the Mosaiq of the famous Giotto, who restor'd and made it perfect after it had been defaced by the Barbarians. Nor is the pavement under the cupola to be passed over without observation, which with the rest of the body and walls of the whole Church, are all inlaid with the richest of Pietra Com'essa, in the most splendid colours of polish'd marbles, achats, serpentine, porphyry, calcedone, &c. wholly incrusted to the very roof. Coming out by the portico at which we entred, we were shew'd the Porto Santo, never opened but at the year of jubilee. This glorious foundation hath belonging to it 30 Canons, 36 Beñeficiates, 28 Clearks benefic'd, with in'umerable Chaplaines, &c. a Cardinal being always Arch-Priest; the present Cardinal was Franc. Barberini, who also stiled himselfe Protector of the English, to whom he was indeede very courteous.

20 Nov. I went to visite that ancient See and Cathedral of St. John de Laterana, and the holy places thereabout. This is a Church of extraordinary devotion, though for outward forme not comparable to St. Peter's, being of Gotiq ordonance. Before we went into the Cathedral, the Baptisterie of St. John Baptist presented itselfe, being formerly part of the Greate Constantine's Palace, and as it is sayd, his chamber where by St. Silvester he was made a Christian; it is octagonal, having before the entrance 8 faire pillars of rich porphyrie, each of one intire piece, their capitalls of divers orders supporting lesser columnes of white marble, and these supporting a noble cupola, the moulding whereof is excellently wrought. Women are prohibited from entering this chamber, for the malice of Herodias who caus'd him to loose his head. Here are deposited several sacred reliques of St. James, Mary Magdalen, St. Matthew, &c. and two goodly pictures. Another Chapel or Oratory neere it is called St. John the Evangelist, well adorn'd with marbels and tables, especialy those of Cavalier Giuseppe, and of Tempesta, in fresco. We went hence into another called St. Venantius, in which is a Tribunal all of Mosaiq in figures of Popes; here is also an altar of the Madona much visited, and divers Sclavonish Saints, companions of Pope John IV. The portico of the Church is built of materials brought from Pontius Pilate's house in Jerusalem.

The next sight which attracted our attention was a wonderful concourse of people at their devotions before a place call'd Scala Sancta, to which is built a noble front. Entering thê portico, we saw those

large marble stayres, 28 in number, which are never ascended but on the knees, some lip-devotion being used on every step, on which you may perceive divers red specks of blood under a grate which they affirme to have been drops of our Bl. Saviour at the time he was so barbarously mis-us'd by Herod's souldiers, for these stayres are reported to have been translated hither from his Palace in Jerusalem. At the top of these stayres is a Chapell, whereat they enter, but we could not be permitted, by gates of marble, being the same our Saviour passed when he went out of Herod's house. This they name the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and over it we read this epigraph : *Non est in toto sanctior orbe locus*. Here, through a grate, we saw that picture of Christ paynted as they say by St. Luke to the life. Descending again, we saw before the Church the Obelisc, which is indeed most worthy of admiration. It formerly lay in the Circo Maximo, and was erected here by Sixtus V. in 1587, being 112 foote in height without the base or pedestal ; at the foote  $9\frac{1}{2}$  one way and 8 the other. This pillar was first brought from Thebes at the utmost confines of Egypt, to Alexandria, from thence to Constantinople, thence to Rome, and is said by Ammianus Marcellinus to have been dedicated to Ramises King of Egypt. It was transferr'd to this City by Constantine the sonne of the Great, and is full of hieroglyphics, serpents, men, owles, falcons, oxen, instruments, &c. containing (as Father Kercher the Jesuit will shortly tell us in a book which he is ready to publish) all the recondite and abstruse learning of that people. The vessel, gally, or floate that brought it to Rome so many hundred leagues must needs have been of wonderful bignes and strange fabriq. The stone is one and intire, and [having been thrown down] was erected by the famous Dom. Fontana for that magnificent Pope Sixtus V. as the rest were ; 'tis now cracked in many places, but solidly joyn'd. The Obelisk is thus inscrib'd at the several faciatis :

Fl. Constantinus Augustus, Constantini Augusti F. Obeliscum à patre suo motum diuq ; Alexandriae jacentem trecentorum remigum impositum navi mirandi vastitatis per mare Tiberimq ; magnis molibus Romam convectum in Circo Max. ponendum S. P. Q. R. D. D.

On the second square :

Fl. Constantinus Max : Aug : Christianæ fidei Vindex & Assertor Obeliscum ab Ægyptio Rege impuro voto Soli dicatum sedibus avulsum suis per Nilum transfer. Alexandriam ut novam Romam ab se tunc conditam eo decoraret monumento.

On the third :

Sixtus V. Pontifex Max : Obeliscum hunc specie eximiâ temporum calamitate fractum, Circi Maximi ruinis humo limoq ; altè demersum, multâ impensâ extraxit, hunc in locum magno labore transtulit, formæq ; pristinae accuratè vestitum, Cruci invictissimæ dicavit anno M.D.LXXXVIII. Pont. IIII.

On the fourth :

Constantinus per Crucem Victor à Silvestro hinc baptisatus Crucis gloriam propagavit.

Leaving this wonderful monument (before which is a stately public fountaine, with a statue of St. John in the middle of it) we visited his Holyness's Palace, being a little up on the left hand, the designe of Fontana architect to Sixtus V. ; this I take to be one of the best Palaces in Rome ; but not staying, we entered the Church of St. John de Lateran, which is properly the Cathedral of the Roman See, as I learn'd by these verses engraven upon the architrave of the portico :

Dogmate Papali datur, et simul Imperiali  
Quod sim cunctarum mater caput Ecclesiaru  
Hinc Salvatoris coelestia regna datoris  
Nomine sanxerunt, cum cuncta peracta fuerunt ;  
Sic vos ex toto conversi supplice voto  
Nostra quod hæc ædes tibi Christe sit inclyta sedes.

'Tis call'd *Lateran* from a noble family dwelling it seems hereabouts, on Mons Cælius. The Church is Gotiq, and hath a stately tribunal ; the paintings are of Pietro Pisano. It was the first Church that was consecrated with the ceremonies now introduc'd ; and where altars of stone supplied those of wood, heretofore in use and made like large chests for the easier removal in times of persecution, such an altar is still the greate one here preserved, as being that on which (they hold) St. Peter celebrated masse at Rome, for which reason none but the Pope may now presume to make that use of it. The pavement is of all sorts of precious marbles, and so are the walles to a great height, over which 'tis painted a *fresca* with the life and acts of Constantine the Greate, by most excellent masters. The organs are rare, supported by 4 columns. The suffito is all richly gilded and full of pictures. Opposite to the porte is an altar of exquisite architecture with a tabernacle on it all of precious stones, the worke of Targoni ; on this is a Coena of plate, the invention of Curtius Vanni, of exceeding value ; the tables hanging over it are of Giuseppe d'Arpino. About this are 4 excellent columnes transported out of Asia by the Emperor Titus, of brasse double gilt, about 12 foote in height ; the walls betweene them are incrusted with marble and set with statues in niches, the vacuum reported to be fill'd with holy earth which St. Helena sent from Jerusalem to her sonn Constantine, who set these pillars where they now stand. At one side of this is an Oratory full of rare paintings and monuments, especialy those of the great Connestable Colonna. Out of this we came into the Sacristia, full of good pictures of Albert and others. At the end of the Church is a flat stone supported by 4 pillars which they affirme to have beene the exact height of our Bl. Saviour, which they say never fitted any mortal man that tried it, but he was either taller or shorter ; two columns

of the vaile of the Temple which rent at his passion ; the stone on which they threw lots for his seamelesse vesture, and the pillar on which the cock crow'd after Peter's denial ; and, to omit no fine thing, the just length of the Virgin Mary's foote as it seems her shoemaker affirm'd. Here is a most sumptuous crosse beset with precious stones, containing some of the very wood of the holy crosse itselfe ; with many other things of this sort. Here are many most magnificent monuments, especialy those of St. Helen of porphyrie ; Cardinal Farneze ; Martine the first of copper. The pictures of *Mary Magdalen*, *Martine V.*, *Laurent. Valla.* &c. are of Gaetano ; the *Nunciata*, designed by M. Angelo ; and the *greate Crucifix* of Semoneta. In a Chapel at one end of the porch is a statue of Henry IV. of France in brasse, standing in a darke hole, and so has don many yeares ; perhaps from not believing him a thorough proselyte. The two famous Œcumenical Councils were celebrated in this Church by Pope Simachus, Martin the first, Stephen, &c.

Leaving this venerable Church (for in truth it has a certaine majesty in it) we pass'd through a faire and large Hospital of good architecture, having some inscriptions put up by Barberini, the late Pope's nephew. We then went by St. Sylvia, where is a noble statue of St. Gregory P. began by M. Angelo, a St. Andrewe, and the Bath of St. Cecilia. In this Church are some rare paintings, especialy that story on the wall of Guido Rheni.—Thence to St. Giovanni e Paula, where the Friers are reported to be greate chymists. The quire, rooffe and paintings in the Tribuna are excellent.—Descending the Mons Cælius we come against the vestiges of the Palazzo Maggiore, heretofore the Golden House of Nero ; now nothing but an heape of vast and confused ruines, to shew what time and the vicissitude of human things dos change from the most glorious and magnificent to the most deformed and confused.—We next went into St. Sebastian's Church, which has an handsome front. We then pass'd by the place where Romulus and Remus were taken up by Faustulus ; the Forum Romanum ; and so by the edge of the Mons Palatinus, where we were shew'd the ruines of Pompey's house, and the Church of St. Anacletus : and so into the Circus Maximus, heretofore capable of containing an hundred and sixty thousand spectators, but now all one entire heape of rubbish, part of it converted into a garden of pot-herbs. We concluded this evening with hearing the rare voices and musiq at the Chiesa Nova.

21 Nov. I was carried to see a great virtuoso Cavaliero Pozzo, who shew'd us a rare collection of all kind of antiquities, and a choice library, over which are the effigies of most of our late men of polite literature. He had a great collection of the antiq bassi-relievos about Rome, which this curious man had caus'd to be design'd in several folios ; many fine medails ; the stone which Pliny calls Enhydrus ; it had plainly in it the quantity of halfe a spoonfull of water of a yellow

pebble colour, of the bigness of a walnut. A stone in a ring without foiles, paler than an amethyst, which yet he affirm'd to be the true carbuncle, and harder than a diamond; 'twas set in a ring, without foile or any thing at the bottom, so as it was transparent, of a greenish yellow, more lustrous than a diamond. He had very pretty things painted on crimson velvet, design'd in black, and shaded and heighten'd with white, set in frames; also a number of choice designs and drawings.

Hence we walked to the *Suburra* and *Erariū Saturni*, where yet remaine some ruines and an inscription. From thence to St. Pietro in Vinculi, one of the 7 Churches on the Esqueline, an old and much frequented place of greate devotion for the relicks there, especially the bodyes of the seaven Maccabean brethren which lye under the altar. On the wall is a St. Sebastian of Mosaic, after the Greeke manner; but what I chiefly regarded was that noble sepulchre of Pope Julius II. the worke of M. Angelo, with that never sufficiently to be admired statue of Moses in white marble, and those of *Vita Contemplativa* and *Activa* by the same incomparable hand. To this Church belongs a Monastery, in the Court of whose Cloisters grow two tall and very stately palme-trees. Behind these are the Bathes of Titus with prodigious receptacles for water, which the vulgar call the *Setti Sali*, now all in heapes.

23 Nov. There was the solemne and greatest ceremony of all the Ecclesiastical States, *vis.* the procession of the Pope (Innocent X.) to St. John de Lateran. Standing on the steps of Ara Celi, neere the Capitol, I saw it passe in this manner:—First went a guard of Swissers to make way, and divers of the avant guard of horse carrying lances. Next follow'd those who carried the robes of the Cardinals, two and two; then the Cardinals Mace-bearers; the Caudatari on mules; the Masters of their Horse; the Pope's Barber, Taylor, Baker, Gardner, and other domestic officers, all on horseback in rich liveries; the Squires belonging to the guard; 5 men in rich liveries led 5 noble Neapolitan horses white as snow cover'd to the ground with trappings richly embroidered, which is a service paid by the King of Spaine for the kingdomes of Naples and Sicily, pretended feudatorys to the Pope; 3 mules of exquisite beauty and price, trapp'd in crimson velvet: 3 rich litters with mules, the litters empty; the Master of the Horse alone, with his Squires; 5 Trumpeters; the Amerieri extra muros; the Fiscale and Consistorial Advocates; Capellani, Camerieri de honore, Cubiculari and Chamberlaines, call'd Secreti; 4 other Camerieri with 4 capps of the dignity Pontifical, which were Cardinals' hatts carried on staffs; 4 Trumpets: after them a number of noble Romans and gentlemen of quality very rich, follow'd by innumerable Staffieri and Pages; the Secretaries of the Chancellaria, Abbreviatori-Acoliti in their long robes and on mules; Auditori di Rota; the Deane of the

Roti and Master of the sacred Palace on mules, with grave but rich foote clothes, and in flat episcopal hatts ; then went more of the Roman and other Nobility and Courtiers, with divers Pages in most rich liveries on horseback ; 14 Drums belonging to the Capitol ; the Marshalls with their staves ; the 2 Sindics ; the Conservators of the Citty in robes of crimson damask ; the Knight Confalonier and Prior of the R. R. in velvet tocques ; 6 of his holynesses Mace-bearers ; then the Captaine or Governor of the Castle of St. Angelo upon a brave prancer ; the Governor of the Citty ; on both sides of these 2 long ranks of Swissers ; the Masters of the Ceremonies ; the Crosse-bearer on horseback, with two Priests at each hand on foote ; Pages, Footmen, and Guards in abundance ; then came the Pope himselfe, carried in a litter or rather open chaire of crimson velvet richly embrodred, and borne by two stately mules ; as he went he held up two fingers, blessing the multitude who were on their knees or looking out of their windows and houses, with loud *viva's* and acclamations of felicity to their new Prince. This was follow'd by the Master of his Chamber, Cupp-bearer, Secretary, and Physitian ; then came the Cardinal Bishops, Cardinal Priests, Cardinal Deacons, Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, all in their several and distinct habits, some in red, others in greene flat hatts with tassells, all on gallant mules richly trapp'd with velvet and lead by their servants in great state and multitudes ; then came the Apostolical Protonotari, Auditor, Treasurer, and Referendaries ; lastly, the Trumpets of the reare-guard, 2 Pages of Armes in helmets with feathers and carrying launces ; 2 Captaines ; the Pontifical Standard of the Church : the two Alfieri or Cornets of the Pope's Light Horse, who all follow'd in armor and carrying launces ; which, with innumerable rich coaches, litters, and people, made up the procession. What they did at St. John di Laterano I could not see by reason of the prodigious crowd ; so I spent most of the day in viewing the two triumphal arches which had been purposely erected a few days before, and till now covered ; the one by the Duke of Parma in the Foro Romano, the other by the Jewes in the Capitol, with flattering inscriptions. They were of excellent architecture, decorated with statues and abundance of ornaments proper for the occasion, since they were but temporary, and made up of boards, cloath, &c. painted and fram'd on the suddaine, but as to outward appearance solid and very stately. The night ended with fireworkes. That which I saw was that which was built before the Spanish Ambassadors house in the Piazza del Trinita, and another of the French. The first appeared to be a mighty rock, bearing the Pope's armes, a dragon, and divers figures, which being set on fire by one who flung a roquet at it, tooke fire immediately, yet preserving the figure both of the rock and statues a very long time, insomuch as it was deemed ten thousand reports of squibbs and crackers spent themselves in order. That before the French Ambassadors Palace was

a Diana drawne in a chariot by her doggs, with abundance of other figures as large as the life, which plaied with fire in the same manner. In the meane time the windows of the whole Citty were set with tapers put into lanterns or sconces of several colour'd oyl'd paper, that the wind might not annoy them; this render'd a most glorious shew. Besides these there were at least 20 other fire-workes of vast charge and rare art for their invention before diverse Ambassadors, Princes and Cardinals. Palaces, especialy that on the Castle of St. Angelo, being a pyramid of lights, of greate height, fastned to the ropes and cables which support the standard-pole. The streetes were this night as light as day, full of bonfires, canon roaring, musiq playing, fountaines running wine, in all excesse of joy and triumph.

24 Nov. I went to the Jesuites Colledge againe, the front whereoff gives place to a few for its architecture, most of its ornaments being of rich marble. It has within a noble Portico and Court, sustain'd by stately columnes, as is the Corridor over the Portico, at the sides of which are the Scholes for the Arts and Sciences, which are here taught as at the University. Here I heard Father Athanasius Kercher upon a part of Euclid, which he expounded. To this joynes a glorious and ample Church for the Students; a second is not fully finish'd; and there are two noble Libraries where I was shew'd that famous wit and historian Famianus Strada. Hence we went to the house of Hippolito Vitellesco (afterwards Bibliothecary of the Vatican Library) who shew'd us one of the best collections of Statues in Rome, to which he frequently talkes as if they were living, pronouncing now and then orations, sentences, and verses, sometimes kissing and embracing them. He has an head of Brutus scarr'd in the face by order of the Senate for killing Julius; this is much esteem'd. Also a Minerva and others of greate value. This gentleman not long since purchased land in the kingdome of Naples, in hope by digging the ground to find more statues; which it seemes so far succeeded as to be much more worth than the purchase. We spent the evening at the Chiesa Nova, where was excellent musiq; but before that began the courteous Fathers led me into a nobly-furnish'd Library contiguous to their most beautifull Convent.

28. I went to see the garden and house of the Aldobrandini, now Cardinal Borghese's. This palace is, for architecture, magnificence, pompe and state, one of the most considerable about the Citty. It has 4 fronts, and a noble Piazza before it. Within the court, under arches supported by marble columns, are many excellent statues. Ascending the stayres there is a rare figure of Diana of white marble. The St. Sebastian and Hermaphrodite are of stupendious art. For paintings, *our Saviour's head* by Corregio; several pieces of Raphael, some of which are small; some of Bassano Veroneze; the *Leda*, and two admirable *Venus's*, are of Titian's pensill; so is the *Psyche and Cupid*; the

*head of St. John borne by Herodias*; two heads of Albert Durer, very exquisite. We were shewn here a fine cabinet and tables of Florence-worke in stone. In the garden are many fine fountaines, the walls cover'd with citron-trees, which being rarely spread invest the stone worke intirely; and towards the streete, at a back gate, the Port is so handsomely cloath'd with ivy as much pleas'd me. About this Palace are many noble antiq bassi relievi, two especialy are placed on the ground, representing armor and other military furniture of the Romans; beside these stand about the garden numerous rare statues, altars, and urnes. Above all, for antiquity and curiosity (as being the onely rarity of that nature now knowne to remaine) is that piece of old Roman paynting representing the Roman Sponsalia, or celebration of their marriage, judg'd to be 1400 yeares old, yet are the colours very lively and the designe very intire, tho' found deepe in the ground. For this morcell of painting's sake onely 'tis sayd that Borghesi purchased the house, because this being on a wall in a kind of banqueting house in the garden could not be removed, but passe with the inheritance.

29 Nov. I a second time visited the Medicean Palace, being neere my lodging, the more exactly to have a view of the noble collections that adorne it, especialy the bass relievi and antiq frezes inserted about the stone worke of the house. The Saturne of mettall standing in the portico is a rare piece; so is the Jupiter and Apollo in the hall. We were now led into those roomes above we could not see before, full of incomparable statues and antiquities; above all, and happly preferable to any in the world, are the two Wrestlers, for the inextricable mixture with each others armes and legges is stupendious. In the greate chamber is the Gladiator whetting a knife; but the-Venus is without parallel, being the master-piece of whose name you see graven under it in old Greeke characters; nothing in sculpture ever approached this miracle of art. To this add Marcius, Ganymede, a little Apollo playing on a pipe; some relieui incrusted on the palace walls; and an antiq vasa of marble neare 6 foote high. Among the pictures may be mentioned the *Magdalen* and *St. Peter weeping*. I passe over the cabinets and tables of Pietra Com'essa, being the proper invention of the Florentines. In one of the chambers is a whimsical chayre, which folded into so many varieties as to turn into a bed, a bolster, a table, or a couch. I had another walk in the garden, where are two huge vasa's or bathes of stone.

I went farther up the hill to the Pope's Palace at Monte Cavallo, where I now saw the garden more exactly, and found it to be one of the most magnificent and pleasant in Rome. I am told the gardener is annually alowed 2000 scudi for the keeping it. Here I observ'd hedges of myrtle above a man's height; others of laurell, oranges, nay of ivy and juniper; the close walks, and rustic grotto; a crypta, of which the laver or basin is of one vast, intire, antiq porphyric, and below this flows

a plentiful cascade; the steppes of the grotto and the roofs being of rich Mosaic. Here are hydraulic organs, and a fish-pond in an ample bath. From hence we went to taste some rare Greco, and so home.

Being now pretty weary of continual walking, I kept within, for the most part, till the 6 Dec, and during this time I entertain'd one Sign. Alessandro, who gave me some lessons on the theorba.

The next excursion was over the Tiber, which I crossed in a ferry-boate, to see the Palazzo di Ghisi, standing in Trastevere, fairly built, but famous onely for the painting *a fresco* on the volto of the portico towards the garden; the story is the *Amours of Cupid and Psyche*, by the hand of the celebrated Raphael d'Urbino. Here you always see Painters designing and copying after it, it being esteemed one of the rarest pieces of that art in the world, and with great reason. I must not omit that incomparable table of *Galatea* (as I remember), so carefully preserved in the cupboard at one of the ends of this walke, to protect it from the aire, being a most lively painting. There are likewise excellent things of Baldassare and others.

Thence we went to the noble house of the Duke of Bracciano, fairly built, with a stately court and fountaine.—Next we walked to St. Mary's Church, where was the Taberna Meritoria, where the old Roman soldiers received their triumphal garland, which they ever after wore. The high altar is very faire, adorn'd with columns of porphyrie; here is also some mosaic worke about the quire, and the Assumption is an esteem'd piece. It is sayd that this Church was the first that was dedicated to the Virgin at Rome. In the opposite Piazza is a very sumptuous fountaine.

12. I went againe to St. Peter's, to see the Chapells, Churches, and Grotts under the whole Church (like our St. Faith's under Paules,) in which lie interr'd a multitude of Saints, Martyrs, and Popes; amongst them our countryman Hadrian IV. in a chest of porphyrie; St. Jo: Chrysostom; Petronella; the heads of St. James Minor, St. Luke, St. Sebastian, and our Thomas à Becket, a shoulder of St. Christopher; an arme of Joseph of Arimathea; Longinus; besides 134 more Bishops, Souldiers, Princes, Scholars, Cardinals, Kings, Emperors, their wives, too long to particularize.

Hence we walked into the Cemetary call'd Campo Santo, the earth consisting of severall ship loads of mould transported from Jerusalem, which consumes a carcassee in 24 houres. To this joynes that rare Hospital, where once was Nero's Circus; and next to this is the Inquisition house and prison, the inside thereof, I thanke God, I was not curious to see. To this joins his Holinesse's Horse-guards.

On Christmas Eve I went not to bed, being desirous of seeing the many extraordinary ceremonies performed then in their Churches, as midnight masses and sermons. I went from Church to Church the whole night in admiration at the multitude of sceanes and pageantry

which the Friars had with much industry and craft set out, to catch the devout women and superstitious sort of people, who never parted without dropping some money into a vessell set on purpose ; but especially observable was the puppetry in the Church of the Minerva, representing the Nativity. I thence went and heard a sermon at the Apollinare, by which time it was morning. On Christmas Day his Holinesse saing Masse, the artillerie at St. Angelo went off, and all this day was expos'd the cradle of our Lord.

29. We were invited by the English Jesuites to dinner, being their greate feast of Thomas [à Becket] of Canterbury. We dined in their common Refectory, and afterwards saw an Italian Comedy acted by their alumni before the Cardinals.

1645. Jan. We saw passe the new officers of the people of Rome ; especially for their noble habits were most conspicuous the 3 Consuls, now call'd *Conservators*, who take their places in the Capitol, having been sworne the day before, betwene the hands of the Pope. We ended the day with the rare musiq at the Chiesa Nova.

6 Jan. Was the ceremony of our Saviour's Baptisme in the Church of St. Athanasius, and at Ara Celi was a greate procession, *del Bambino* as they call it, where were all the Magistrates, and a wonderfull concourse of people.

7. A Sermon was preach'd to the Jewes at Ponte Sisto, who are constrained to sit till the houre is don ; but it is with so much malice in their countenances, spitting, hum'ing, coughing, and motion, that it is almost impossible they should heare a word from the preacher. A conversion is very rare.

14. The heads of St. Peter and St. Paul are expos'd at St. John de Laterano.

15. The Zittle, or young wenches, which are to have portions given them by the Pope, being poore, and to marry them, walked in procession to St. Peter's, where the Veronica was shew'd.

I went to the Ghetto, where the Jewes dwell as in a suburbe by themselves ; being invited by a Jew of my acquaintance to see a circumcision. I passed by the Piazza Judea, where their Seraglio begins ; for being environ'd with walls, they are lock'd up every night. In this place remaines yet part of a stately fabric, which my Jew told me had been a palace of theirs for the ambassador of their nation when their country was subject to the Romans. Being led through the Synagogue into a privat house, I found a world of people in a chamber : by and by came an old man, who prepared and layd in order divers instruments brought by a little child of about 7 yeares old in a box. These the man lay'd in a silver bason ; the knife was much like a short razor to shut into the haft. Then they burnt some incense in a censer, which perfum'd the room all the while the ceremony was performing. In the basin was a little cap made of white paper like a capuchins hood, not

bigger than the finger ; also a paper of a red astringent powder, I suppose of bole ; a small instrument of silver, cleft in the middle at one end to take up the prepuce withall ; a fine linen cloth wrapped up. These being all in order, the women brought the infant, swaddl'd, out of another chamber, and delivered it to the Rabbie, who carried and presented it before an altar or cupbord dress'd up, on which lay the 5 Bookes of Moses, and the Commandments a little unrowled ; before this, with profound reverence, and mumbling a few words, he waved the child to and fro awhile ; then he deliver'd it to another Rabbie, who sate all this time upon a table. Whilst the ceremony was performing, all the company fell a singing an Hebrew hymn in a barbarous tone, waving themselves to and fro, a ceremony they observe in all their devotions.—The Jewes in Rome all wear yellow hatts, live onely upon brokage and usury, very poore and despicable beyond what they are in other territories of Princes where they are permitted.

18 Jan. I went to see the Pope's Palace, the Vatican, where he for the most part keeps his Court. It was first built by Pope Simachus, and since augmented to a vast pile of building by his successors. That part of it added by Sixtus V. is most magnificent. This leads us into divers tarraces arched *sub dio*, painted by Raphael with the Historys of the Bible, so esteem'd that artists come from all parts of Europe to make their studies from these designs. The foliage and grotesq about some of the compartments are admirable.<sup>1</sup> In another rome are represented at large mapps and plotts of most countries in the world, in vast tables, with briefe descriptions. The stayres which ascend out of St. Peter's portico into the first hall, are rarely contriv'd for ease ; these leade into the hall of Gregory XIII. the walls whereof, halfe way to the rooffe, are incrusted with most precious marbles of various colours and workes. So is also the pavement inlaid worke ; but what exceeds description is the volta or rooff itselfe, which is so exquisitely painted, that 'tis almost impossible for the skilfullest eye to discern whether it be the worke of the pensil upon a flatt, or of a toole cutt deepe in stone. The *Rota dentata* in this admirable perspective, on the left hand as one goes out, the *Stella*, &c. are things of art incomparable. Certainly this is one of the most superb and royall appartements in the world, much too beautifull for a guard of gigantic Swissers, who do nothing but drinke and play at cards in it. Going up these stayres is a paynting of *St. Peter walking on the sea towards our Saviour*.

Out of this I went into another hall, just before the chapell called the *Sala del Conclave*, full of admirable paintings ; amongst others is the *Assassination of Coligni*, the greate [Protestant] French Admiral, murder'd by the D. of Guise, in the Parisian massacre at the nuptials of Hen. IV. with Queen Margarite ; under it is written, "*Coligni et sociorum cædes :*" on the other side, "*Rex Coligni necem probat.*"

<sup>1</sup> Painted by John of Udine, scholar of Raphael, from the designs of Raphael. Painter's Voyage of Italy, p. 17.

There is another very large picture, under which is inscribed,

“Alexander Papa III. Fredrici Primi Imperatoris iram et impetum fugiens abdidit es Venetijs; cognitum et à senatu perhonorificè susceptum, Othone Imperatoris filio navali prælio victo captoq; Fredericus pace facta supplex adorat; fidem et obedientiam pollicitus. Ita Pontifici sua dignitas Venet. Rep. beneficio restituta MCLXXVIII.”<sup>1</sup>

This inscription I the rather took notice of, because Urban VIII. had caused it to be blotted out during the difference betweene him and that State; but it was now restor'd and refresh'd by his successor, to the greate honor of the Venetians. The *Battaile of Lepanto* is another faire piece here.

Now we came into the Pope's Chapell, so much celebrated for the *Last Judgment*, painted by M. Angelo Buonarotti. It is a painting in *fresca* upon a dead wall at the upper end of the Chapell, just over the high altar, of a vast designe and miraculous fancy, considering the multitude of naked figures and variety of posture. The rooffe also is full of rare worke.—Hence we went into the Sacristia, where we were show'd all the most precious vestments, copes, and furniture of the Chapell. One priestly cope, with the whole suite, had been sent from one of our English Henrys, and is shewn for a greate rarity. There were divers of the Pope's pantofles that are kissed on his foote, having rich jewells embrodred on the instep, cover'd with crimson velvet; also his tyara, or triple crown, divers miters, crosiers, &c. all bestudded with precious stones, gold, and pearle, to a very great value; a very large crosse, carved (as they affirme) out of the holy wood it selfe; also numerous utensils of chrystal, gold, achat, amber, and other costly materials for the altar.

We then went into those chambers painted with the Historys of the *burning of Rome, quenched by the procession of a Crucifix*; the *Victory of Constantine over Maxentius*; *St. Peter's delivery out of Prison*; all by Julio Romano,<sup>2</sup> and are therefore cal'd the Paynters' Academy, because you always find some young men or other designing from them; a civility which is not refused in Italy where any rare pieces of the old and best masters are extant, and which is the occasion of breeding up many excellent men in that profession.

The Sala Clementina's Suffito is painted by Cherubin Alberti, with an ample landskip of Paul Brill's.

We were then conducted into a new Gallery, whose sides were painted with views of the most famous places, towns, and territories in Italy, rarely don, and upon the rooffe the chiefe acts of the Roman

<sup>1</sup> Pope Alexander III. flying from the wrath and attack of the Emperor Frederick I. took shelter at Venice, where he was acknowledged, and most honourably received by the Senate. The Emperor's son Otho being conquered and taken in a naval battle, the Emperor, having made peace, became a suppliant to the Pope, promising faith and obedience. Thus his dignity was restored to the Pontiff by the aid of the Republic of Venice, MCLXXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> A famous scholar of Raphael.

Church since St. Peter's pretended See there. It is doubtlesse one of the most magnificent galleries in Europ.—Out of this we came into the Consistory, a noble roome, the volto painted in grotesq, as I remember. At the upper end is an elevated throne, and a baldachino or canopy of state, for his Holinesse, over it.

From thence, through a very long gallery (longer, I think, then the French king's at the Louvre), but onely of bare walls, we were brought into the Vatican Library. This passage was now full of poore people, to each of whom, in his passage to St. Peter's, the Pope gave a mezzo grosse. I believe there were in number neer 1500 or 2000 persons.

This Library is the most nobly built; furnish'd, and beautified of any in the world; ample, stately, light, and cherefull, looking into a most pleasant garden. The walls and roofe are painted, not with antiques and grotescs, like our Bodleian at Oxford, but emblems, figures, diagrams, and the like learned inventions, found out by the wit and industry of famous men, of which there are now whole volumes extant. There were likewise the effigies of the most illustrious men of letters and fathers of the Church, with divers noble statues in white marble at the entrance, viz. Hippolitus and Aristides. The Generall Councils are painted on the side walls. As to the ranging of the bookes, they are all shut up in presses of wainscot, and not expos'd on shelves to the open ayre, nor are the most precious mix'd amongst the more ordinary, which are show'd to the curious onely; such as are those two Virgils written in parchment, of more then a thousand yeares old; the like a Terence; the Acts of the Apostles in golden capital letters; Petrarch's Epigrams, written with his owne hand; also an Hebrew parchment made up in the ancient manner, from whence they were first call'd *Volumina*, with the Cornua; but what we English do much enquire after, the booke which our Hen. VIII. writ against Luther.<sup>1</sup>

The longest roome is 100 paces long; at the end is the gallery of printed books: then the gallery of the D. of Urbans librarie, in which are MSS. of remarkable miniature, and divers China, Mexican, Samaritan, Abyssin, and other Oriental books.

In another wing of the edifice, 200 paces long, were all the bookes taken from Heidelberg, of which the learned Gruter and other greate scholars had been keepers. These walls and volto are painted with representations of the machines invented by Domenico Fontana for erection of the obelisqs; and the true designe of Mahomet's sepulchre at Mecca.

Out of this we went to see the Conclave, where, during a vacancy,

<sup>1</sup> This very book, by one of those curious chances that occasionally happen, has recently been brought to England, where the Editor has seen it; and what is very remarkable, wherever the title of Defender of the Faith is subjoined to the name of Henry, the Pope has drawn his pen through the epithet. The name of the King occurs in his own hand-writing both at the beginning and end; and on the binding are the royal arms. The present possessor purchased it in Italy for a few shillings from an old book-stall.

the Cardinals are shut up till they are agreed upon a new election, the whole manner whereof was describ'd to us.

Hence we went into the Pope's Armory under the Library. Over the dore is this inscription : "Urbanus VIII. Litteris Arma, Arma Litteris." I hardly believe any Prince in Europ is able to shew a more compleately furnish'd Library of Mars for the quality and quantity, which is 40,000 compleate for horse and foote, and most neatly kept. Out of this we pass'd againe by the long Gallery and at the lower end of it downe a very large payr of stayres, round, without any stepps as usually, but descending with an evenesse so ample and easy that a horse litter or coach may with ease be drawne up ; the sides of the vacuity are set with columns ; those at Amboise on the Loire in France are something of this invention, but nothing so spruce. By these we descended into the Vatican Gardens cal'd *Belvedere*, where entring first into a kind of Court we were shew'd those incomparable statues (so fam'd by Pliny and others) of Laocoon with his three sonns embrac'd by an huge serpent, all of one entire Parian stone very white and perfect, somewhat bigger then the life, the worke of those three celebrated sculptors, Agesandrus, Polidorus, and Artemidorus, Rhodians ; it was found amongst the ruines of Titus's Baths, and placed here. Pliny says this statue is to be esteem'd before all pictures and statues in the world ; and I am of his opinion, for I never beheld anything of art approach it. Here are also those two famous images of Nylus with the Children playing about him, and that of Tybér ; Romulus and Rhemus with the Wolfe ; the dying Cleopatra ; the Venus and Cupid, rare pieces ; the Mercury ; Cybel ; Hercules ; Apollo ; Antinous : most of which are, for defence against the weather, shut up in niches with wainscot dore. We were likewise shew'd the reliques of the Hadrian Moles, *viz.* the Pine, a vast piece of mettall which stood on the summit of that mausoleum ; also a Peacock of coper, supposed to be part of Scipio's monument.

In the Garden without this (which containes a vast circuit of ground) are many stately fountaines, especialy two casting water into antiq lavors brought from Titus's Bathes ; some faire grotts and water works, that noble cascade where the ship daunces, with divers other pleasant inventions, walkes, terraces, meanders, fruite-trees, and a most goodly prospect over the greatest part of the City. One fontaine under the gate I must not omitt, consisting of three jettos of water gushing out of the mouthes or proboscis of bees (the armes of the late Pope), because of the inscription :—

Quid miraris Apem, quæ mel de floribus haurit ?

Si tibi mellitam gutture fundit aquam.

23. We went without the walls of the City to visite St. Paules, to which place 'tis sayd the Apostle bore his owne head after Nero had caus'd it to be cut off. The Church was founded by the Greate Constantine ; the maine rooffe is supported by 100 vast columns of marble,

and the Mosaiq work of the greate arch is wrought with a very ancient story Anno 440 ; as is likewise that of the faciata. The gates are brasse made at Constantinople in 1070, as you may reade by those Greeke verses engraven on them. The Church is neere 500 foote long and 258 in breadth, and has 5 great iles joyn'd to it, on the bases of one of whose columns is this odd title : "Fl. Eugenius Asellus C. C. Præf. Urbis V.S.I. reparavit." Here they shew'd us that miraculous Crucifix which they say spake to St. Brigit : and just before the Ciborio stand two excellent statues. Here are buried part of the bodys of St. Paule and St. Peter. The pavement is richly interwoven with precious oriental marbles about the high altar, where are also 4 excellent payntings, whereof one, representing the *stoning of St. Stephen*, is by the hand of a *Bolognian lady* named Lavinia. The tabernacle on this altar is of excellent architecture, and the pictures in the Chapel del Sacramento are of Lanfranchi. Diuers other reliques there be also in this venerable Church, as a part of St. Anna ; the head of the Woman of Samaria ; the chayne which bound St. Paule, and the Eculeus us'd in tormenting the primitive Christians. The Church stands in the Via Ostensis about a mile from the walles of the Citty, separated from any buildings neere it except the Tria Fontana, to which (leaving our coach) we walked, going over the mountaine or little rising upon which story says an hundred seaventy and 4 thousand Christians had been martyr'd by Maximianus, Dioclesian, and other bloody Tyrants. On this stand St. Vincent's and Anastasius ; likewise the Church of St. Maria Scala del Cielo, in whose Tribuna is a very faire Mosaiq worke. The Church of the Tre Fontane (as they are call'd) is perfectly well built tho' but small (whereas that of St. Paule is but Gotiq) having a noble cupola in the middle ; in this they shew the pillar to which St. Paule was bound when his head was cut off, and from whence it made three prodigious leaps, where im'ediately broke out the 3 remaining fountaines which give denomination to this Church. The waters are reported to be medicinal ; over each is erected an altar and a chayned ladle for better tasting of the waters. That most excellent picture of *St. Peter's crucifixion* is of Guido.

25. I went againe to the Palazzo Farnese, to see some certaine statues and antiquities which by reason of the *Major Domo* not being within I could not formerly obtaine. In the hall stands that triumphant Colosse of one of the family, upon 3 figures, a modern, but rare piece. About it stood some Gladiators ; and at the entrance into one of the first chambers are two cumbent figures of Age and Youth brought hither from St. Peter's to make roome for the Longinus under the cupola. Here was the statue of a ram running at a man on horseback, a most incomparable expression of Fury cut in stone ; and a table of Pietra Com'esse very curious. The next chamber was all painted *a fresca* by a rare hand, as was the carving in wood of the cieling which as I remember was in cedar as the

Italian mode is, and not poore plaster as ours are ; some of them most richly gilt. In a third rome stood the famous Venus, and the child Hercules strangling a serpent of Corinthian brass antiq, on a very curious bass-relievo ; the sacrifice to Priapus ; the Egyptian Isis in the hard black ophit stone taken out of the Pantheon, greatly celebrated by the Antiquaries ; likewise two tables of brasse containing divers old Roman laws. At another side of this chamber was the statue of a wounded Amazon falling from her horse, worthy the name of the excellent sculptor, whoever the artist was. Neere this was a bass relievo of a Bacchanalia with a most curious Silenus. The 4th room was totally inviron'd with statues ; especialy observable was that so renowned piece of a Venus looking backward over her shoulder, and divers other naked figures by the old Greeke masters. Over the doores are two *Venus's*, one of them looking on her face in a glasse by M. Angelo, the other is painted by Caracci. I never saw finer faces, especialy that under the masque whose beauty and art are not to be describ'd by words. The next chamber is also full of statues most of them heads of Philosophers, very antiq. One of the Cæsars and another of Hannibal cost 1200 crownes. Now I had a second view of that never to be sufficiently admired gallery painted in deepe relievo, the worke of 10 years study for a trifling reward. In the wardrobe above they shew'd us fine wrought plate, porcelan, mazers of beaten and solid gold set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds ; a treasure, especialy the workmanship consider'd, of inestimable value. This is all the Duke of Parma's. Nothing seem'd to be more curious and rare in its kind then the compleate service of the purest chrystal for the altar of the Chapell, the very bell, cover of a book, sprinkler, &c. were all of the rock, incomparably sculptur'd with the holy story in deepe Levati ; thus was also wrought the crucifix, chalice, vases, flower-pots, the largest and purest chrystall that my eyes ever beheld. Truely I looked on this as one of the greatest curiosities I had seene in Rome. In another part were presses furnish'd with antiq armes, German clocks, perpetual motions, watches, and curiosities of Indian workes. A very ancient picture of Pope Eugenius ; a St. Bernard, and a head of marble found long since, supposed to be a true portrait of our B: Saviour's face.

Hence we went to see Dr. Gibbs, a famous poet and countryman of ours, who had some intendency in an Hospital built on the Via Triumphalis, called Christ's Hospital, which he shew'd us. The Infirmary where the sick lay was paved with various colour'd marbles, and the walls hung with noble pieces ; the beds are very faire ; in the middle is a stately cupola, under which is an altar decked with divers marble statues, all in sight of the sick, who may both see and heare masse as they lye in their beds. The organs are very fine, and frequently play'd on to recreate the people in paine. To this joyns an apartiment destined for the orphans ; and there is a schoole ; the children weare

blew like ours in London at an Hospital of the same appellation. Here are 40 nurses who give suck to such children as are accidentally found expos'd and abandon'd. In another quarter are children of bigger growth, 450 in number, who are taught letters. In another, 500 girles under the tuition of divers religious matrons, in a Monastery, as it were, by itselfe. I was assur'd there were at least 2000 more maintain'd in other places. I think one appartiment had in it neere 1000 beds; these are in a very long rome having an inner passage for those who attend, with as much care, sweetnesse, and conveniency as can be imagin'd, the Italians being generally very neate. Under the portico the sick may walke out and take the ayre. Opposite to this are other chambers for such as are sick of maladies of a more rare and difficult cure, and they have romes apart. At the end of the long corridore is an apothecary's shop, fair and very well stor'd; neere which are chambers for persons of better quality who are yet necessitous. Whatever the poore bring is at their coming in deliver'd to a treasurer, who makes an inventory and is accoumptable to them, or their representatives if they dye. To this building joynes the house of the com'endator, who with his officers attending the sick make up 90 persons; besides a convent and an ample church for the friers and priests who daily attend. The church is extreameley neate, and the sacristia very rich. Indeede 'tis altogether one of the most pious and worthy foundations I ever saw: nor is the benefit small which divers young physitians and chirurgeons reape by the experience they learne here amongst the sick, to whom those students have free accesse. Hence we ascended a very steepe hill neere the Port St. Pancratio to that stately fountaine call'd Acqua Paula, being the aquæduct which Augustus had brought to Rome, now re-edified by Paulus V.; a rare piece of architecture, and which serves the City after a journey of 35 miles, here pouring itselfe into divers ample lavors, out of the mouthes of swans and dragons, the armes of this Pope. Situate on a very high mount, it makes a most glorious shew to the Citty, especialy when the sun darts on the waters as it gusheth out. The inscriptions on it are:

Paulus V. Romanus Pontifex Opt. Max. Aquæductus ab Augusto Cæsare extructos, ævi longinquâ vetustate collapsos, in ampliorem formam restituit anno salutis M.D. CIX. Pont V.

And towards the feilds,

Paulus V. Rom. Pontifex Optimus Maximus, priori ductu longissimi temporis injuriâ penè diruto, sublimiorem . . . . .

[*One or more leaves are here wanting in Mr. Evelyn's MS. descriptive of other parts of Rome, and of his leaving the City.*]

Thence to Veletri, a towne heretofore of the Volsci, where is a public and faire statue of P. Urban VIII. in brasse, and a stately fountaine in the streete. Here we lay, and drank excellent wine.

Jan: 28. We dined at Sermoneta, descending all this morning

downe a stony mountaine, unpleasant, yet full of olive-trees ; and anon passe a towre built on a rock, kept by a small guard against the Banditti who infest these parts, daily robbing and killing passengers, as my Lord Banbury and his company found to their cost a little before. To this guard we gave some mony, and so were suffer'd to passe, which was still on the Appian to the Tres Tabernæ (whither the brethren came from Rome to meete St. Paule, Acts, c. 28) ; the ruines whereof are yet very faire, resembling the remainder of some considerable edifice, as may be judged by the vast stones and fairenesse of the arched worke. The country invironing this passage is hilly, but rich ; on the right hand stretches an ample playne, being the Pomptini Campi. We repos'd this night at Piperno, in the Post-house without the towne ; and here I was extreameley troubled with a sore hand from a mischance at Rome, which now began to fester, upon my base, unlucky, stiff-necked, trotting, carrion mule, which are in the world the most wretched beasts. In this towne was the Poet Virgil's Camilla borne.

The day following we were faine to hire a strong convey of about 30 firelocks to guard us through the Cork-woods (much infested with the Banditti) as far as Nova Fossa, where was the Appii Forum, and now stands a Church with a greate Monastery, the place where Thomas Aquinas both studied and lyes buried. Here we all alighted, and were most courteously received by the Monks, who shew'd us many reliques of their learned Saint, and at the high altar the print forsooth of the mule's hoofe which he caused to kneele before the Host. The Church is old, built after the Gotiq manner ; but the place is very agreeably melancholy. After this, pursuing the same noble [Appian] way (which we had before left a little) we found it to stretch from Capua to Rome itselſe, and afterwards as far as Brundusium. It was built by that famous Consul, 25 foote broad, every 12 foote something ascending for the ease and firmer footing of horse and man ; both the sides are also a little rais'd for those who travell on foote. The whole is paved with a kind of beach-stone, and, as I say'd, ever and anon adorn'd with some old ruine, sepulcher, or broken statue. In one of these monuments Pancirollus tells us that in the time of Paul III. there was found the body of a young lady swimming in a kind of bath of precious oyle or liquor, fresh and entire as if she had been living, neither her face discolour'd, nor her haire disorder'd : at her feete burnt a lamp which suddenly expir'd at the opening of the vault ; having flam'd, as was computed, now 1500 yeares, by the conjecture that she was Tulliola the daughter of Cicero whose body was thus found, and as the inscription testified. We din'd this day at Terracina, heretofore the famous Anxur, which stands upon a very eminent promontory, the Cercean by name. Whilst meate was preparing I went up into the town, and view'd the sayre remainders of Jupiter's Temple, now converted into a Church, adorn'd with most stately columns ; its architecture has been excellent.

as may be deduc'd from the goodly cornices, mouldings, and huge white marbles of which 'tis built. Before the portico stands a pillar thus inscrib'd :

*Inclyta Gothorum Regis monumenta vetusta*

*Anxuri hoc Oculos exposuere loco.*

for it seemes Theodoric drayn'd their marches. On another more ancient : *Imp. Cæsar Divi Nervæ Filius Nerva Trajanus Aug. Germanicus Dacicus, Pontif. Max Trib. Pop. XVIII. Imp. VI. Cos. v. p.p. XVIII. Silices suâ pecuniâ stravit.*

Meaning doubtlesse some part of the Via Appia. Then,

*Tit. Upio. Aug. optato Pontano Procuratori et Præfect. Classis—Ti. Julius T. Fab. optatus II vir.*

Here is likewise a Columna Miliaria with something engraven on it, but I could not stay to consider it. Coming down againe, I went towards the sea side to contemplate that stupendious strange rock and promontory, cleft by hand, I suppose, for the better passage. Within this is the Cercean Cave, which I went into a good way ; it makes a dreadfull noyse by reason of the roaring and impetuous waves continually assaulting the beach, and that in an unusual manner. At the top at an excessive height stands an old and very greate castle. We arriv'd this night at Fundi, a most dangerous passage for robbing ; and so we pass'd by Galba's Villa, and anon entred the kingdome of Naples, where at the gate this epigraph saluted us : "*Hospes hic sunt fines Regni Neopolitani ; si amicus advenis, pacatè omnia invenies, et maiis moribus pulsus, bonas leges.*" The Via Appia is here a noble prospect ; having before consider'd how it was carried through vast mountaines of rocks for many miles, by most stupendious labour : here it is infinitely pleasant, beset with sepulchres and antiquities, full of sweete shrubbs in the invironing hedges. At Fundi we had oranges and citrons for nothing, the trees growing in every corner, charged with fruite.

29. We descried Mount Cæcubus, famous for the generous wine it heretofore produc'd, and so rid onward the Appian Way, beset with myrtles, lentiscus, bayes, pomegranads, and whole groves of orange-trees and most delicious shrubbs, till we came to Formiana, where they shew'd us Cicero's Tomb standing in an olive grove, now a rude heap of stones, without forme or beauty ; for here that incomparable Orator was murther'd. I shall never forget how exceedingly I was delighted with the sweetnesse of this passage, the sepulcher mixed amongst all sorts of verdure ; besides being now come within sight of the noble City Cajeta, which gives a surprizing prospect along the Tyrrhen Sea in manner of a Theater : and here we beheld that strangely cleft rock, a frightfull spectacle, which they say happen'd upon the passion of our Bl. Saviour ; but the hast of our Procaccio did not suffer us to dwell so long on these objects, and the many antiquities of this towne, as we desired.

At Formia we saw Cicero's grott, dining at Mola, and passing Senuessa, Garigliano (once the Citty Minterna), and beheld the ruines of that vast amphitheatre and aquæduct yet standing; the river Liris, which bounded the old Latium, Falernus, or Mons Massicus, celebrated for its wine, now named Garo; and this night we lodged at a little village called Agatha, in the Falernian Feilds neere to Aurunca and Sessa.

The next day, having passed [the river] Volturnus, we come by the Torre di Francolesse, where Hannibal in danger from Fabius Maximus escaped by debauching his enemyes; and so at last we enter'd the most pleasant plaines of Campania, now call'd Terra di Lavoro; in very truth, I thinke, the most fertile spot that ever the sun shone upon. Here we saw the slender ruines of the once mighty Capua, contending at once both with Rome and Carthage, for splendor and empire, now nothing but a heape of rubbish, except shewing some vestige of its former magnificence in pieces of temples, arches, theaters, columns, ports, vaults, colossas, &c. confounded together by the barbarous Goths and Longobards; there is however a new Citty, neerer to the road by two miles, fairely rays'd out of these heapes. The passage from this towne to Naples (which is about 10 or 12 English post miles,) is as straight as a line, of great breadth, fuller of travellers than I remember any of our greatest and most frequented roads neere London; but what is extreamely pleasing, is the great fertility of the feilds, planted with fruit-trees, whose boles are serpented with excellent vines, and they so exuberant that 'tis commonly reported one vine will loade 5 mules with its grapes. What adds much to the pleasure of the sight is that the vines, climbing to the summit of the trees, reach in festoons and fruitages from one tree to another, planted at exact distances, forming a more delightful picture than painting can describe. Here grow rice, canes for sugar, olives, pomegranads, mulberrys, cittrons, oranges, figgs, and other sorts of rare fruites. About the middle of the way is the towne Aversa, wither came 3 or 4 coaches to meete our ladye-travellers, of whom we now tooke leave, having ben very merry by the way with them and the capitano their gallant.

31 Jan. About noone we enter'd the Citty of Naples, alighting at the 3 Kings, where we found the most plentiful fare all the tyme we were in Naples. Provisions are wonderfully cheape; we seldom sat downe to fewer than 18 or 20 dishes of exquisite meate and fruites.

The morrow after our arival, in the afternoone, we hired a coach to carry us about the towne. First we went to the Castle of St. Elmo, built on a very high rock, whence we had an intire prospect of the whole Citty, which lyes in shape of a theatre upon the sea brinke, with all the circumjacent islands, as far as Capreæ, famous for the debauched recesses of Tiberius. This Fort is the bridle of the whole Citty, and

was well stor'd and garrison'd with native Spanyards. The strangeness of the precipice and rareness of the prospect of so many magnificent and stately Palaces, Churches, and Monasteries, with the Arsenall, the Mole, and Mount Vesuvius in the distance, all in full com'and of the eye, make it one of the richest landskips in the world.

Hence we descended to another strong Castle, cal'd Il Castello Nuovo, which protects the shore, but they would by no intreaty permit us to go in ; the outward defence seemes to consist but in 4 towrs, very high, and an exceeding deepe graft with thick walls. Opposite to this is the Toure of St. Vincent, which is also very strong.

Then we went to the very noble Palace of the Viceroy, partly old and part of a newer work, but we did not stay long here. Towards the evening we tooke the ayre upon the Mole, which is a streete on the rampart or banke rays'd in the Sea for security of their gallys in port, built as that of Genoa. Here I observed a rich fountaine in the middle of the Piazza, and adorn'd with divers rare statues of copper representing the Sirens or Deities of the Parthenope, spouting large streames of water into an ample shell, all of cast metall, and of great cost ; this stands at the entrance of the Mole, where we mett many of the Nobility both on horseback and in their coaches to take the *fresco* from the Sea, as the manner is, it being in the most advantageous quarter for good ayre, delight, and prospect. Here we saw divers goodly horses who handsomly become their riders, the Neapolitan gentlemen. This Mole is about 500 paces in length, and paved with a square hewn stone. From the Mole we ascend to a Church, of greate antiquity, formerly sacred to Castor and Pollux, as the Greeke letters carv'd on the architrave and the busts of their two statues testify. It is now converted into a stately Oratory by the Theatines.

The Cathedrall is a most magnificent pile, and, except St. Peter's in Rome, Naples exceeds all Cittys for stately Churches and Monasteries. We were told that this day the blood of St. Genuarius and his head should be expos'd, and so we found it, but obtain'd not to see the miracle of the boiling of this blood, as was told us. The next we went to see was St. Peter's, richly adorned, the Chapel especialy, where that Apostle sayd masse, as is testified on the walle.

After dinner we went to St. Dominic, where they shew'd us the Crucifix that is reported to have sayd these words to St. Thomas, "Benè de me scripsisti Thoma." Hence to the Padri Olivetani, famous for the monument of the learned Alexand. ab Alexandro.

We went the next day to visite the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, where we spent much tyme in surveying the Chapell of Joh. Jov. Pontanus, and in it the severall and excellent sentences and epitaphs on himselfe, wife, children, and friends, full of rare witt and worthy of recording as we find them in severall writers. In the same Chapell is shew'd an arme of Titus Livius with this epigraph ; "Titi Livij brachium

quod Anton. Panormita a Patavinis impetravit, Jo. Jovianus Pontanus multos post annos hoc in loco ponendum curavit."

Climbing a steepe hill we came to the Monastery and Church of the Carthusians, from whence is a most goodly prospect towards the Sea and Citty, the one full of gallies and ships, the other of stately palaces, churches, monasteries, castles, gardens, delicious fields and meadows, Mount Vesuvius smoaking, the Promontory of Minerva and Misenum, Capreæ, Prochyta, Ischia, Pausilipe, Puteoli, and the rest, doubtlesse one of the most divertisant and considerable vistas in the world. The Church is most elegantly built; the very pavements of the common cloyster being all layd with variously polish'd marbles richly figur'd. They shew'd us a massie crosse of silver much celebrated for the workmanship and carving, and sayd to have been 14 yeares in perfecting. The Quire also is of rare arte; but above all to be admir'd is the yet unfinish'd Church of the Jesuites, certainly if accomplished not to be equal'd in Europe. Hence we pass'd by the Palazzo Caraffi, full of ancient and very noble statues; also the Palace of the Ursini. The next day we did little but visite some friends, English merchants resident for their negotiation; onely this morning at the Viceroy's Cavalerizzo I saw the noblest horses that I had ever beheld, one of his sonns riding the *menage* with that addresse and dexterity as I had never seene any thing approach it.

4 Feb. We were invited to the collection of exotic rarities in the Museum of Ferdinando Imperati, a Neapolitan nobleman, and one of the most observable palaces in the Citty, the repository of incomparable rarities. Amongst the naturall Herbals most remarkable was the *Byssus marina* and *Pinna marina*; the male and female Camelion; an *Onacratulus*; an extraordinary greate Crocodile; some of the *Orcades Anates*, held here for a great rarity; likewise a Salamander; the male and female *Manucodiata*, the male having an hollow in the back, in which 'tis reported the female both layes and hatches her egg; the Mandragoras of both sexes; *Papyrus* made of severall reedes, and some of silke; tables of the rinds of trees written with Japoniq characters; another of the branches of palme; many Indian fruites; a chrystal that had a quantity of uncongealed water within its cavity; a petrified fisher's net; divers sorts of Tarantulas, being a monstrous spider with lark-like clawes, and somewhat bigger.

5 Feb. The next day we beheld the Vice-king's procession, which was very splendid for the reliques, banners, and musiq, which accompanied the B. Sacrament. The ceremony tooke up most of the morning.

6 Feb. We went by coach to take the ayre, and see the diversions or rather maddnesse of the Carnival; the courtisans (who swarme in this Citty to the number, as we are told, of 30,000, registred and paying a tax to the State) flinging eggs of sweete water into our coach as we passed by the houses and windows. Indeed the towne is so pester'd

with these cattell, that there needes no small mortification to preserve from their enchantment, whilst they display all their naturall and artificiall beauty, play, sing, feigne compliment, and by a thousand studied devices seeke to inveigle foolish young men.

7. The next day being Saturday we went 4 miles out of towne on mules to see that famous Volcano Mount Vesuvius. Here we passe a faire fountaine cal'd Labulla, which continually boyles, suppos'd to proceed from Vesuvius, and thence over a river and bridg, where on a large upright stone is engraven a notable inscription relative to the memorable eruption in 1630.

Approching the hill as we were able with our mules, we alighted crawling up the rest of the proclivity with great difficulty, now with our feete, now with our hands, not without many untoward slipps which did much bruise us on the various colour'd cinders with which the whole mountaine is cover'd, some like pitch, others full of perfect brimstone, others metaliq, interspers'd with innumerable pumices (of all which I made a collection), we at the last gain'd the sum'it of an excessive altitude ; turning our faces towards Naples, it presents one of the goodliest prospects in the world ; all the Baiæ, Cuma, Elyssian Fields, Capreæ, Ischia, Prochita, Misenus, Puteoli, that goodly City, with a great portion of the Tyrrhen Sea, offering themselves to your view at once, and at so agreeable a distance, as nothing can be more delightful. The mountaine consists of a double top, the one pointed very sharp, and com'only appearing above any clouds, the other blunt. Here as we approach'd we met many large gaping clefts and chasms, out of which issued such sulphureous blasts and smoke that we durst not stand long neere them. Having gain'd the very summit, I layd myself downe to looke over and into that most frightfull and terrible vorago, a stupendious pit of neere three miles in circuit and halfe a mile in depth, by a perpendicular hollow cliffe (like that from the highest part of Dover Castle), with now and then a craggy prominency jetting out. The area at the bottom is plaine like an even'd floore, which seemes to be made by the winds circling the ashes by its eddy blasts. In the middle and center is a hill shaped like a greate browne loafe, appearing to consist of sulphurous matter, continually vomiting a foggy exhalation, and ejecting huge stones with an impetuous noise and roaring like the report of many musquets discharging. This horrid Barathrum engaged our attention for some houres, both for the strangnesse of the spectacle and the mention which the old histories make of it, as one of the most stupendious curiosities in nature, and which made the learned and inquisitive Pliny adventure his life to detect the causes, and to loose it in too desperate an approach. It is likewise famous for the stratagem of the rebell Spartacus, who did so much mischief to the State, lurking amongst and protected by these horrid caverns, when it was more accessible and lesse dangerous than now it is ; but especialy

notorious it is for the last conflagration, when, in anno 1630, it burst out beyond what it had ever don in the memory of history, throwing out huge stones and fiery pumices in such quantity as not onely environ'd the whole mountaine, but totally buried and overwhelm'd divers townes and their inhabitants, scattering the ashes more than an hundred miles, and utterly devastating all those vineyards where formerly grew the most incomparable Greco ; when bursting thro' the bowels of the earth it absorb'd the very Sea, and with its whirling waters drew in divers gallyes and other vessells to their destruction, as is faithfully recorded. We descended with more ease than we climb'd up, thro' a deepe vallie of pure ashes, which at the late eruption was a flowing river of mealted and burning brimstone, and so came to our mules at the foote of the mountaine.

On Sunday we with our guide visited the so much celebrated Baizæ and natural rarities of the places adjacent. Here we enter the mountaine Pausilipo, at the left hand of which they shew'd us Virgil's sepulchre erected on a steepe rock, in forme of a small rotunda or cupolated columnne, but almost overgrowne with bushes and wild baye trees. At the entrance is this inscription :

Stanisi Cencovius.

1589.

Qui cineres? Tumuli hæc vestigia, conditur olim

Ille hoc qui cecinit Pascua, Rura, Duces.

Can. Ree MDLIII.<sup>1</sup>

After we were advanc'd into this noble and altogether wonderfull crypt, consisting of a passage spacious enough for two coaches to go on breast, cut thro' a rocky mountaine neere three quarters of a mile, (by the ancient Cimmerii as reported, but as others say by L. Cocceius, who employ'd an hundred thousand men on it,) we came to the mid-way, where there is a well bor'd through the diameter of this vast mountaine, which admitts the light into a pretty chapel, hewn out of the natural rock, wherein hang divers lamps perpetually burning. The way is pav'd under foote, but it does not hinder the dust, which rises so excessively in this much frequented passage that we were forc'd at mid-day to use a torch. At length we were deliver'd from the bowels of the earth into one of the most delicious plaines in the world : the oranges, lemons, pomegranads, and other fruites, blushing yet on the perpetually greene trees ; for the summer is here eternal, caus'd by the natural and adventitious heate of the earth, warm'd through the subterranean fires,

<sup>1</sup> Such is the inscription, as copied by Mr. Evelyn ; but as its sense is not very clear, and as the Diary contains instances of incorrectness in transcribing, the Editor has thought it desirable to subjoin the distich said by Keysler in his Travels, vol. II. p. 433, to be the only one in the whole mausoleum :

"Quæ cineris tumulo hæc vestigia ? conditur olim  
Ille hoc qui cecinit, pascua, rura, duces."

as was shewn us by our guide, who alighted, and cutting up a turf with his knife, and delivering it to me, was so hot I was hardly able to hold it in my hands. This mountaine is exceedingly fruitfull in vines, and exotics grow readily. We now came to a lake of about two miles in circumference, environ'd with hills ; the water of it is fresh and swete on the surface, but salt at botome, some mineral salt conjectured to be the cause, and 'tis reported of that profunditude in the middle that it is botomelesse. The people call it Lago di Agnano from the multitude of serpents which involved together about the spring fall downe from the clifly hills into it. It has no fish, nor will any live in it. We tried the old experiment on a dog in the Grotto del Cane, or Charon's Cave ; it is not above three or four paces deepe, and about the height of a man, nor very broad. Whatever having life enters it presently expires. Of this we made tryal with two doggs, one of which we bound to a short pole to guide him the more directly into the further part of the den, where he was no sooner enter'd, but without the least noyse, or so much as a struggle, except that he panted for breath, lolling out his tongue, his eyes being fix'd ; we drew him out dead to all appearance, but immediately plunging him into the adjoyning lake, within lesse than halfe an houre he recover'd, and swimming to shore ran away from us. We tried the same on another dogg without the application of the water, and left him quite dead. The experiment has been made on men, as on that poore creature whom Peter of Toledo caus'd to go in ; likewise on some Turkish slaves ; two souldiers, and other foole-hardy persons, who all perished, and could never be recover'd by the water of the lake as are doggs, for which many learned reasons have ben offer'd, as Simon Majolus in his booke of the Canicular-dayes has mention'd, colloq. 15. And certainly the most likely is, the effect of those hot and dry vapours which ascend out of the earth and are condensed by the ambient cold, as appears by their converting into chrystalline drops on the top, whilst at the botome 'tis so excessively hott that a torch being extinguished neere it, and lifted a little distance, was suddainely relighted. Neere to this cave are the natural stoves of St. Germain, of the nature of sudatories, in certaine chambers partition'd with stone for the sick to sweate in, the vapours here being exceedingly hot, and of admirable successe in the goute and other cold distempers of the nerves. Hence we climb'd up an hill, the very highway in several places even smoaking with heate like a founace. The mountaines were by the Greekes called Leucoyei, and the fields Phlægrean. Hercules here vanquished the Gyants assisted with lightning. We now came to the Court of Vulcan, consisting of a valley neere a quarter of a mile in breadth, the margent environ'd with steepe clifles, out of whose sides and foote break forth fire and smoke in abundance, making a noyse like a tempest of water, and sometimes discharging in lowd reports like so many guns. The heate of this place is wonderfull ; the earth

itselfe being almost unsufferable, and which the subterranean fires have made so hollow, by having wasted the matter for so many yeares, that it sounds like a drum to those who walke upon it ; and the water thus struggling with those fires bubbles and spoutes aloft into the ayre. The mouthes of these spiracles are bestrew'd with variously-colour'd cinders, which rise with the vapour, as do many colour'd stones, according to the quality of the combustibile matter, insomuch as 'tis no little adventure to approach them ; they are however daily frequented both by sick and well, the former receiving the fumes have been recover'd of diseases esteem'd incurable. Here we found a greate deal of sulphure made, which they refine in certaine houses neere the place, casting it into canes, to a very greate value. Neere this we were shew'd an hill of alume, where is one of the best mineries, yielding a considerable revenue. Some flowres of brasse are found here ; but I could not but smile at those who perswade themselves that here are the Gates of Purgatory, (for which it may be they have erected very neere it a Convent and named it St. Januarius,) reporting to have often heard screeches and horrible lamentations proceeding from these caverns and volcanos ; with other legends of birds that are never seene save on Sundayes, which cast themselves into the lake at night, appearing no more all the weeke after.

We now approach'd the ruines of a very stately Temple or Theatre of 172 foote in length and about 80 in breadth, throwne downe by an earthquake not long since ; it was consecrated to Vulcan, and under the ground are many strange meanders, from which it is nam'd the Labyrinth ; this place is so haunted with batts that their perpetual fluttering endanger'd the putting out our linkes.

Hence we passed againe those boiling and smoking hills till we came to Puzzolo, formerly the famous Puteoli, the landing-place of St. Paule when he came into Italy after the tempest described in the Acts of the Apostles. Here we made a good dinner, and bought divers medailes and other curiosities, antiquities, &c. of the country people, who daily find such things amongst the very old ruines of those places. This Towne was formerly a Greeke Colonie, built by the Samians, a reasonable commodious Port, and full of observable antiquities. We saw the ruines of Neptune's Temple, to whom this place was sacred, and neere it the stately palace and gardens of Peter de Toledo, formerly mentioned. Afterwards we visited that admirably built Temple of Augustus, seeming to have been hewn out of an intire rock, tho' indeede consisting of several square stones. The inscription remaines thus, " L. Calphurnius L. E. Templum Augusto cum ornamentis D. D." and under it ; " L. Coccejus L. C. Postumi L. Auctus Architectus." It is now converted into a Church, in which they shew'd us huge bones, which they affirme to have ben of some gyant.

We went to see the ruines of the old Haven, so compact with that

bituminous sand in which the materials are layd, as the like is hardly to be found, though all this has not ben sufficient to protect it from the fatal concussions of several earthquakes (frequent here) which have almost demolish'd it, 13 vast piles of marble onely remaining, a stupendous worke in the bosome of Neptune ! To this joynes the bridg of Caligula, by which (having now embarq'd ourselves) we sail'd to the pleasant Baiaë, almost 4 miles in length, all which way that proud Emperor would passe in triumph. Here we row'd along towards a villa of the orator Cicero's, where we were shew'd the ruines of his Academy, and at the foote of a rock his Bathes, the waters reciprocating their tides with the neighbouring sea. Hard at hand rises Mount Gaurus, being, as I conceiv'd, nothing save an heape of pumices, which here floate in abundance on the sea, exhausted of all inflammable matter by the fire, which renders them light and porous, so as the beds of nitre which lye deepe under them having taken fire dos easily eject them. They dig much for fancied treasure said to be conceal'd about this place. From hence we coasted neere the ruines of Portus Julius, where we might see divers stately palaces that had ben swallow'd up by the sea after earthquakes. Coming to shore we passe by the Lucrine Lake, so famous heretofore for its delicious oysters, now producing few or none, being divided from the sea by a banke of incredible labour, the suppos'd worke of Hercules ; 'tis now halfe chock'd up with rubbish, and by part of the new mountaine, which rose partly out of it, and partly out of the sea, and that in the space of one night and a day, to neere the altitude of a mile, on the 29 Sept. 1538, after many terrible earthquakes which ruined divers places thereabout, when at midnight the sea retiring neere 200 paces, and yawning on the sudaine, it continued to vomit forth flames and fiery stones in such quantity as produced this whole mountaine by their fall, making the inhabitants of Puzzole to leave their habitations, supposing the end of the world had ben come.

From the left part of this we walked to the Lake Avernus, of a round forme, and totaly environ'd with mountaines. This lake was fain'd by the Poete for the gates of Hell, by which Æneas made his descent, and where they sacrificed to Pluto and the Manes. The waters are of a remarkable black colour, but I tasted of them without danger ; hence they faigne that the river Styx has its source. At one side stand the handsome ruines of a Temple dedicated to Apollo, or rather Pluto, but 'tis controverted. Opposite to this, having new lighted our torches, we enter a vast cave, in which having gon about two hundred paces, we passe a narrow entry which lead us into a roome of about 10 paces long, proportionable broad and high ; the side walls and roofe retaine still the golden Mosaiq, though now exceedingly decay'd by time. Here is a short cell, or rather niche, cut out of the solid rock, somewhat resembling a couch, in which they report that

the Sibylla lay and utter'd her oracles ; but is supposed by most to have been a bath onely. This subterranean grott leads quite through to Cuma, but is in some places obstructed by the earth which has sunk in, so as we were constrain'd back againe & to creep on our bellys before we came to the light. 'Tis reported Nero had once resolved to cut a channel for two greate gallys that should have extended to Ostia, an 150 miles distant. The people now call it Licola.

From hence we ascended to that most ancient City of Italy, the renowned Cuma, built by the Grecians. It stands on a very eminent promontory, but is now an heape of ruines. A little below stands the Arco Felice, heretofore part of Apollo's Temple, with the foundations of divers goodly buildings ; amongst whose heapes are frequently found statues and other antiquities, by such as dig for them. Neere this is the Lake Acherutia and Acheron. Returning to the shore we came to the Bagnie de Tritoli and Diana, which are onely long narrow passages cut through the maine rock, where the vapours ascend so hot that entring with the body erect you will even faint with excessive perspiration, but stooping lower as suddaine a cold surprizes. These sudatories are much in request for many infirmities. Now we enter'd the haven of the Baiæ, where once stood that famous Towne, so call'd from the Companion of Ulysses here buried ; not without greate reason celebrated for one of the most delicious places that the sunn shines on, according to that of Horace :

“Nullus in Orbe locus Baiis præluet amœnis.”

Though as to the stately fabrics there now remaine little save the ruines, whereof the most intire is that of Diana's Temple, and another of Venus. Here were those famous pooles of lampreys that would come to hand when call'd by name, as Martial tell's us. On the sum'ite of the rock stands a strong Castle garison'd to protect the shore from Turkish Pyrates. It was once the retyring place of Julius Cæsar.

Passing by the shore againe we entered Bauli, observable from the monstrous murder of Nero com'itted on his mother Agrippina. Her sepulchre was yet shew'd us in the rock, which we enter'd, being cover'd with sundry heads and figures of beasts. We saw there the rootes of a tree turn'd into stone, and are continually dropping.

Thus having view'd the foundations of the old Cimeria, the palaces of Marius, Pompey, Nero, Hortensius, and other villas and antiquities, we proceeded towards the Promontory of Misenum, renown'd for the sepulchre of Æneas's Trumpeter. 'Twas once a greate City, now hardly a ruine, sayd to have ben built from this place to the Promontory of Minerva, 50 miles distant, now discontinu'd and demolish'd by the frequent earthquakes. Here was the villa of Caius Marius, where Tiberius Cæsar died ; and here runs the Aquæduct, thought to be dug by Nero, a stupendous passage, heretofore nobly arched with marble, as the ruines testifie. Hence we walked to those receptacles

of water cal'd *Piscina Mirabilis*, being a vault of 500 feet long, and 22 in breadth, the rooffe prop'd up with 4 rankes of square pillars, 12 in a row ; the walls are brick plaster'd over with such a composition as for strength and politure resembles white marble. 'Tis conceiv'd to have ben built by Nero, as a conservatory for fresh water ; as were also the Centi Camerelli, into which we were next led. All these Crypta being now almost sunke into the earth, shew yet their former amplitude and magnificence.

Returning towards the Baïæ we againe passe the Elyssian Fields, so celebrated by the Poetes, nor unworthily, for their situation and verdure, being full of myrtills and sweete shrubs, and having a most delightful prospect towards the Tyrrhen Sea. Upon the verge of these remaine the ruines of the Mercato di Sabato, formerly a Circus ; over the arches stand divers urnes full of Roman ashes.

Having well satisfied our curiosity among these Antiquities, we retir'd to our felucca, which row'd us back againe towards Puzzolo, at the very place of St. Paule's landing. Keeping along the shore they shew'd us a place where the sea-water and sands did exceedingly boyle. Thence to the Island Nesis, once the fabulous Nymph ; and thus we leave the Baïæ, so renowned for the sweete retirements of the most opulent and voluptuous Romans. They certainly were places of uncommon amœnitie, as their yet tempting site and other circumstances of natural curiosities easily invite me to believe, since there is not in the world so many stupendious rarities to be met with as in the circle of a few miles which environ these blissfull aboades.

8 Feb. We went to see the Arsenal, well furnish'd with gallies and other vessells. The Citty is crowded with inhabitants, gentlemen and merchants. The Government is held of the Pope by an annual tribute of 40,000 ducats and a white Genet ; but the Spanyard trusts more to the power of those his natural subjects there ; Apulia and Calabria yielding him neere 4 millions of crownes yearely to maintaine it. The country is divided into 13 Provinces, 20 Archbishops, and 107 Bishops. The estates of the nobility in default of the male line, reverting to the King. Besides the Vice-Roy there is amongst the Chiefe Magistrates an High Constable, Admiral, Chiefe Justice, Greate Chamberlaine, and Chancellor, with a Secretary ; these being prodigiously avaricious, do wonderfully enrich themselves out of the miserable people's labour, silks, manna, sugar, oyle, wine, rice, sulphur, and alome, for with all these riches is this delicious country blest. The manna falls at certain seasons on the adjoyning hills in forme of a thick dew. The very winter here is a Summer, ever fruitfull, so that in the middle of February we had melons, cherries, abricots, and many other sorts of fruite.

The building of the Citty is for the size the most magnificent of any in Europe, the streetes exceeding large, well paved, having many vaults and conveyances under them for the sullage, which renders them very

sweete and cleane even in the midst of winter. To it belongeth more than 3000 Churches and monasteries, and those the best built and adorn'd of any in Italy. They greatly affect the Spanish gravity in their habite ; delight in good horses ; the streetes are full of gallants on horseback, in coaches and sedans, from hence brought first into England by Sir Sanders Duncomb. The women are generally well featur'd but excessively libidinous. The country-people so jovial and addicted to musick, that the very husbandmen almost universally play on the guitarr, singing and composing songs in prayse of their sweethearts, and wil commonly goe to the field with their fiddle ; they are merry, witty, and genial, all which I much attribute to the excellent quality of the ayre. They have a deadly hatred to the French, so that some our company were flouted at for wearing red cloakes, as the mode then was.

This I made the *non ultra* of my travels, sufficiently sated with rolling up and downe, and resolving within myselfe to be no longer an *individuum vagum* if ever I got home againe, since from the report of divers experienc'd and curious persons I had ben assur'd there was little more to be seene in the rest of the civil world, after Italy, France, Flanders, and the Low Country, but plaine and prodigious barbarisme.

Thus about Feb. 7 we set out on our return to Rome by the same way we came, not daring to adventure by Sea, as some of our company were inclin'd to do, for fear of Turkish pirates hovering on that coast ; nor made we any stay save at Albano, to view the celebrated place and sepulchre of the famous Duelists who decided the ancient quarrell betweene their imperious neighbours with the loss of their lives. These brothers, the Horatij and Curiatij, lye buried neere the highway, under two ancient pyramids of stone, now somewhat decay'd and overgrowne with rubbish. We tooke the opportunity of tasting the wine here, which is famous.

Being arived at Rome on Feb. 13 we were againe invited to Signor Angeloni's study, where with greater leysure we survey'd the rarities, as his cabinet and medaills especialy, esteem'd one of the best collections of them in Europe. He also shew'd us two antiq lamps, one of them dedicated to *Palas*, the other *Laribus Sacru'*, as appeared by their inscriptions ; some old Roman rings and keyes ; the Ægyptian Isis cast in yron ; sundry rare bas-relievos ; good pieces of paynting, principally the *Christ* of Corregio, with this painter's owne face admirably don by himselfe : divers of both the Bassanos ; a greate number of pieces by Titian, particularly the *Triumphs* ; an infinity of naturall rarities, dry'd animals, Indian habits and weapons, shells, &c. ; divers very antiq statues of brasse ; some lamps of so fine an earth that they resembled cornelians for transparency and colour ; hinges of Corinthian brasse, and one greate nayle of the same mettall found in the ruines of Nero's golden house.

In the afternoone we ferried over to Transtevere, to the Palace of Gichi, to review the works of Raphael : and returning by St. Angelo, we saw the Castle as far as was permitted, and on the other side considered those admirable pilasters suppos'd to be of the foundation of the Pons Sublicius, over which Hor. Cocles pass'd ; here ancor 3 or 4 water-mills invented by Belizarius ; and thence had another sight of the Farnesi's gardens, and of the tarrace where is that admirable paynting of Raphael, being a *Cupid playing with a Dolphin*, wrought *à fresca*, preserv'd in shutters of wainscott, as well it merites, being certainly one of the most wonderful pieces of worke in the world.

14 Feb. I went to Santa Cecilia, a church built and endow'd by Cardinal Sfrondæti, who has erected a stately altar neere the body of this martyr, not long before found in a vesture of silk girt about, a veile on her head, and the bloody scarrs of 3 wounds on the neck ; the body is now in a silver chest, with her statue over it in snow-white marble. Other Saints lie here decorated with splendid ornaments, lamps, and incensories of greate cost. A little farther they shew us the Bathe of St. Cecilia, to which joynes a Convent of Friers, where is the picture of the *Flagellation* by Vanni, and the columns of the Portico taken from the Bathes of Septimius Severus.

15 Feb. Mr. Henshaw and I walked by the Tiber and visited the Stola Tybertina (now St. Bartholomew's), formerly cut in the shape of a ship, and wharfed with marble, in which a lofty obelisq represented the mast. In the Church of St. Bartholomew is the body of the Apostle. Here are the ruines of the Temple of Æsculapius, now converted into a stately Hospital and a pretty Convent. Opposite to it is the Convent and Church of St. John Calabita, where I saw nothing remarkable save an old broken altar. Here was the Temple of Fortuna Virilis. Hence we went to a cupola, now a Church, formerly dedicated to the Sun. Opposite to it Santa Maria Schola Græca, where formerly that tongue was taught, said to be the second Church dedicated in Rome to the Bl. Virgin, bearing also the title of a Cardinalat. Behind this stands the greate altar of Hercules, much demolish'd. Neere this, being at the foote of Mount Avantine, are the Pope's salt-houses. Ascending the hill we came to St. Sabina, an ancient fabric, formerly sacred to Diana ; there in a Chapel is an admirable picture, the work of Livia Fontana, set about with columns of alabaster, and in the middle of the Church is a stone, cast as they report, by the Devil at St. Dominic whilst he was at masse. Hence we travelled towards an heape of rubbish called the *Marmorata* on the bank of the Tyber, a magazine of stones, and neere which formerly stood a triumphal arch in honor of Horatius vanquishing the Tuscans. The ruines of the bridg yet appeare.

We were now got to Mons Testæceus, an heape of potshards almost 200 foote high, thought to have ben amassed and thrown there by the

subjects of the Commonwealth bringing their tribute in earthen vessels, others (more probably) that it was a quarter of the towne where potters lived ; at the sum't Rome affords a noble prospect. Before it is a spacious greene called the Hippodrom, where Olympic games were celebrated, and the people muster'd as in our London Artillerie-ground. Going hence to the old wall of the Citty, we much admir'd the pyramid or tomb of C. Cestius, of white marble, one of the most ancient intire monuments, inserted in the wall, with this inscription : "C. Cestius L. F. Pob. Epulo (an order of priests) Pr. Tr. pl. VII. Vir. Epulonum." And a little beneath :

"Opus absolutum ex testamento diebus CCCXXX. arbitrato. Ponti P. F. Cla. Melæ Heredis et Pothi L."

At the left hand is the Port of St. Caule, once Tergemina, out of which the 3 Horatii pass'd to encounter the Curiatii of Albano. Hence bending homewards by St. Saba, by Antoninus's Bathes (which we enter'd) is the marble Sepulchre of Vespasian. The thickness of the walls and stately ruines shew the enormous magnitude of these Bathes. Passing by a corner of the Circus Maximus, we view'd the place where stood the Septizonium, demolish'd by Sixtus V. for feare of its falling. Going by M. Coelius we beheld the devotions of St. Maria in Navicula, so nam'd from a ship carv'd out in white marble standing on a pedestal before it, suppos'd to be the vowe of one escaped from shipwreck. It has a glorious front to the streete. Adjoining to this are the Horti Mathæi, which only of all the places about the Citty I omitted visiting, tho' I was told inferiour to no garden in Rome for statues, ancient monuments, aviaries, fountaines, groves, and especialy a noble obelisk, and maintain'd in beauty at the expense of 6000 crownes yearely, which if not expended to keepe up its beauty forfeits the possession of a greater revenue to another family ; so curious are they in their villas and places of pleasure, even to excesse.

The next day we went to the once famous Circus Caracalla, in the midst of which there now lay prostrate one of the most stately and ancient Obelisks, full of Ægyptian hieroglyphics. It was broken into 4 pieces when o'rethrowne by the Barbarians, and would have ben purchas'd and transported into England by the magnificent Thomas Earle of Arundel, could it have ben well removed to the sea. This is since set together and placed on the stupenduous artificial rock made by Innocent X. and serving for a fountaine in Piazza Navona, the worke of Bernini, the Pope's Architect. Neere this is the Sepulchre of Metellus, of massy stone, pretty entire, now cal'd Capo di Bove. Hence to a small Oratorie nam'd *Domine quo vadis*, where the tradition is, that our B. Saviour met St. Peter as he fled, and turne'd him back againe.

St. Sebastians was the next, a meane structure (the faciata excepted) but is venerable especialy for the reliques and grotts in which lie the ashes of many holy men. Here is kept the pontifical chaire sprinkled

with the blood of Pope Stephen, to which greates devotion is paid ; also a well full of Martyres bones, and the sepulchre of St. Sebastian, with one of the arrowes [used in shooting him] ; these are preserved by the Fulgentine Monks, who have here their Monasterie, and who led us down into a grotto which they affirm'd went divers furlongs underground ; the sides or walls which we passed were fill'd with bones and dead bodies, laid as it were on shelves, whereof some were shut up with broad stones, and now and then a crosse or a palme cut in them, At the end of some of these subterranean passages were square roomes with altars in them, said to have ben the receptacles of primitive Christians in the times of persecution, nor seems it improbable.

17 Feb. I was invited after dinner to the Academie of the Humorists kept in a spacious hall belonging to Signor Mancini, where the Witts of the towne meete on certaine daies to recite poems, and debate on severall subjects. The first that speakes is cal'd the Lord, and stands in an eminent place, and then the rest of the Virtuosi recite in order. By these ingenious exercises, besides the learn'd discourses, is the purity of the Italian tongue daily improv'd. The roome is hung round with devises or emblemes, with mottos under them. There are severall other Academies of this nature, bearing like fantastical titles. In this of the Humorists is the picture of Guarini, the famous author of the *Pastor Fido*, once of this society. The cheife part of the day we spent in hearing the academic exercises.

18 Feb. We walked to St. Nicholas in Carcere ; it has a faire front, and within are parts of the bodys of St. Mark and Marcellino ; on the Tribuna is a painting of Gentileschi, and the altar of Caval Baglioni, with some other rare paintings. Coming round from hence we passed by the Circus Flaminius, formerly very large, now totaly in ruines. In the afternoon we visited the English Jesuites, with whose Superior, P. Stafford, I was well acquainted ; who received us courteously. They call their Church and College *St. Thomasso de gli Inglesi*, and is a Seminarie. Amongst other trifles they shew the relicq of Beckett, their reputed Martyr. Of paintings there is one of Durante, and many representing the sufferings of severall of their sôciety executed in England, especiaiy F. Champion.

In the Hospital of the Pelerini della S. Trinita I had seen the feete of many pilgrims wash'd by Princes, Cardinals, and Noble Romans and serv'd at table, as the Ladys and Noble Women did to other poore creatures in another roome. 'Twas told us that no lesse than 444,000 men had ben thus treated in the Jubilee of 1,600 and 25,500 women, as appeares by the register, which brings store of money.

Returning homeward I saw the Palace of Cardinal Spada, where is a most magnificent hall painted by Daniel da Volterra and Giulio Piacentino, who made the fret in the little Court ; but the rare perspectives are of Bolognesi. Neere this is the Monte Pieta, instituted as a Bank

for the Poore, who, if the sum be not greate, may have many upon pawns, &c. To this joynes St. Martino, to which belongs a *Schola* or Corporation that do many works of charity. Hence we came through *Campo di Fiori*, or Herb Market, in the midst of which is a fountaine casting water out of a dolphin in coper; and in this Piazza is common execution don.

I went this afternoone to visite my Lord John Somerset, brother to the Marques of Worcester, who had his appartement in Palazzo della Cancellaria, belonging to Cardinal Francesco Barberini as Vice-chancellor of the Church of Rome and Protector of the English. The building is of the famous architect Bramante, of incrusted marble, with 4 ranks of noble lights; the principal enterance is of Fontana's designe, and all of marble; the portico within sustain'd by massie columns; on the second peristyle above, the chambers are rarely painted by Salviati and Vasari; and so ample is this Palace that six Princes with their families have ben receiv'd in it at one time, without incommoding each other.

20 Feb. I went (as was my usual costome) and spent an afternoone in Piazza Navona, as well to see what antiquities I could purchase among the people who hold mercat there for medaills, pictures, and such curiosities, as to heare the Montebanks prate and distribute their medicines. This was formerly the Circus or *Agonales*, dedicated to sports and pastimes, and is now the greatest mercat of the Citty, having three most noble fountains, and the stately Palaces of the Pamfilij, St. Giacomo de Spagnoli belonging to that nation, to which add two Convents for Friars and Nuns, all Spanish. In this Church was erected a most stately Catafalco, or *Capella ardente*, for the death of the Queene of Spaine; the Church was hung with black, and heere I heard a Spanish sermon or funebral oration, and observed the statues, devises, and impreses hung about the walls, the Church and Pyramid stuck with thousands of lights and tapers, which made a glorious shew. The statue of St. James is by Sansovino; there are also some good pictures of Caracci. The facciata too is faire. Returning home I pass'd by the stumps of old Pasquin at the corner of a streete call'd Strada Pontificia; here they still past up their drolling lampoons and scurrilous papers. This had formerly ben one of the best statues for workmanship and art in all the Citty, as the remaining bust does still shew.

21 Feb. I walked in the morning up the hill towards the Capuchins, where was then Cardinal Onufrio (brother to the late Pope Urban VIII.) of the same order. He built them a pretty Church, full of rare pictures, and there lies the body of St. Felix, that they say still does miracles. The piece at the great altar is by Lanfranc. 'Tis a lofty edifice, with a beautifull avenue of trees, and in a good aire. After dinner passing along the Strada del Carso, I observed the column of Antoninus, passing under Arco Portugallo, which is but a relic, hereto-

fore erected in honor of Domitian, cal'd now Portugallo from a Cardinal living neere it. A little further on the right hand stands the column, in a small piazza, heretofore set up in honor of M. Aurelius Antoninus, comprehending in a basse-relievo of white marble his hostile acts against the Parthians, Armenians, Germans, &c. but it is now somewhat decay'd. On the su'mit has been placed the image of St. Paule of gilded copper. The pillar is said to be 161 foote high, ascended by 207 steps, receiving light by 56 apertures, without defacing the sculpture.

At a little distance are the reliques of the Emperors Palace, the heads of whose pillars shew them to have been Corinthian.

Turning a little down we came to another piazza, in which stands a sumptuous vase of porphyrie, and a faire fontaine; but the grace of this market, and indeede the admiration of the whole world, is the Pantheon, now called S. Maria della Rotonda, formerly sacred to all the Gods, and still remaining the most entire antiquitie of the City. It was built by Marcus Agrippa, as testifies the architrave of the portico sustain'd by 13 pillars of Theban marble, 6 foote thick and 53 in height, of one intire stone. In this porch is an old inscription.

Entring the Church we admire the fabric, wholly cover'd with one cupola, seemingly suspended in the aire, and receiving light by a hole in the middle onely. The structure is neere as high as broad, viz. 144 foote, not counting the thickness of the walls, which is 22 more to the top, all of white marble, and til Urban VIII. converted part of the metall into ordnance to warr against the Duke of Parma, and part to make the high altar in St. Peters, it was all over cover'd with Corinthian brasse, ascending by 40 degrees within the roof or convex of the cupola, richly carved with octagons in the stone. There are niches in the walls, in which stood heretofore the statues of Jupiter and the other Gods and Goddesses; for here was that Venus which had hung in her ear the other Union, that Cleopatra was about to dissolve and drink up as she had done its fellow. There are severall of these niches one above another for the celestial, terrestrial, and subterranean deities, but the place is now converted into a Church dedicated to the B. Virgin and all the Saints. The pavement is excellent, and the vast folding gates of Corinthian brasse. In a word, 'tis of all the Roman antiquities the most worthy of notice. There lie interr'd in this Temple the famous Raphael da Urbino, Perino del Vaga, F. Zuccharo, and other painters.

' And in the cup an *union* shall he throw  
Richer than that which four successive kings  
In Denmark's crown have worn.

Shakespeare, Hamlet, Act V. Sc. 2; ed. Johnson and Steevens.

Theobald says, an *union* is the finest sort of pearl, and has its place in all crowns and coronets. Steevens cites from Soliman and Perseda—'Ay, were it Cleopatra's *union*'—adding the following elucidation of the term from P. Holland's Translation of Pliny's Natural History: 'And hereupon it is that our dainties and delicacies here at Rome, &c. call them *unions*, as a man would say singular and by themselves alone.' EDIT.

Returning home we passe by Cardinal Cajetan's Palace, a noble piece of architecture of Vincenzo Ammanatti, which is the grace of the whole Corso.

22 Feb. I went to Trinita del Monte, a monasterie of French, a noble Church built by Lewis XI. and Charles VIII. the Chapells well painted, especialy that by Zuccari, Volterra, and the cloyster with the miracles of their St. Francis di Paulo and the heads of the French Kings. In the pergolo above, the walls are wrought with excellent perspective, especialy the St. John; there are the Babylonish dials invented by Kircher the Jesuite. This Convent so eminently situated on Mons Pincius, has the intire prospect of Campus Martius, and has a faire garden which joynes to the Palazzo di Medici.

23rd. I went to heare a sermon at St. Giacomo de gli Incurabili, a faire Church built by F. Volaterra, of good architecture, and so is the Hôspital, where only desperate patients are brought. I pass'd the evening at St. Maria del Copolo, heretofore Nero's sepulchre, where his ashes lay many yeares in a marble chest. To this Church joynes the Monasterie of St. Augustine, which has pretty gardens on Mons Cincius, and in the Church is the miraculous shrine of the Madona which Pope Paul III. brought barefooted to the place, supplicating for a victory over the Turks in 1464. In a Chapell of the Ghisi are some rare paintings of Raphael and noble sculptures. Those two in the Choire are by Sansovino, and in the Chapel de Cerasii a piece of Caravaggio. Here lie buried many greate scholars and artists, of which I tooke notice of this inscription :

Hospes, disce novum mortis genus ; improba felis,  
Dum trahitur, digitum mordet, et intereo.

Opposite to the faciata of the Church is a superb obelisc full of hieroglyphics, the same that Sennesertus K. of Egypt dedicated to the Sun, brought to Rome by Augustus, erected in the Circus Maximus, and since placed here by Pope Sixtus V. It is 88 foote high, of one intire stone, and placed with greate art and engines by the famous Domenico Fontana.

Hence turning on the right out of the Porto del Popolo, we came to Justinian's gardens neere the Muro torto, so prominently built as threatening every moment to fall, yet standing so for these thousand yeares. Under this is the burying-place for the com'on prostitutes, where they are put into the ground *sans ceremonie*.

24 Feb. We walked to St. Roches and Martines neere the brink of the Tyber, a large Hospital for both sexes. Hence to the Mausolæum Augusti 'twixt the Tyber and the Via Flaminia, now much ruin'd, which had formerly contended for its sumptuous architecture. It was intended as a cemeterie for the Roman Emperors, had twelve ports, and was cover'd with a cupola of white marble, environ'd with stately trees and innumerable statues, all of it now converted into a garden. We pass'd

the afternoone at the sapienza, a very stately building full of good marbles, especialy the Portico, of admirable architecture. These are properly the Universitie Scholes, where lectures are read on law, medicine, and anatomie, and students perform their exercises.

Hence we walk'd to St. Andrea della Valle neere the former Theater of Pompey, and the famous Piccolomini, but given to this Church and the Order who are Theatines. The Barberini have in this place a Chapell, of curious incrusted marbles of severall sorts, and rare paintings. Under it is the place where St. Sebastian is said to have been beaten with rods before he was shot with darts. The cupola is paynted by Lanfranc, an inestimable work, and the whole fabric and Monastery adjoining are admirable.

25 Feb. I was invited by a Dominican Frier, whom we usually heard preach to a number of Jewes, to be god-father to a converted Turk and Jew. The ceremonie was perform'd in the Church of Santa Maria sopra la Minerva, neere the Capitol. They were clad in white, then exorcis'd at their entering the Church with abundance of ceremonies, and when led into the Choir were baptiz'd by a Bishop *in pontificalibus*. The Turk lived afterwards in Rome, sold hot waters, and would bring us presents when he met us, kneeling and kissing the hems of our cloaks; but the Jew was believ'd to be a counterfeit. This Church, situate on a spacious rising, was formerly consecrated to Minerva. 'Tis well built and richly adorn'd, and the body of St. Catherine di Sienna lies buried here. The paintings of the Chapel are by Marcello Venuti; the *Madona* over the altar is by Giov. di Fiesole, cal'd the Angelic Painter, who was of the Order of these Monks. There are many charities dealt publiqly here, especialy at the Procession on the Annunciation, when I saw his Holinesse, with all the Cardinals, Prelates, &c. *in pontificalibus*; dowries being given to 300 poore girls all clad in white. The Pope had his tiara on his head, and was carried on mens shoulders in an open arm-chaire, blessing the people as he pass'd. The statue of Christ at the Columna is esteem'd one of the master-pieces of M. Angelo: innumerable are the paintings by the best artists, and the organ is accounted one of the sweetest in Rome. Cardinal Bembo is interred here. We return'd by St. Marcs, a stately Church, with an excellent pavement, and a fine piece by Perugino, of the *two Martyrs*. Adjoyning to this is a noble Palace built by the famous Bramanti.

26 Feb. Ascending the hill we came to the Forum Trajanum, where his column stands yet intire, wrought with admirable bass-relievo recording the Dacian war, the figures at the upper part appearing of the same proportion with those below. 'Tis ascended by 192 steps, enlightened with 44 apertures or windows, artificialy dispos'd; in height from the pedestal 140 foote.

It had once the ashes of Trajan and his statue, where now stands

St. Peter's of gilt brasse, erected by Pope Sixtus V. The sculpture of this stupendious pillar is thought to be the work of Apollodorus ; but what is very observable is the descent to the plinth of the pedestale, shewing how this ancient Cittie lies now buried in her ruines, this monument being at first set up on a rising ground. After dinner we took the aire in Cardinal Bentivoglio's delicious gardens, now but newly deceas'd. He had a faire Palace built by several good masters on part of the ruines of Constantine's Bathes : well adorn'd with columns and paintings, especialy those of Guido Rheni.

27 Feb. In the morning Mr. Henshaw and my selfe walked to the Trophies of Marius, erected in honour of his victorie over the Cimbrians, but these now taken out of their niches are plac'd on the balusters of the Capitol, so that their ancient station is now a ruine. Keeping on our way we came to St. Crosse of Jerusalem, built by Constantine over the demolition of the Temple of Venus and Cupid, which he threw down ; and 'twas here they report he deposited the wood of the true Crosse found by his mother Helena in honour whereof this Church was built, and in memory of his victory over Maxentius when that holy signe appear'd to him. The edifice without is Gotiq, but very glorious within, especialy the rooffe, and one tribune well painted. Here is a Chapel dedicated to St. Helena, the floore whereoff is of earth brought from Jerusalem ; the walls are of faire Mosaic, in which they suffer no women to enter it save once a yeare. Under the high altar of the Church is buried St. Anastasius, in Lydian marble, and Benedict VII. and they shew a number of reliques, expos'd at our request, with a phial of our B. Saviour's blood ; two thornes of his Crowne ; three chips of the real Crosse ; one of the nailes, wanting a point ; St. Thomas's doubting finger ; and a fragment of the title [put on the Cross], being part of a thin board ; some of Judas's pieces of silver, and many more, if one had faith to believe it. To this venerable Church joynes a Monasterie, the gardens taking up the space of an ancient amphitheater. Hence we pass'd beyond the walls out at the Port of St. Laurence to that Saint's Church, and where his ashes are enshrin'd. This was also built by the same great Constantine, famous for the Coronation of Pietro Altisiodorensis, Emperor of Constantino-ple, by Honorius the Second. 'Tis sayd the corps of St. Stephen the protomartyr was deposited here by that of St. Sebastian, which it had no sooner touch'd but Sebastian gave it place of its own accord. The Church has no less than 7 privileg'd altars and excellent pictures. About the walls are painted this martyr's sufferings, and when they built them, the bones of divers Saints were translated to other Churches. The front is Gothic. In our return we saw a small ruine of an aquæduct built by Q. Marcius the prætor ; and so pass'd thro' that incomparable strait streete leading to Santa Maria Maggiore, to our lodging, sufficiently tired.

We were taken up next morning in seeing the impertinences of the Carnival, when all the world are as mad at Rome as at other places ; but the most remarkable were the 3 races of the Barbarie horses, that run in the Strada del Corso without riders, onely having spurs so placed on their backs, and hanging downe by their sides, as by their motion to stimulate them ; then of mares, then of asses, of buffalos, naked men, old and young, and boys, and abundance of idle ridiculous pasetime. One thing is remarkable, their acting comedies on a stage placed on a cart, or *plaustrum*, where the scene or tiring-place is made of boughs in a rural manner, which they drive from streete to streete with a yoake or two of oxen, after the ancient guise. The streetes swarm with prostitutes, buffoones, and all man'er of rabble.

1 March. At the Greke Church we saw the Eastern ceremonies perform'd by a Bishop, &c. in that tongue. Here the unfortunate Duke and Dutchess of Bullion received their ashes, it being the first day of Lent ; there was now as much trudging up and downe of devotees as the day before of licentious people, all Saints alike to appearance.

The gardens of Justinian, which we next visited, are very full of statues and antiquities, especialy urnes, amongst which is that of Min. Felix ; a Terminus that formerly stood in the Appian Way, and a huge colosse of the Emperor Justinian. There is a delicate aviary on the hill ; the whole gardens furnish'd with rare collections, fresh, shady, and adorn'd with noble fountaines. Continuing our walke a mile farther, we came to Pons Milvius, now Mela, where Constantine overthrew Maxentius, and saw the miraculous signe of the Cross, "*in hoc signo vinces.*" It was a sweete morning, and the bushes were full of nightingals. Hence to Aqua Claudia againe, an aqueduct finish'd by that Emperor at the expense of 8 millions. In the afternoone to Farnese's gardens, neere the Campo Vaccino ; and upon the Palatine Mount to survey the ruines of Juno's Temple in the Piscina, a Piazza so call'd neere the famous bridg built by Antoninus Pius and re-edified by Pope Sixtus IV.

The rest of this weeke we went to the Vatican, to heare the sermons at St. Peter's of the most famous preachers, who discourse on the same subjects and texts yearely, full of Italian eloquence and action. On our Lady-day, 25 March, we saw the Pope and Cardinals ride in pomp to the Minerva, the greates guns of the Castle St. Angelo being fired, when he gives portions to 500 *zitelle* [young women], who kisse his feete in procession, some destin'd to marry, some to be nunns. The scholars of the Colledge celebrating the B. Virgin with their compositions. The next day his Holinesse was busied in blessing golden roses, to be sent to severall greates Princes ; the Procurator of the Carmelites preaching on our Savior's feeding the multitude with 5 loaves, the ceremony ends. The Sacrament being this day expos'd and the reliques of the Holy Crosse, the concourse about the streetes is extraordinarie. On Palm Sunday there was a greates procession after a papal masse.

11 April. St. Veronica's handkerchief [with the impression of our Saviour's face] was expos'd, and the next day the speare, with a world of ceremonie. On Holy Thursday the Pope said masse, and afterwards carried the Host in procession about the Chapell, with an infinitie of tapers; this finish'd, his Holinesse was carried in his open chaire on men's shoulders to the place where, reading the Bull *in Cæna Domini*, he both curses and blesses all in a breath; then the guns are againe fired. Hence he went to the Ducal hall of the Vatican, where he wash'd the feete of 12 poore men, with almost the same ceremonie as 'tis don at Whitehall; they have clothes, a dinner, and almes, which he gives with his owne hands, and serves at their table; they have also gold and silver medailles, but their garments are of white wollen long robes, as we paint the Apostles. The same ceremonies are don by the Conservators and other Officers of State at St. John de Lateran; and now the table on which they say our Blessed Lord celebrated his last supper, is set out, and the heads of the Apostles. In every famous Church they are busy in dressing up their pageantries to represent the Holy Sepulchre, of which we went to visite divers.

On Good Friday we went againe to St. Peter's, where the Handkerchief, Lance, and Crosse were all expos'd and worshipp'd together. All the confession-seates were filled with devout people, and at night was a procession of several who most lamentably whipped themselves till the blood stained their clothes, for some had shirts, others upon the bare back, having vizors and masks on their faces; at every 3 or 4 steps dashing the knotted and ravelled whipcord over their shoulders, as hard as they could lay it on, whilst some of the religious orders and fraternities sung in a dismal tone, the lights and crosses going before, making altogether a horrible and indeede heathenish pompe.

The next day there was much ceremony at St. John de Lateran, so as the whole weeke was spent in running from Church to Church, all the towne in buisy devotion, greate silence, and unimaginable superstition.

Easter-day I was awaken'd by the guns from St. Angelo: we went to St. Peter's, where the Pope himselfe celebrated masse, shew'd the reliques before named, and gave a publiq benediction.

Monday we went to heare music in the Chiesa Nova, and tho' there were abundance of ceremonies at the other greate Churches, and greate exposure of reliques, yet being wearied with sights of this nature, and the season of the yeare, summer, at Rome being very dangerous by reason of the heates, minding us of returning Northwards, we spent the rest of our time in visiting such places as we had not yet sufficiently scene; onely I do not forget the Pope's benediction of the *Confalone*, or Standard, and giving the hallowed palmes; and on May-day the greate procession of the Universitie and the Mulatiers at St. Antonie's, and their setting up a foolish May-pole in the Capitol, very ridiculous. We therefore now tooke coach a little out of towne, to visite the famous

Roma sotterranea, being much like what we had seen at St. Sebastian's. Here in a cornfield, guided by two torches, we crept on our bellies into a little hole, about 20 paces, which delivered us into a large entrie that led us into several streetes or allies, a good depth in the bowells of the earth, a strange and fearefull passage for divers miles, as Bosio has measured and described them in his book.<sup>1</sup> We ever and anon came into pretty square roomes, that seem'd to be Chapells with altars, and some adorn'd with very ordinary ancient painting. Many skeletons and bodies are plac'd on the sides one above the other in degrees like shelves, whereof some are shut up with a coarse flat stone, having ingraven on them *Pro Christo*, or a Cross and Palmes, which are supposed to have been martyrs. Here, in all likelyhood, were the meetings of the primitive Christians during the persecutions, as Pliny the younger describes them. As I was prying about, I found a glasse phiale, fill'd as was conjectur'd with dried blood, and 2 lachrymatories. Many of the bodies, or rather bones (for there appear'd nothing else) lay so intire as if plac'd by the art of the chirurgion, but being only touched fell all to dust. Thus after wandering two or three miles in this subterranean meander, we return'd almost blind when we came into the day-light, and even choked by the smoake of the torches. It is said that a French Bishop and his retinue adventuring too far in these denns, their lights going out, were never heard of more.

We were entertain'd at night with an English play at the Jesuites, where we before had dined ; and the next at Prince Galicano's who himself composed the musiq to a magnificent opera, where were present Cardinal Pamphilio the Pope's nephew, the Governors of Rome, the Cardinals, ambassadors, ladies, and a number of nobility and strangers. There had been in the morning a Just and Tournament of severall young gentlemen on a formal defy, to which we had been invited ; the prizes being distributed by the ladies after the knight-errantry way. The launcers and swordsmen running at tilt against the barriers, with a greate deale of clatter, but without any bloodshed, giving much diversion to the spectators, and was new to us travellers.

The next day Mr. Henshaw and I spent the morning in attending the entrance and cavalcade of Card. Medici, the Ambassador from the Grand Duke of Florence, by the Via Flaminia. After dinner we went again to see the Villa Borghesi, about a mile without the Cittie ; the garden is rather a park or paradise, contriv'd and planted with walkes and shades of myrtils, cypresse and other trees and groves, with abundance of fountaines, statues, and bass-relievos, and several pretty murmuring rivulets. Here they had hung large netts to catch woodcocks. There was also a *Vivarie*, where amongst other exotic fowles was an ostridge ; besides a most capacious aviary ; and in another inclosed part, an herd of deere. Before the palace (which might become

<sup>1</sup> Intituled *Roma Sotterranea*, folio, Rom. 1632.

the court of a great prince) stands a noble fountaine of white marble, enrich'd with statues. The outer walls of the house are incrust'd with excellent antique basse-relievos of the same marble, incornish'd with festoons and niches set with statues from the foundation to the roof. A stately Portico joynes the palace, full of statues and columnes of marble, urnes and other curiosities of sculpture. In the first hall were the 12 Cæsars of antiq marble, and the whole apartments furnish'd with pictures of the most celebrated masters, and two rare tables of porphyrie of greate value. I often visited this delicious place.

This night were glorious fire-works at the palace of Card. Medici before the gate, and lights of severall colours all about the windows through the Cittie, which they contrive by setting the candles in little paper lanterns died with various colours, placing hundreds of them from storie to storie, which renders a gallant shew.

4 May. Having seen the entrie of the Ambassador of Lucca, I went to the Vatican, where, by favour of our Cardinal Protector, Fran. Barberini, I was admitted into the Consistorie, heard the Ambassador make his oration in Latine to the Pope, sitting on an elevated state or throne, and changing two pontifical miters; after which I was presented to kisse his toe, that is, his embroider'd slipper, two Cardinals holding up his vest and surplice, and then being sufficiently bless'd with his thumb and two fingers for that day, I return'd home to dinner.

We went againe to see the medails of Signor Godefredi, which are absolutely the best collection in Rome.

Passing the Ludovisia Villa, where the petrified human figure lies, found on the snowy Alps; I measured the Hidra, and found it not a foot long; the three necks and 15 heads seeme to be but patch'd up with several pieces of serpents skins.

5 May. We tooke coach, and went 15 miles out of the Cittie to Frascati, formerly Tusculanum, a villa of Cardinal Aldobrandini, built for a country-house, but surpassing, in my opinion, the most delicious places I ever beheld for its situation, elegance, plentiful water, groves, ascents, and prospects. Just behind the palace (which is of excellent architecture) in the center of the inclosure rises an high hill or mountaine all over clad with tall wood, and so form'd by nature as if it had been cut out by art, from the sum'it whereof falls a cascade, seeming rather a greate river than a streame precipitating into a large theat of water, representing an exact and perfect rainebow when the sun shines out. Under this is made an artificiall grott, wherein are curious rocks, hydraulic organs, and all sorts of singing birds moving and chirping by force of the water, with severall other pageants and surprising inventions. In the center of one of these roomes rises a coper ball that continually daunces about 3 foote above the pavement by virtue of a wind conveyed secretely to a hole beneath it; with many other devices to wett the unwary spectators, so that one can hardly

step without wetting to the skin. In one of these theaters of water is an Atlas spouting up the streame to a very great height ; and another monster makes a terrible roaring with an horn ; but above all, the representation of a storm is most naturall, with such fury of raine, wind, and thunder, as one would imagine ones self in some extreame tempest. The garden has excellent walkes and shady groves, abundance of rare fruit, oranges, lemons, &c. and the goodly prospect of Rome, above all description, so as I do not wonder that Cicero and others have celebrated this place with such encomiums. The palace is indeed built more like a cabinet than any thing compos'd of stone and mortar ; it has in the middle a hall furnish'd with excellent marbles and rare pictures, especially those of Gioseppi d'Arpino ; the moveables are princely and rich. This was the last piece of architecture finish'd by Giacomo de la Porta, who built it for Pietro Card. Aldobrandini in the time of Clement VIII.<sup>1</sup>

We went hence to another house and garden not far distant, on the side of a hill called Montdragone, finish'd by Cardinal Scipio Borghese, an ample and kingly edifice. It has a very long galerie, and at the end a theater for pastimes, spacious courts, rare grotts, vineyards, olive grounds, groves, and solitudes. The aire is so fresh and sweete, as few parts of Italy exceed it ; nor is it inferior to any palace in the cittie itselfe for statues, pictures, and furniture ; but it growing late we could not take such particular notice of these things as they deserv'd.

6 May. We rested ourselves ; and next day in a coach tooke our last farewell of visiting the circumjacent places, going to Tivoli or the old Tyburtine. At about 6 miles from Rome we passe the Teverone, a bridge built by Mammea the mother of Severus, and so by divers ancient sepulchres, amongst others that of Valerius Volusi ; and neere it passe the stinking sulphurous river over the Ponte Lucano, where we found an heape or turret full of inscriptions, now call'd the Tomb of Plautius. Arriv'd at Tivoli we went first to see the Palace d'Esté erected on a plaine, but where was formerly an hill. The palace is very ample and stately. In the garden on the right hand are 16 vast conchas of marble jetting out waters ; in the midst of these stands a Janus quadrifrons, that cast forth 4 girandolas, call'd from the resemblance [to a particular exhibition in fireworks so named] the Fontana di Speccho [looking-glass.] Neere this is a place for tilting. Before the ascent of the palace is the famous fountaine of Leda, and not far from that 4 sweete and delicious gardens. Descending thence are two pyramids of water, and in a grove of trees neere it the fountains of Tethys, Esculapius, Arethusa, Pandora, Pomona, and Flora ; then the prancing Pegasus, Bacchus, the Grott of Venus, the two Colosses of Melicerta, and Sibylla Tibertina, all of exquisite marble, coper, and other suitable adornements. The Cupids pouring out water are espe-

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Hippolito Aldobrandini was elected Pope in January 1592 by the name of Clement VIII. and died in March 1603.

cially most rare, and the urnes on which are plac'd the 10 nymphs. The Grotts are richly pav'd with Pietra Commessa, shells, corall, &c.

Towards Roma Triumphans leads a long and spacious walk, full of fountaines, under which is historized the whole Ovidian Metamorphosis in rarely sculptur'd *mezzo rilievo*. At the end of this, next the wall, is the Cittie of Rome as it was in its beauty, of small models, representing that Cittie, with its Amphitheaters, Naumachia, Thermæ, Temples, Arches, Aqueducts, Streetes, and other magnificences, with a little streame running thro' it for the Tyber, gushing out of an urne next the statue of the river. In another garden is a noble aviary, the birds artificial, and singing till an owle appeares, on which they suddainly change their notes. Near this is the fontaine of Dragons casting out large streames of water with great noises. In another Grotto called *Grotto di Natura*, is an hydraulic organ ; and below this are divers stews and fish-pounds, in one of which is the statue of Neptune in his chariot on a sea-horse, in another a Triton ; and lastly a garden of simples. There are besides in the palace many rare statues and pictures, bedsteads richly inlaied, and sundry other precious moveables ; the whole is said to have cost the best part of a million. Having gratified our curiositie with these artificial miracles, and din'd, we went to see the so famous natural precipice and cascade of the river Anio, rushing down from the mountaines of Tivoli, with that fury that, what with the mist it perpetually casts up by the breaking of the water against the rocks, and what with the sun shining on it and forming a natural Iris, the prodigious depth of the gulph below, it is enough to astonish one that looks on it. Upon the sum'ite of this rock stand the ruines and some pillars and cornishes of the temple of Sibylla Tybertina, or Albunea, a round fabric, still discovering some of its pristine beauty. Here was a greate deal of gunpowder drying in the sun, and a little beneath, mills belonging to the Pope.

And now we returned to Rome. By the way we were shew'd at some distance the citty Præneste, and the Hadrian Villa, now onely an heape of ruines, and so came late to our lodging.

We now determined to desist from visiting any more curiosities, except what should happen to come in our way when my companion Mr. Henshaw and myself should go to take the aire : onely I may not omit that one afternoone, diverting ourselves in the Piazza Navona, a Montebanke there to allure curious strangers, taking off a ring from his finger, which seemed set with a dull, darke stone, a little swelling out, like what we call (tho' untruly) a toadstone, and wetting his finger a little in his mouth and then touching it, it emitted a luculent flame as bright and large as a small wax candle ; then blowing it out, he repeated this several times. I have much regretted that I did not purchase the receipt of him for making that composition at what price soever ; for tho' there is a processe in Jo. Baptista Porta and others how to do it, yet on severall trials none of them have succeeded.

Amongst other observations I made in Rome are these : As to Coins and Medails, 10 *Asses* make the Roman *Denarius*, 5 the *Quinarius*, 10 *Denarii* an *Aureus*; which accompt runs almost exactly with what is now in use of *Quatrini*, *Baiocs*, *Fulios*, and *Scudi*, each exceeding the other in the proportion of ten. The *Sestertius* was a small silver coyne marked H. S. or rather LLs, valu'd 2 pound and half of silver, viz. 250 *Denarii*, about 25 golden *Ducati*. The stamp of the Roman *Denarius* varied, having sometimes a Janus bifrons, the head of Roma armed, or with a chariot and two horses, which were call'd *Bigi*; if with 4, *Quadrigi*; if with a Victoria, so nam'd. The marke of the *Denarius* was distinguish'd >■< thus, or X; the *Quinarius* of halfe value, had on one side the head of Rome and V, the reverse Castor and Pollux on horseback, inscribed *Roma*, &c.

I observ'd that in the Greek Church they made the signe of the Crosse from the right hand to the left; contrary to the Latines and the Schismatic Greekes; gave the benediction with the first, second, and little finger stretched out, retaining the third bent down, expressing a distance of the third Person of the Holy Trinity from the first two.

For sculptors and architects we found Bernini and Algardi were in the greatest esteeme; Fiamingo as a statuary, who made the Andrea in St. Peter's, and is said to have died madd because it was placed in an ill light. Amongst the painters, Antonio de la Cornea, who has such an addresse of counterfeiting the hands of the ancient masters so well as to make his copies passe for originals; Pietro de Cortone, Mons. Poussine a Frenchman, and innumerable more. Fioravanti for armour, plate, dead life, tapistry, &c. The chiefe masters of music, after Marc Antonio the best trebble, is Cavalier Lauretto an eunuch; the next Card. Bichi's eunuch, Bianchi tenor, and Nicholai base. The Jewes in Rome wore red hatts til the Card. of Lions, being short-sighted, lately saluted one of them thinking him to be a Cardinal as he pass'd by his coach; on which an order was made that they should use only the yellow colour. There was now at Rome one Mrs. Ward, an English devotee, who much solicited for an Order of Jesuitesses.

At executions I saw one, a gentleman, hang'd in his cloak and hatt for murder. Thes struck the malefactor with a club that first stunn'd him, and then cut his throat. At Naples they use a frame, like ours at Halifax (a guillotine).

It is reported that Rome has ben once no lesse than 50 miles in compass, now not 13, containing in it 3000 Churches and Chapells, Monasteries, &c. It is divided into 14 Regions or Wards; has 7 Mountaines, and as many Campi or Vally's; in these are faire Parks or Gardens call'd Villas, being onely places of recesse and pleasure, at some distance from the streets, yet within the walls.

The Bills of Exchange I tooke up from my first entering Italy till I

went from Rome amounted but to 616 *ducati di Banco*, though I purchas'd many books, pictures, and curiosities.

18 May. I intended to have seen Loretto, but being disappointed of monies long expected, I was forc'd to returne by the same way I came, desiring, if possible, to be at Venice by the Ascension, and therefore I diverted to take Legorne in the way, as well to furnish me with credit by a merchant there, as to take order for transporting such collections as I had made at Rome. When on my way, turning about to behold this once and yet glorious City, from an eminence, I did not without some regret give it my last farewell.

Having taken leave of our friends at Rome, where I had sojourn'd now about 7 moneths, Autumn, Winter, and Spring, I tooke coach in company with two courteous Italian Gentlemen. In the afternoone we arriv'd at an house, or rather castle, belonging to the Duke of Parma, called Caprarola,<sup>1</sup> situate on the brow of an hill that overlooks a little town, or rather a naturall and stupendous rock; witnesse those vast caves serving now for cellerage, where we were entertain'd with most generous wine of severall sorts, being just under the foundation. The Palace was built by the famous Architect Vignola at the cost of Card. Alex. Farnese, in forme of an octagone, the court in the middle being exactly round, so as rather to resemble a fort or castle; yet the chambers within are all of them square, which makes the walls exceeding thick. One of these rooms is so artificialy contriv'd that from the two opposite angles one may hear the least whisper; they say any perfect square dos it. Most of the paintings are by Zuccari. It has a stately entrie, on which spouts an artificiall fountaine within the porch. The hall, chapell, and great number of lodging chambers are remarkable, but most of all the pictures and witty inventions of Hannibal Caracci; the dead Christ is incomparable. Behind are the gardens full of statues and noble fountains, especialy that of the Shepherds. After din'er we tooke horse, and lay that night at Montrosso, twenty miles from Rome.

19 May. We dined at Viterbo, and lay at St. Lorenzo. Next day at Radicofani, and slept at Turnera.

21. We dined at Sienna, where we could not passe admiring the greate Church built intirely both within and without with white and black marble in polish'd squares, by Macarino, shewing so beautifull after a showre has fall'n. The floore within is of various colour'd marbles, representing the storie of both Testaments admirably wrought. Here lies Pius the Second. The Bibliothec is painted by P. Perugino and Raphael. The life of Æneas Sylvius is in *fresco*; in the middle are the 3 Graces of antiq marble, very curious, and the front of this building, tho' Gothic, is yet very fine. Amongst other things they shew

<sup>1</sup> Caprarola. There is a large descriptive account published of this Palace, with magnificent plates of the buildings, pictures, and statues.

St. Catharine's disciplining Cell, the doore whereof is half cut out into chipps by the pilgrimes and devotees, being of deale wood.

Setting out hence for Pisa, we went againe to see the Domo in which the Emperor Henry VII. lies buried, poyson'd by a Monk in the Eucharist. The bending Tower was built by Busqueto Delichio, a Grecian architect, and is a stupendious piece of art. In the gallery of curiosities is a faire mummy ; the taile of a sea-horse ; corall growing on a man's skull ; a chariot automaton ; two pieces of rock chrystall, in one of which is a drop of water, in the other three or foure small wormes ; two embalm'd children ; divers petrifications, &c. The garden of simples is well furnish'd, and has in it the deadly yew or *taxus* of the ancients ; which Dr. Bellueccio, the superintendant, affirms that his workmen cannot endure to clip for above the space of halfe an houre at a time, from the paine of the head which surprizes them.

We went hence for Ligorne by coach, where I took up 90 crownes for the rest of my journey, with letters of credit for Venice, after I had sufficiently complain'd of my defeate of correspondence at Rome.

The next day I came to Lucca, a small but pretty territorie and state of itselfe.—The Citty is neate and well fortified, with noble and pleasant walkes of trees on the workes, where the gentry and ladies use to take the aire. 'Tis situate on an ample plaine by the river Serchio, yet the country about it is hilly. The Senate-house is magnificent. The Church of St. Michael is a noble piece, as is also St. Fredian, more remarkable to us for the corpse of St. Richard, an English King,<sup>1</sup> who died here in his pilgrimage towards Rome. This epitaph is on his tomb :

Hic rex Richardus requiescit, sceptifer, almus :  
 Rex fuit Anglorum, regnum tenet iste polorum.  
 Regnum demisit pro Christo cuncta reliquit.  
 Ergo Richardum nobis dedit Anglia sanctum.  
 Hic genitor Sanctæ Walburgæ Virginis almæ  
 Est Vrillebaldi sancti simul et Vinebaldi,  
 Suffragium quorum nobis det regna Polorum.

Next this we visited St. Crosses, an excellent structure, all of marble both without and within, and so adorn'd as may vie with many of the fairest even in Rome ; witness the huge Crosse valued at £15,000, above all venerable for that sacred volto which (as tradition goes) was miraculously put on the image of Christ, and made by Nicodemus, whilst the artist, finishing the rest of the body, was meditating what face to set on it. The inhabitants are exceedingly civill to strangers, above all places in Italy, and they speake the purest Italian. 'Tis also cheape living, which causes travellers to set up their rest here more than in Florence, tho' a more celebrated Citty ; besides, the ladys here are very conversable, and the religious women not at all reserv'd ; of

<sup>1</sup> Who this Richard King of England was, it is impossible to say : the tomb still exists, and has long been a *crux* to Antiquaries and Travellers.—EDITOR.

these we bought gloves and embroidered stomachers generally worn by gentlemen in these countries. The circuit of this state is but two easy days journey, and lies mixed with the Duke of Tuscany's, but having Spain for a Protector (tho' the least bigotted of all Roman Catholics), and being one of the best fortify'd Citties in Italy, it remains in peace. This whole country abounds in excellent olives, &c.

Going hence for Florence, we dined at Pistoia, where besides one church there was little observable : onely in the highway we crossed a rivulet of salt water tho' many miles from the sea. The country is extreamly pleasant, full of gardens, and the roads straight as a line for the best part of that whole day, the hedges planted with trees at equal distances, watered with cleare and plentifull streames.

Rising early the next morning we alighted at Poggio Imperiale, being a Palace of the Greate Duke, not far from the Citty, having omitted it in my passage to Rome. The ascent to the house is by a stately gallery as it were of talle and overgrown cypresse trees for neere half a mile. At the enterance of these ranges are placed statues of the Tyber and Arno, of marble ; those also of Virgil, Ovid, Petrarch, and Dante. The building is sumptuous and curiously furnish'd within with cabinets of Pieta Commessa in tables, pavements, &c. which is a magnificence or work particularly affected at Florence. The larger pictures are, *Adam and Eve* by Albert Durer, very excellent ; as is that piece of carving in wood by the same hand standing in a cupboard. Here is painted the whole Austrian line ; the Duke's Mother, sister to the Emperor, the foundresse of this Palace, than which there is none in Italy that I had seene more magnificently adorn'd or furnish'd.

We could not omit in our passage to revisit the same and other curiosities which we had omitted at our first being at Florence. We went therefore to see the famous piece of Andrea del Sarto in the Annunciata ; the storie is, that the Painter in a time of dearth borrow'd a sack of corne of the religious of that convent, and repayment being demanded, he wrought it out in this picture, which represents Joseph sitting on a sack of corn and reading to the B. Virgin ; a piece infinitely valued. There fell down in the Cloister an old man's face painted on the wall in fresco, greatly esteem'd, and brake into crumbs ; the Duke sent his best painters to make another instead of it, but none of them would presume to touch a pencil where Andrea had wrought, like another Apelles ; but one of them was so industrious and patient, that, picking up the fragments, he laied and fastned them so artificialy together, that the injury it had received was hardly discernable. Andrea del Sarto lies buried in the same place. Here is also that picture of Bartolomeo, who having spent his utmost skill in the face of the Angel Gabriel, and being troubl'd that he could not exceede it in the Virgin, he began the body and to finish the clothes, and so left it, minding in the morning to work on the face ; but when he came, no sooner had he drawn away

the cloth that was hung before it to preserve it from the dust, than an admirable and ravishing face was found ready painted, at which miracle all the Citty came in to worship ; 'tis now kept in the Chapell of the Salutation, a place so enrich'd by the devotees that none in Italy save Loretto is said to exceede it. This picture is always cover'd with 3 shutters, one of which is of massie silver ; methinks it is very brown, the forehead and cheekes whiter, as if it had ben scraped. They report that those who have the honour of seeing it never lose their sight—happy then we ! There is belonging to this Church a world of plate, some whole statues of it, and lamps innumerable, besides the costly vowes hung up, some of gold, and a cabinet of precious stones.

Visiting the Duke's repository againe, we told at least 40 ranks of porphyry and other statues, and 28 whole figures, many rare paintings and relievo's, 2 square columns with trophies. In one of the galleries 24 figures and 50 antiq heads ; a Bacchus of M. Angelo, and one of Bandinelli ; a head of Bernini, and a most lovely Cupid of Parian marble ; at the further end, two admirable women sitting, and a man fighting with a Centaur ; 3 figures in little of Andrea ; an huge candlestick of amber ; a table of Titian's painting, and another representing God the Father sitting in the aire on the 4 Evangelists ; animals ; divers smaller pieces of Raphael ; a piece of pure virgin gold as big as an egg. In the third chamber of rarities is the square cabinet valued at 80,000 crownes, shewing on every front a variety of curious work ; one of birds and flowers of Pietra Commessa ; one, a descent from the crosse, of M. Angelo ; on the third our Bl. Saviour and the Apostles, of amber ; and on the 4th a crucifix of the same. 'Twixt the pictures two *naked Venus's* by Titian ; *Adam and Eve* by Durer ; and severall pieces of Pordenone and del Frate. There is a globe of 6 foote diameter. In the Armourie were an entire elk, a crocodile, and amongst the harnesse several targets and antiq horse armes, as that of Cha. V. Two set with turcoises and other precious stones ; a horse's taile of a wonderfull length. Then passing the Old Palace, which has a very greate hall for feasts and comedies, the rooffe rarely painted, and the side walls with 6 very large pictures representing batailes, the worke of Gio. Vassari. Here is a magazine full of plate ; a harnesse of emeralds ; the furnitures of an altar 4 foote high and six in length, of massy gold ; in the middle is placed the statue of Cosmo II. the bass relievo's of precious stones, his breeches cover'd with diamonds ; the mouldings of this statue, and other ornaments, festoons, &c. are garnish'd with jewells and great pearls, dedicated to St. Charles, with this incription in rubies :

Cosimus Secundus Dei gratia Magnus Dux Etruriæ, ex voto.

There is also a King on horseback of massy gold 2 foote high, and an infinity of such like rarities. Looking at the Justice in copper, set up on a column by Cosmo in 1555 after the victory over Sienna, we were told that when the Duke asking a Gentleman how he liked the piece,

he answered that he liked it very well, but that it stood too high for poore men to come at it.

Prince Leopold has in this Citty a very excellent collection of paintings, especialy a *St. Catharine* of P. Veroneze; a Venus of marble, veiled from the middle to the feete, esteem'd to be of that Greeke workman who made the Venus at the Medici's Palace in Rome, altogether as good, and better preserved, an inestimable statue, and not long since found about Bologna.

Signor Gaddi is a letter'd person, and has divers rarities, statues and pictures of the best masters, and one bust of marble as much esteem'd as the most antiq in Italy, and many curious manuscripts; his best paintings are, a *Virgin* of del Sarto, mention'd by Vassari, a *St. John* by Raphael, and an *Ecce Homo* by Titian.

The Hall of the Academie de la Crusca is hung about with impresses and devices painted, all of them relating to corne sifted from the brann; the seates are made like bread baskets and other rustic instruments us'd about wheate, and the cushions of satin, like sacks.

We took our farewell of St. Laurence, more particularly noticing that piece of the *Resurrection*, which consists of a prodigious number of naked figures, the work of Pontarno. On the left hand is the *Martyrdom of St. Laurence* by Bronzini, rarely painted indeed. In a Chapell is the tomb of Pietro di Medici and his brother John, of coper, excellently designed, standing on 2 lions' feete which end in foliage, the work of M. Angelo. Over against this are selpulchers of all the ducal family. The altar has a statue of the Virgin giving suck, and two Apostles. Paulus Jovius has the honour to be buried in the cloister. Behind the quire is the superb chapell of Ferdinand I. consisting of eight faces, foure plaine, foure a little hollow'd, in the other are to be the sepulchres and a niche of paragon for the statue of the Prince now living, all of coper gilt; above is a large table of porphyrie for an inscription for the Duke in letters of jasper. The whole Chapell, walls, pavement, and rooffe are full of precious stones united with the mouldings, which are also of gilded coper, and so are the bases and capitals of the columns. The tabernacle with the whole altar is inlaid with cornelians, lazuli, serpentine, achats, onyxes, &c. On the other side are 6 very large columns of rock chrystal, 8 figures of precious stones of several colours, inlayed in natural figures not inferior to the best paintings, amongst which are many pearls, diamonds, amethysts, topazes, sumptuous and sparkling beyond description. The windows without side are of white marble. The library is the architecture of Raphael; before the port is a square vestibule of excellent art, of all the orders without confusion; the ascent to it from the library is excellent. We number'd 88 shelves, all MSS. and bound in red, chain'd; in all about 3500 volumes, as they told us.

The Arsenal has sufficient to arme 70,000 men, accurately preserv'd

and kept, with divers lusty pieces of ordinance, whereof one is for a ball of 300 pounds weight, and another for 160 which weighs 72,500 pounds.

When I was at Florence the celebrated masters were, for Pietra Commessa (a kind of mosaiq or inlaying of various colour'd marble, and other more precious stones) Dominico Benetti and Mazzotti ; the best statuarie, Vincentio Brochi ; painter, Pietro Beretino di Cortona. This statuary makes those small statues in plaster and pasteboard which so resemble coper, that till one handles them they cannot be distinguish'd, he has so rare an art of bronzing them. I bought four of him.

This Duke has a daily tribute for every courtezan or prostitute allowed to practice that infamous trade in his dominions, and so has his holiness the Pope, but not so much in value.

Taking leave of our two jolly companions Signor Giovanni and his fellow, we tooke horses for Bologna, and by the way alighted at a villa of the Grand Duke's called Pratoline. The house is a square of 4 pavilions, with a faire platform about it, balustred with stone, situate in a large meadow, ascending like an amphitheater, having at the bottom a huge rock with water running in a small channell like a cascade ; on the other side are the gardens. The whole place seems consecrated to pleasure and summer retirement. The inside of the palace may compare with any in Italy for furniture of tapistrie, beds, &c. and the gardens are delicious and full of fountaines. In the grove sits Pan feeding his flock, the water making a melodious sound through his pipe ; and an Hercules whose club yields a shower of water which falling into a greate shell has a naked woman riding on the backs of dolphins. In another grotto is Vulcan and his family, the walls richly compos'd of corals, shells, coper, and marble figures, with the hunting of severall beasts, moving by the force of water. Here, having ben well washed for our curiosity, we went down a large walke, at the sides whereof several slender streams of water gush out of pipes concealed underneath, that interchangeably fall into each others channells, making a lofty and perfect arch, so that a man on horseback may ride under it and not receive one drop of wet. This canopy or arch of water, I thought one of the most surprising magnificencies I had ever seene, and very refreshing in the heate of the sum'er. At the end of this very long walk stands a woman in white marble, in posture of a laundress wringing water out of a piece of linen, very naturally formed, into a vast labor the work and invention of M. Angelo Buonarotti. Hence we ascended Mount Parnassus, where the Muses plaied to us on hydraulic organs. Neere this is a greate aviary. All these waters came from the rock in the garden, on which is the statue of a gyant representing the Apennines, at the foote of which stands this villa. Last of all we came to the labyrinth in which a huge colosse of Jupiter throws out a streame

over the garden. This is 50 foote in height, having in his body a square chamber, his eyes and mouth serving for windows and dore.

We took horse and supped that night at Il Ponte, passing a dreadful ridge of the Apennines, in many places capped with snow, which covers them the whole sum'er. We then descended into a luxurious and rich plaine. The next day we passed through Scarperia, mounting the hills againe where the passage is so strait and precipitous towards the right hand that we climbed them with much care and danger; lodging at Fiorenzuolo, which is a fort built amongst the rocks and defending the confines of the greate Duke's territories.

The next day we passed by the Pietra Mala, a burning mountaine. At the sum'it of this prodigious masse of hills we had an unpleasant way to Pianura, where we slept that night and were entertain'd with excellent wine. Hence to Scargalasino, and to bed at Loiano. This plaine begins about six miles from Bologna.

This towne belongs to the Pope, and is a famous University, situate in one of the richest spots of Europe for all sorts of provisions. 'Tis built like a ship, whereof the Torre d'Asinello may go for the main-mast. The Citty is of no greate strength, having a trifling wall about it, in circuit neere 5 miles, and 2 in length. This Torre d'Asinello, ascended by 447 steps of a foote rise, seems exceedingly high, is very narrow, and the more conspicuous from another tower call'd Garisenda so artificially built of brick (which increases the wonder) that it seems ready to fall: 'tis not now so high as the other, but they say the upper part was formerly taken down for feare it should really fall and do some mischief.

Next we went to see an imperfect Church cal'd St. Petronius, shewing the intent of the founder had he gon on. From this our guide led us to the Schooles, which indeede are very magnificent. Thence to St. Dominic's, where that saint's body lies richly inshrin'd. The stalls, or seates of this goodly church have the historie of the Bible inlaied with severall woods very curiously don, the work of one Fr. Damiano di Bergamo and a frier of that order. Amongst other reliques they shew the two books of Esdras written with his own hand. Here lie buried Jac. Andreas and divers other learn'd persons. To the Church joynes the Convent, in the quadrangle whereof are old cypresses, said to have been planted by their Saint.

Then we went to the Palace of the Legat, a faire brick building, as are most of the houses and buildings for the whole towne, full of excellent carving and mouldings, so as nothing in stone seemes to be better finish'd or more ornamentall; witnesse those excellent columns to be seene in many of their churches, convents, and publiq buildings, for the whole towne is so cloyster'd that one may passe from house to house through the streetes without being expos'd to raine or sun.

Before the stately hall of this Palace stands the statue of Paule IV.

and divers others ; also the monument of the coronation of Charles V. The Piazza before it is the most stately in Italy, St. Mark's at Venice only excepted. In the center of it is a fountain of Neptune, a noble figure in copper. Here I saw a Persian walking about in a very rich vest of cloth of tissue, and severall other ornaments, according to the fashion of his country, which much pleased me ; he was a young handsome person, of the most stately mien.

I would faine have seene the Library of St. Saviour's, famous for the number of rare manuscripts, but could not, so we went to St. Francis's, a glorious pile and exceedingly adorn'd within.

After dinner I enquired out a priest and Dr. Montalbano, to whom I brought recom'endations from Rome ; this was he who invented or found out the composition of the *lapis illuminabilis*, or phosphorus. He shew'd me their property (for he had severall), being to retaine the light of the sun for some competent time, by a kind of imbibition, by a particular way of calcination. Some of these presented a blew colour like the flame of brimstone, others like coals of a kitchen fire. The rest of the afternoone was taken up in St. Michael in Bosco, built on a steepe hill on the edge of the Citty, for its fabrick, pleasant shade and groves, cellars, dormitory, and prospects, one of the most delicious retirements I ever saw, art and nature contending which shall exceede ; so as till now I never envied the life of a frier. The whole towne and country to a vast extent are under com'and of their eyes, almost as far as Venice itselfe. In this Convent there are many excellent paintings of Guido Rheni, above all, the little cloister of 8 faces painted by Carracci in *fresco*. The carvings in wood in the sacristy are admirable, as is the inlay'd work about the Chapell, which even emulates the best paintings, the work is so delicate and tender. The paintings of St. Saviour are of Carracci and Leonardo, and there are excellent things of Raphael which we could not see.

In the Church of St. John is a fine piece of *St. Cecilia* by Raphael. As to other paintings, there is in the Church of St. Gregorie an excellent picture of a Bishop giving the habit of St. Bernard to an arm'd souldier, with severall other figures in the piece, the work of Guerchino. Indeede this Citty is full of rare pieces, especialy of Guido, Domenico, and a virgin named Isabella Sirani, now living, who has painted many excellent pieces, and imitates Guido so well that many skilfull artists have been deceiv'd.

At the Mendicants are the *Miracles of St. Eloy* by Rheni, after the manner of Caravagio, but better ; and here they shew'd us that famous piece of *Christ calling St. Matthew*, by Hannibal Carracci. The Marques Magniani has the whole freeze of his Hall painted in *fresco* by the same hand.

Many of the religious men here nourish those lap-dogs which the ladies are so fond of, and which they here sell. They are a pigmy sort

of spaniels, whose noses they break when puppies, which in my opinion deforms them.

At the end of the turning in one of the wings of the dormitorie of St. Michael I found a paper pasted neere the window, containing the dimensions of most of the famous Churches in Italy compar'd with their Toures here, and the length of this Gallery, a copy whereof I tooke.

	Braccia. <sup>1</sup>	Piedi di Bologna.	Canas di Roma.
St. Pietro di Roma, longo — —	284	473	84
Cupola del murro, alta	210	350	60
Torre d'Asinello, alto	208½	348	59pr. 6
Dormitorio de St. Mich. a Bologn. longo	254	423	72½

From hence being brought to a subterranean territorie of cellars, the courteous Friars made us taste a variety of excellent wines, and so we departed to our Inn.

This Citty is famous also for sausages ; and here is sold greate quantities of Parmegiano cheese, with Botargo, Caviare, &c. which makes some of their shops perfume the streetes, with no agreeable smell. We furnish'd ourselves with wash-balls, the best being made here, and being a considerable commodity. This place has also been famous for lutes made by the old masters, Mollen Hans Frey, and Nicholas Sconvelt, which were of extraordinary price ; the workmen were cheifly Germans. The cattle used for draught in this country (which is very rich and fertile, especialy in pasturage) are cover'd with housings of linnen fring'd at the bottome, that dangle about them, preserving them from flyes, which in sum'er are very troublesome.

From this pleasant Citty we went now towards Ferrara, carrying with us a bulletino or bill of health, (customary in all these parts of Italy, especialy in the State of Venice,) and so put ourselves into a boate that was tow'd with horses, often interrupted by the sluices (inventions there to raise the water for the use of mills, and to fill the artificial canalls) at every one of which we stayed till passage was made. We went by the Castle Bentivoglio, and about night ariv'd at an ugly inn call'd Mal Albergo, agreeable to its name, whence, after we had supp'd, we embark'd and pass'd that night thro' the Fenns, where we were so pestered with those flying glow-worms called *Luccioli*, that one who had never heard of them would think the Country full of sparks of fire ; beating some of them downe, and applying them to a book, I could reade in the dark by the light they afforded.

Quitting our boate we took coach, and by morning got to Ferrara, where, before we could gain entrance, our gunns and armes were taken from us of custom, the lock being taken off before, as we were advis'd.

<sup>1</sup> A measure of half an ell.

The Citty is in a low marshy country, and therefore well fortified. The houses and streetes have nothing of beauty, except the Palace and Church of St. Benedict, where Ariosto lies buried ; and there are some good statues, the Palazzo del Diamante, Citadel, Church of St. Dominico. The Market-place is very spacious, having in its center the figure of Nicholao Olão, once Duke of Ferrara, on horseback, in coper. It is in a word a dirty towne, and tho' the streetes be large they remaine ill pav'd ; yet it is an University, and now belongs to the Pope. Tho' there are not many fine houses in the Citty, the inn where we lodg'd was a very noble palace, having an Angel for its sign.

We parted from hence about 3 in the afternoone, and went some of our way on the Chanell, and then imbarck'd on the Po, or Padus, by the poets called Eridanus, where they faine Phaeton to have fallen after his rash attempt, and where Io was metamorphos'd into a cow. There was in our company, amongst others, a Polonian Bishop, who was exceeding civill to me in this passage, and afterwards did me many kindnesses at Venice. We supp'd this night at a place called Corbua, neere the ruines of the ancient Citty Adria, which gives name to the Gulph, or Sea. After 3 miles, having passed 30 on the Po, we embarked in a stout vessell, and thro' an artificial chanell, very strait, we entred the Adice, which carried us by breake of day into the Adriatic, and so sailing prosperously by Chioza, (a towne upon an island in this Sea,) and Palestina, we came over against Malamocco (the cheife port and ankerage where our English merchantmen lie that trade to Venice,) about 7 at night, after we had stayed at least 2 houres for permission to land, our bill of health being deliver'd according to costome. So soone as we came on shore we were conducted to the Dogana, where our portmanteaus were visited, and then we got to our lodging, which was at honest Signor Paulo Rhodomante's at the Black Eagle near the Rialto, one of the best quarters of the towne. This journey from Rome to Venice cost me 7 pistoles and 13 julios.

June. The next morning, finding myself extreamly weary and beaten with my journey, I went to one of their bagnios, where you are treated after the Eastern manner, washing with hot and cold water, with oyles, and being rubbed with a kind of strigil of seal's-skin, put on the operator's hand like a glove. This bath did so open my pores that it cost me one of the greatest colds I ever had in my life, for want of necessary caution in keeping myselfe warme for some time after ; for coming out I im'ediately began to visit the famous places of the Citty ; and Travellers who come into Italy do nothing but run up and down to see sights, and this Citty well deserved our admiration, being the most wonderfully placed of any in the world, built on so many hundred islands, in the very Sea, and at good distance from the Continent. It has no fresh water except what is reserv'd in cisterns from raine, and such as is daily brought from *terra firma* in boates, yet there was no want of it, and all sorts of excellent provisions were very cheape.

'Tis said that when the Huns overran Italy some meane fishermen and others left the maine land and fled for shelter to these despicable and muddy islands, which in processe of time, by industry, are growne to the greatnesse of one of the most considerable States, considered as a Republic, and having now subsisted longer than any of the foure ancient Monarchies, flourishing in greate state, wealth, and glory, by the conquest of greate territories in Italy, Dacia, Greece, Candy, Rhodes, and Sclavonia, and at present challenging the empire of all the Adriatic Sea, which they yearly espouse by casting a gold ring into it with greate pomp and ceremony on Ascension Day: the desire of seeing this was one of the reasons that hastened us from Rome.

The Doge, having heard masse in his robes of state (which are very particular, after the Eastern fashion,) together with the Senat in their gownes, imbarck'd in their gloriously painted, carved, and gilded Bucentora, environ'd and follow'd by innumerable gallies, gondolas, and boates, filled with spectators, some dressed in masquerade, trumpets, musick, and canons; having rowed about a league into the Gulph, the Duke at the prow casts a gold ring and cup into the Sea, at which a loud acclamation is ecchoed from the greate guns of the Arsenal and at the Lido. We then return'd.

Two days after, taking a gondola, which is their water-coach (for land-ones there are many old men in this Citty who never saw one, or rarely a horse), we rowed up and downe the Channells, which answer to our streetes. These vessells are built very long and narrow, having necks and tailes of steele, somewhat spreading at the beake like a fishes taile, and kept so exceedingly polish'd as to give a greate lustre; some are adorn'd with carving, others lined with velvet (commonly black), with curtains and tassels, and the seates like couches, to lie stretch'd on, while he who rows stands upright on the very edge of the boate, and with one oare bending forward as if he would fall into the Sea, rows and turnes with incredible dexterity; thus passing from channell to channell, landing his fare or patron at what house he pleases. The beakes of these vessells are like the ancient Roman rostrums.

The first public building I went to see was the Rialto, a bridge of one arch over the grand Canall, so large as to admit a gally to row under it, built of good marble, and having on it, besides many pretty shops, three ample and stately passages for people without any inconvenience, the two outmost nobly balustred with the same stone; a piece of Architecture much to be admir'd. It was evening, and the Canall where the Noblesse go to take the air, as in our Hide-park, was full of ladys and gentlemen. There are many times dangerous stops by reason of the multitude of gondolas ready to sink one another; and indeede they affect to leane them on one side, that one who is not accustom'd to it would be afraid of over-setting. Here they were singing, playing on harpsicords and other musick, and serenading their

mistresses; in another place racing and other pastimes upon the water, it being now exceeding hot.

Next day I went to their Exchange, a place like ours frequented by merchants, but nothing so magnificent : from thence my guide led me to the Fondigo di Todeschi, which is their magazine, and here many of the merchants, especially Germans, have their lodging and diet as in a college. The outside of this stately fabric is painted by Giorgione da Castelfranco, and Titian himselfe.

Hence I pass'd thro' the Merceria, which is one of the most delicious streetes in the world for the sweetness of it, and is all the way on both sides tapistred as it were with cloth of gold, rich damasks and other silks, which the shops expose and hang before their houses from the first floore, and with that variety that for neere halfe the yeare spent cheifly in this Citty I hardly remember to have seene the same piece twice expos'd ; to this add the perfumes, apothecaries shops, and the innumerable cages of nightingales which they keepe, that entertaine you with their melody from shop to shop, so that shutting your eyes you would imagine yourselfe in the country, when indeede you are in the middle of the Sea. It is almost as silent as the middle of a field, there being neither rattling of coaches nor trampling of horses. This streete, pav'd with brick and exceedingly cleane, brought us thro' an arch into the famous Piazza of St. Marc.

Over this Porch stands that admirable Clock, celebrated next to that of Strasburg for its many movements ; amongst which, about 12 and 6, which are their houres of Ave Maria when all the towne are on their knees, come forth the 3 Kings led by a starr, and passing by the image of Christ in his Mother's armes do their reverence, and enter into the clock by another doore. At the top of this turret another automaton strikes the quarters ; an honest merchant told me that one day walking in the Piazza, he saw the fellow who kept the Clock struck with this hammer so forceably, as he was stooping his head neere the bell to mend something amisse at the instant of striking, that being stunn'd he reel'd over the battlements and broke his neck. The buildings in this Piazza are all arch'd, on pillars, pav'd within with black and white polish'd marble even to the shops, the rest of the fabric as stately as any in Europ, being not only marble but the architecture is of the famous Sansovini, who lies buried in St. Jacomo at the end of the Piazza. The battlements of this noble range of building are rail'd with stone, and thick set with excellent statues, which add a great ornament. One of the sides is yet much more Roman-like than the other which regards the Sea, and where the Church is plac'd. The other range is plainly Gotiq : and so we entred into St. Marc's Church, before which stand two brasse pedestals exquisitely cast and figur'd, which beare as many tall masts painted red, on which upon greate festivals they hang flags and streamers. The Church is also Gothic ;

yet for the preciousness of the materials being of severall rich marbles, abundance of porphyrie, serpentine, &c. far exceeding any in Rome, St. Peter's hardly excepted. I much admired the splendid historie of our B. Saviour compos'd all of Mosaic over the facia, below which and over the cheife gate are four horses cast in coper as big as the life, the same that formerly were transported from Rome by Constantine to Byzantium, and thence by the Venetians hither.<sup>1</sup> They are supported by 8 porphyrie columns of very great size and value. Being come into the Church, you see nothing, and tread on nothing, but what is precious. The floore is all inlayed with achats, lazuli's, calcedons, jaspers, porphyries and other rich marbles, admirable also for the work; the walls sumptuously incrusted and presenting to the imagination the shapes of men, birds, houses, flowers, and a thousand varieties. The rooffe is of most excellent Mosaic; but what most persons admire is the new work of the emblematic tree at the other passage out of the Church. In the midst of this rich volto rise five cupolas, the middle very large and sustayn'd by 36 marble columns, eight of which are of precious marbles: under these cupolas is the high altar, on which is a reliquarie of severall sorts of jewells, engraven with figures after the Greeke maner, and set together with plates of pure gold. The altar is cover'd with a canopy of ophit, on which is sculptur'd the storie of the Bible, and so on the pillars, which are of Parian marble, that support it. Behind these are four other columns of transparent and true Oriental alabaster, brought hither out of the mines of Solomon's Temple as they report. There are many chapells and notable monuments of illustrious persons, Dukes, Cardinals, &c. as Zeno, Jo. Soranzi, and others: there is likewise a vast baptisterie of coper. Among other venerable reliques is a stone on which they say our Blessed Lord stood preaching to those of Tyre and Sidon, and neere the doore is an image of Christ, much ador'd, esteeming it very sacred, for that a rude fellow striking it, they say, there gush'd out a torrent of blood. In one of the corners lies the body of St. Isidore, brought hither 500 years since from the island of Chios. A little farther they shew the picture of St. Dominic and Francis, affirm'd to have ben made by the Abbot Joachim (many yeares before any of them were born.) Going out of the Church they shew'd us the stone where Alexander III. trod on the neck of the Emperor Fred. Barbarossa, pronouncing that verse of the psalm, "*super basiliscum*," &c. The dores of the Church are of massie coper. There are neere 500 pillars in this building, most of them porphyrie and serpentine, and brought cheifly from Athens and other parts of Greece formerly in their power. At the corner of the Church are inserted into the maine wall four figures as big as life cut in porphyrie, which they say are the images of four brothers who poysoned one another, by

<sup>1</sup> They were taken away by Buonaparte to Paris, but in 1815 were sent back to Venice. Edr.

which meanes there escheated to the Republiq that vast treasury of relicques now belonging to the Church. At the other entrance that looks towards the Sea, stands in a small chapell that statue of our Lady, made (as they affirme) of the same stone or rock out of which Moses brought water to the murmuring Israelities at Meriba.

After all that is said, this Church is in my opinion much too dark and dismal, and of heavy work ; the fabric, as is much of Venice both for buildings and other fashions and circumstances, after the Greekes, their next neighboures.

The next day, by favour of the French Ambassador I had admittance with him to see the Reliquary call'd here Tresoro di San Marco, which very few even of travellers are admitted to see. It is a large chamber full of presses. There are twelve breast-plates, or pieces of pure golden armour studded with precious stones, and as many crownes dedicated to St. Mark by so many noble Venetians who had recovered their wives taken at sea by the Saracens ; many curious vases of achats ; the cap or cornet of the Dukes of Venice, one of which had a rubie set on it esteemed worth 200,000 crownes ; two unicorns hornes ; numerous vasas and dishes of achat set thick with precious stones and vast pearles ; divers heads of Saints inchas'd in gold ; a small ampulla or glasse with our Saviour's blood ; a greate morcell of the real crosse ; one of the nailes ; a thorn ; a fragment of the column to which our Lord was bound when scourged ; the standard or ensigne of Constantine ; a piece of St. Luke's arme ; a rib of St. Stephen ; a finger of Mary Magdalene ; numerous other things which I could not remember ; but a priest, first vesting himselfe in his sacerdotals with the stole about his neck, shew'd us the Gospel of St. Mark (their tutelar patron) written by his own hand, and whose body they shew buried in the Church, brought hither from Alexandria many years ago.

The Religious de li Servi have fine paintings of P. Veroneze, especially that of the *Magdalen*.

A French Gentleman and myself went to the Courts of Justice, the Senate-house, and Ducal Palace. The first Court neere this Church is almost wholly built of several colour'd sorts of marble, like chequer work on the outside ; this is sustain'd by vast pillars, not very shapely, but observable for their capitals, and that out of thirty-three no two are alike. Under this fabrick is the Cloyster where Merchants meete morning and evening, as also the grave Senators and Gentlemen, to confer of state affaires in their gownes and caps like so many Philosophers ; 'tis a very noble and solemn spectacle. In another quadrangle stood two square-columns of white marble, carved, which they said had ben erected to hang one of their Dukes on who design'd to make himselfe Sovereigne. Going through a stately arch there were standing in niches divers statues of greate value, amongst which is the so celebrated Eve, esteem'd worth its weight in gold ; it is just opposite to the

staires where are two Colossus's of Mars and Neptune by Sansovino. We went up into a Coridore built with several Tribunals and Courts of Justice ; and by a well contriv'd stair-case were landed in the Senate-hall, which appears to be one of the most noble and spacious rooms in Europ, being 76 paces long and 32 in breadth. At the upper end are the Tribunals of the Doge, Council of Ten, and Assistants ; in the body of the hall are lower ranks of seates capable of containing 1500 Senators, for they consist of no fewer on grand debates. Over the Duke's throne are the paintings of the *Final Judgment* by Tintoret, esteem'd amongst the best pieces in Europe. On the roofe are the famous Acts of the Republick painted by severall excellent masters, especialy Bassano ; next them are the Effigies of the severall Dukes, with their Elogies. Then we turned into a great Court painted with the *Battail of Lepanto*, an excellent piece ; thence into the Chamber of the Council of Ten, painted by the most celebrated masters. From hence, by the special favour of an *Illustrissimo*, we were carried to see the private Armorie of the Palace, and so to the same Court we first enter'd, nobly built of polish'd white marble, part of which is the Duke's Court *pro tempore* ; there are two wells adorn'd with excellent work in coper. This led us to the sea-side, where stand those two columns of ophite stone in the intire piece, of a greate height, one bearing St. Mark's Lion, the other St. Theodorus ; these pillars were brought from Greece, and set up by Nic. Baraterius the architect ; betweene them publique executions are performed.

Having fed our eyes with the noble prospect of the Island St. George, the gallies, gondolas, and other vessells passing to and fro, we walked under the Cloyster on the other side of this goodly Piazza, being a most magnificent building, the design of Sansovino. Here we went into the Zecca, or Mint ; at the entrance stand two prodigious Giants or Hercules of white marble : we saw them melt, beate, and coyne silver, gold, and coper. We then went up into the Procuratorie, and a Library of excellent MSS. and books belonging to it and the Publiq. After this we climb'd up the Toure of St. Mark, which we might have don on horseback, as 'tis said one of the French Kings did, there being no stayres or steps, but returnes that take up an entire square on the arches 40 foote, broad enough for a coach. This Steeple stands by itselfe without any Church neere it, and is rather a watch toure in the corner of the greate Piazza, 230 foote in height, the foundation exceeding deepe ; on the top is an Angel that turns with the wind, and from hence is a prospect down the Adriatic as far as Istria and the Dalmatian side, with the surprizing sight of this miraculous Citty, which lies in the bosome of the sea, in the shape of a lute, the numberless Islands tacked together by no fewer than 450 bridges. At the foote of this Toure is a public Tribunal of excellent work in white marble polish'd, adorn'd with several brasse statues and figures of stone in mezzo relievo, the worke of some rare artist.

It was now Ascension Weeke, and the greate Mart or Faire of the whole yeare was now kept, every body at liberty and jollie. The noble-men stalking with their ladys on *choppines*; these are high-heel'd shoes, particularly affected by these proude dames, or, as some say, invented to keepe them at home, it being very difficult to walke with them; whence one being asked how he liked the Venetian dames, replied, that they were *mezzo carne, mezzo ligno*, half flesh, half wood, and he would have none of them. The truth is, their garb is very odd, as seeming allwayes in masquerade; their other habits also totally different from all nations. They weare very long crisped haire, of severall strakes and colours, which they make so by a wash, dischevelling it on the brims of a broade hat that has no head, but an hole to put out their heads by; they drie them in the sunn, as one may see them at their windows. In their tire they set silk flowers and sparkling stones, their peticoates coming from their very arme-pits, so that they are neere three quarters and an half apron; their sleeves are made exceeding wide, under which their shift sleeves as wide, and commonly tucked up to the shoulder, shewing their naked armes, thro' false sleeves of tiffany, girt with a bracelet or two, with knots of points richly tagged about their shoulders and other places of their body, which they usually cover with a kind of yellow vaile of lawn very transparent. Thus attir'd they set their hands on the heads of two matron-like servants or old women, to support them, who are mumbling their beades. 'Tis ridiculous to see how these ladys crawle in and out of their *gondolas* by reason of their *choppines*, and what dwarfs they appeare when taken downe from their wooden scaffolds; of these I saw near thirty together, stalking half as high again as the rest of the world, for courtezans or the citizens may not weare *choppines*, but cover their bodies and faces with a vaile of a certaine glittering taffeta or lustreè, out of which they now and then dart a glaunce of their eye, the whole face being otherwise entirely hid with it; nor may the com'on misses take this habit, but go abroad bare-fac'd. To the corners of these virgin-vailes hang broad but flat tossells of curious Point de Venize; the married women go in black vailes. The nobility weare the same colour, but of fine cloth lin'd with taffeta in Summer, with fur of the bellies of squirrells in the Winter, which all put on at a certaine day girt with a girdle emboss'd with silver; the vest not much different from what our Bachelors of Arts weare in Oxford, and a hopd of cloth made like a sack, cast over their left shoulder, and a round cloth black cap fring'd with wool which is not so comely; they also weare their collar open to shew the diamond button of the stock of their shirt. I have never seene pearle for colour and bignesse comparable to what the ladys wear, most of the noble families being very rich in jewells, especialy pearles, which are always left to the son or brother who is destined to marry, which the eldest seldome do. The Doge's vest is of crimson velvet, the Procurator's, &c. of damasc, very

stately. Nor was I lesse surprised with the strange variety of the severall nations which were seen every day in the streetes and piazzas ; Jews, Turks, Armenians, Persians, Moores, Greekes, Sclavonians, some with their targets and boucklers, and all in their native fashions, negotiating in this famous Emporium, which is-allways crowded with strangers.

This night, having with my Lord Bruce taken our places before, we went to the Opera where comedies and other plays are represented in recitative musiq by the most excellent musicians vocal and instrumental, with variety of sceanes painted and contrived with no lesse art of perspective, and machines for flying in the aire, and other wonderfull motions ; taken together it is one of the most magnificent and expensive diversions the wit of man can invent. The history was, Hercules in Lydia ; the sceanes changed thirteen times. The famous voices, Anna Rencia, a Roman, and reputed the best treble of women ; but there was an eunuch who in my opinion surpass'd her ; also a Genoeze that sung an incomparable base. This held us by the eyes and eares till two in the morning, when we went to the Chetto de san Felice, to see the noblemen and their ladies at *Basset*, a game at cards which is much used, but they play not in public, and all that have inclination to it are in masquerade, without speaking one word, and so they come in, play, loose or gaine, and go away as they please. This time of licence is onely in Carnival and this Ascension Weeke ; neither are their Theaters open for that other magnificence or for ordinary comedians save on these solemnities, they being a frugal and wise people and exact observers of all sumptuarie laws.

There being at this time a ship bound for the Holy Land, I had resolved to imbarke, intending to see Jerusalem and other parts of Syria, Egypt, and Turkey ; but after I had provided all necessaries, laid in snow to coole our drink, bought some sheepe, poultry, biscuit, spirits, and a little cabinet of drouggs in case of sicknesse, our vessell (where-off Capt. Powell was master) happen'd to be press'd for the service of the State to carry provisions to Candia, now newly attacqued by the Turkes, which altogether frustrated my designe, to my very greate mortification.

On the . . . June we went to Padua, to the Faire of their St. Anthony in company of divers passengers. The first *terra firma* we landed at was Fesina, being onely an inn, where we changed our barge and were then drawne up by horses thro' the river Brenta, a strait chanell as even as a line for 20 miles, the country on both sides deliciously adorn'd with country villas and gentlemen's retirements, gardens planted with oranges, figs and other fruit belonging to the Venetians. At one of these villas we went ashore to see a pretty contriv'd Palace. Observable in this passage was buying their water of those who farme the sluices, for this artificial river is in some places so shallow that

reserves of water are kept with sluices, which they open and shut with a most ingenious invention or engine, govern'd even by a child. Thus they keep up the water, or let it go, till the next channell be either filled by the stop, or abated to the levell, of the other, for which every boate pays a certain dutie. Thus we stay'd neere halfe an houre and more at three severall places, so as it was evening before we got to Padua. This is a very ancient Cittie if the tradition of Antenor's being the founder be not a fiction ; but thus speakes the inscription over a stately gate :

Hanc antiquissimam urbem literarum omnium asyllum, cujus agrum fertilitatis Lumen Natura esse voluit, Antenor condidit an'o ante Christum natum M.Cxviii, Senatus autem Venetus his belli propugnandis ornavit.

The towne stands on the river Padus, whence its name, and is generally built like Bologna on arches and on brick, so that one may walk all round it, dry, and in the shade, which is very convenient in these hot countries, and I think I was never sensible of so burning a heate as I was this season, especialy the next day, which was that of the Faire, fill'd with noble Venetians by reason of a greate and solemn procession to their famous Cathedral. Passing by St. Lorenzo I met with this inscription :

Inclytus Antenor patriam vox nisa quietem <sup>1</sup>  
 Transtulit huc Henetum Dardanidumq ; fuga,  
 Expulit Euganeos, Patavinam condidit urbem,  
 Quem tegit hic humili marmore cæsa domus.

Under the tomb was a cobbler at his work. Being now come to St. Antonies (the streete most of the way strait, well built, and outside excellently painted in *fresco*) we survey'd the spacious piazza, in which is erected a noble statue of coper of a man on horseback, in memorie of one Catta Malata <sup>2</sup>, a renowned captaine. The Church *a la Greca* consists of five handsome cupolas leaded. At the left hand within is the tomb of St. Anthony and his altar, about which a mezzo relievo of the miracles ascrib'd to him is exquisitely wrought in white marble by the three famous sculptors Tullius Lombardus, Jacobus Sansovinus, and Hieron. Compagno. A little higher is the quire, wall'd parapet fashion with sundry colour'd stone halfe relievo, the work of Andrea Reccij. The altar within is of the same metall, which with the candlestick and bases is in my opinion as magnificent as any in Italy. The wainscot of the quire is rarely inlayed and carved. Here are the sepulchres of many famous persons, as of Rodolphus Fulgosi, &c. and among the rest one that for an exploit at sea has a gally exquisitely carved thereon.

<sup>1</sup> Keyser very justly observes that the first line of this inscription conveys no meaning. Vol. III. p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Lassells calls him Gatta Mela, the Venetian General, nicknamed Gata, because of his watchfulness, p. 429.

The Procession bore the banners with all the treasure of the cloyster, which was a very fine sight.

Hence walking over the Prato delle Valle, I went to see the Convent of St. Justina's, than which I never beheld one more magnificent. The Church is an excellent piece of architecture of Andrea Palladio, richly pav'd, with a stately cupola that covers the high altar inshrining the ashes of that Saint. It is of Pietra Commessa, consisting of flowers very naturally don. The quire is inlay'd with severall sorts of wood representing the holy history, finish'd with exceeding industry. At the far end is that rare painting of *St. Justina's martyrdom* by P. Veronese; and a stone on which they told us divers primitive Christians had ben decapitated. In another place (to which leads a small cloister well painted) is a dry well cover'd with a brasse-work grate wherein are the bones of divers martyrs. They shew also the bones of St. Luke in an old alabaster coffin; three of the Holy Innocents; and the bodys of St. Maximus and Prosdocimus<sup>1</sup>. The Dormitory above is exceeding commodious and stately, but what most pleas'd me was the old cloyster so well painted with the legendarie Saints, mingled with many ancient inscriptions, and pieces of urnes dug up it seemes at the foundation of the Church. Thus having spent the day in rambles, I return'd the next day to Venice.

The Arsenal is thought to be one of the best furnish'd in the world. We entred by a strong port always guarded, and ascending a spacious gallery saw armes of back, breast, and head, for many thousands; in another were saddles, over them ensignes taken from the Turks. Another Hall is for the meeting of the Senat; passing a graff are the smiths forges, where they are continually at work on ankers and iron work. Neere it is a well of fresh water, which they impute to two rhinoceros's horns which they say lie in it and will preserve it from ever being empoison'd. Then we came to where the carpenters were building their magazines of oares, masts, &c. for an hundred gallys and ships, which have all their aparell and furniture neere them. Then the founderie, where they cast ordinance; the forge is 450 paces long, and one of them has thirteen furnaces. There is one cannon weighing 16,573 lbs. cast whilst Henry the Third dined, and put into a gally built, rigg'd, and fitted for launching within that time. They have also armes for 12 galeasses, which are vessells to rowe, of almost 150 foote long and 30 wide, not counting prow or poop, and contain 28 banks of oares, each 7 men, and to carry 1300 men, with 3 masts. In another a magazin for 50 gallys, and place for some hundreds more. Here stands the Bucentaur, with a most ample deck, and so contriv'd that the slaves are not seene, having on the poop a throne for the Doge to sit, when he gos in triumph to espouse the Adriatic. Here is also a gallery of 200 yards long for cables, and over that a magazine of hemp.

<sup>1</sup> St. Peter's disciple, first Bishop of Padua. Lassells, p. 430.

Over against these are their saltpetre houses, and a large row of cells or houses to protect their gallies from the weather. Over the gate as we go out, is a roome full of greate and small guns, some of which discharge six times at once. Then there is a court full of can'on, bullets, chaines, grapples, granados, &c. and over that armes for 800,000 men, and by themselves armes for 400 taken from some that were in a plot against the State ; together with weapons of offence and defence for 62 ships ; 32 pieces of ordnance on carriages taken from the Turks, and one prodigious mortar-piece. In a word, 'tis not to be reckoned up what this large place containes of this sort. There were now 23 gallies, and 4 gally-grossi of 100 oares of a side. The whole Arsenal is wall'd about and may be in compasse about 3 miles, with 12 towres for the watch, besides that the sea invirons it. The workmen, who are ordinarily 500, march out in military order, and every evening receive their pay thro' a small hole in the gate where the Governor lives.

The next day I saw a wretch executed who had murther'd his master, for which he had his head chop'd off by an axe that slid down a frame of timber,<sup>1</sup> between the two tall columns in St. Mark's Piazza at the sea brink ; the executioner striking on the axe with a beadle, and so the head fell off the block.

Hence by Gudala we went to see Grimani's Palace, the portico whereof is excellent work. Indeed the world cannot shew a Citty of more stately buildings considering the extent of it, all of square stone, and as chargeable in their foundations, as superstructure, being all built on piles at an immense cost. We return'd home by the Church of St. Johanne and Paulo, before which is in coper the statue of Bartolomeo Colone on horseback, double gilt, on a stately pedestal, the work of And. Verrochio, a Florentine. This is a very fine Church, and has in it many rare altar pieces of the best masters, especialy that on the left hand of the *Two Friars slaine*, which is of Titian.

The day after, being Sunday, I went over to St. George's to the ceremonie of the schismatic Greekes, who are permitted to have their Church, tho' they are at defiance with Rome. They allow no carved images, but many painted, especialy the story of their patron and his dragon. Their rites differ not much from the Latines, save that of communicating in both species, and distribution of the holy bread. We afterwards fell into dispute with a Candiote concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost. The Church is a noble fabric.

The Church of St. Zachary is of Greeke building, by Leo the 4th Emp. and has in it the bones of that prophet with divers other Saints. Neere this we visited St. Luke's, famous for the tomb of Aretine.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The maiden at Halifax, in Yorkshire, and the guillotine in France.

<sup>2</sup> This epitaph has been made for this Satyrist and Atheist :

Here lies the man who no man spared,  
When the angry fit was on him ;

Nor God himself had better fared,  
If Aretine had known him.

Tuesday we visited severall other Churches, as Santa Maria, newly incrusted with marble on the outside, and adorned with porphyrie, ophit, and Spartan stone. Neere the altar and under the organ are sculptures, that are said to be of the famous artist Praxiteles. To that of St. Paul I went purposely to see the tomb of Titian. Then to St. John the Evangelist, where amongst other heroes lies Andr. Baldarius, the inventor of oares applied to greate vessells for fighting.

We also saw St. Roch, the roofe whereof is, with the school or hall of that rich confraternity, admirably painted by Tintoret, especialy the *Crucifix* in the sacristia. We saw also the Church of St. Sebastian, and Carmelites monasterie.

Next day taking our gondola at St. Mark's, I pass'd to the Island of St. George Maggiore, where is a Convent of Benedictines, and a well built Church by Andrea Palladio, the greate architect. The pavement, cupola, choire, and pictures, very rich and sumptuous. The cloyster has a fine garden to it, which is a rare thing at Venice, tho' this is an island a little distant from the Cittie ; it has also an olive orchard all inviron'd by the sea. The new cloyster now building has a noble stayrecase pav'd with white and black marble.

From hence we visited St. Spirito and St. Laurence, faire Churches in severall islands ; but most remarkable is that of the Padri Olivetani in St. Helen's island, for the rare paintings and carvings, with inlay'd work, &c.

The next morning we went againe to Padoa, where next day we visited the market, which is plentifully furnish'd and exceedingly cheape. Here we saw the greate hall, built in a spacious piazza, and one of the most magnificent in Europe ; its ascent is by steps a good height, of a reddish marble polish'd, much us'd in these parts and happily found not far off ; 'tis almost 200 paces long and 40 in breadth, all cover'd with lead, without any support of columns. At the farther end stands the bust in white marble of Titus Livius the historian. In this town is the house wherein he was borne, full of inscriptions and pretty faire.

Neere to the monument of Speron Speronii, is painted on the cieling the celestial zodiaq and other astronomical figures ; without side there is a corridor in manner of a balcony, of the same stone ; and at the entrie of each of the three gates is the head of some famous person, as Albert Eremitano, Jul. Paullo (lawyers), and Peter Aponius. In the piazza is the Podesta and Capitano Grande's Palace, well built ; but above all the Monte Pietà, the front whereof is of most excellent architecture ; this is a foundation of which there is one in most of the Citties in Italy, where there is a continual banq of mony to assist the poorer sort, on any pawn, and at reasonable interest, together with magazines for deposit of goods till redeemed.

Hence to the Scholes of this flourishing and ancient University, especialy for the studie of physic and anatomie. They are fairly built in

quadrangle, with cloysters beneath, and above with columns. Over the greate gate are the armes of the Venetian State, and under the lion of St. Marc :

“Sic ingredere et teipso quotidie doctior ; sic egredere ut indies Patriæ Christianæq ; Reipublicæ utilior evadas ; ita demùm Gymnasium a te feliciter ornatum existimabit. CIO.IX.”

About the court walls are carv'd in stone and painted the blazons of the Consuls of all the nations that from time to time have had that charge and honor in the Universitie, which at my being there was my worthy friend Dr. Rogers, who here tooke that degree.

The scholes for the lectures of the severall sciences are above, but none of them comparable, or so much frequented as the theatre for anatomie, which is excellently contriv'd both for the dissector and spectators. I was this day invited to dinner, and in the afternoone (being 30 July) received my *Matricula*, being resolved to spend some moneths here at study, especialy physic and anatomie, of both which there was now the most famous professors in Europe. My *Matricula* contained a clause, that I, my goods, servants, and messengers, should be free from all toll and reprises, and that we might come, pass, return, buy or sell, without any toll, &c.

The next morning I went to see the Garden of Simples, rarely furnish'd with plants, and gave order to the gardener to make me a collection of them for an *hortus hyemalis*, by permission of the Cavalier Dr. Vestlingius, who was then Prefect and Botanic Professor as well as of Anatomie.

Next morning the Earle of Arundel,<sup>1</sup> now in this Citty, a famous collector of paintings and antiquities, invited me to go with him to see the Garden of Mantua, where as one enters stands a huge colosse of Hercules. From hence to a place where was a roome cover'd with a noble cupola, built purposely for musiq ; the fillings up, or cove 'twixt the walls were of urnes and earthen pots for the better sounding ; it was also well painted. After dinner we walked to the Palace of Foscari all' Arena, there remaining yet some appearances of an ancient theater, tho' serving now for a court onely before the house. There were now kept in it two eagles, a crane, a Mauritanian sheepe, a stag, and sundry foules, as in a vivarie.

Three days after, I return'd to Venice, and pass'd over to Murano, famous for the best glasses of the world, where having viewed their furnaces and seene their worke, I made a collection of divers curiosities and glasses, which I sent for England by long sea. 'Tis the white flints which they have from Pavia, which they pound and sift exceedingly small and mix with ashes made of a sea-weede brought out of

<sup>1</sup> The celebrated Thomas Earl of Arundel, part of whose collection was eventually procured for the University of Oxford by Mr. Evelyn, and is distinguished by the name of *Marmora Arundeliana*.

Syria, and a white sand, that causes this manufacture to excell. The Towne is a *Podestaria* by itselfe, at some miles distant on the sea from Venice, and like it built upon severall small islands. In this place are excellent oysters, small and well tasted like our Colchester, and they were the first, as I remember, that I ever could eate, for I had naturally an aversion to them.

At our returne to Venice we met several gondolas full of Venetian ladys, who come thus far in fine weather to take the aire, with musiq and other refreshments. Besides that Murano is itselfe a very nobly built Towne, and has divers noblemen's palaces in it and very handsome gardens.

In coming back we saw the Ilands of St. Christopher and St. Michael, the last of which has a Church inrich'd and incrusted with marbles and other architectonic ornaments, which the Monkes very courteously shew'd us. It was built and founded by Margaret Æmiliana of Verona, a famous courtezan, who purchased a greate estate, and by this foundation hoped to commute for her sins. We then rowed by the Iles of St. Nicholas, whose Church with the monuments of the Justinian family entertain'd us awhile; and then got home.

The next morning Capt. Powell, in whose ship I was to embark towards Turkey, invited me on board, lying about 10 miles from Venice, where we had a dinner of English poudred beefe and other good meate with store of wine and greate gunns, as the manner is. After dinner the Captaine presented me with a stone he lately brought from Grand Cairo, which he tooke from the Mummy-pitts, full of hieroglyphics; I drew it on paper with the true dimensions, and sent it in a letter to Mr. Henshaw to com'unicate to Father Kircher, who was then setting forth his greate work *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, where it is described, but without mentioning my name. The stone was afterwards brought for me into England and landed at Wapping, where before I could heare of it, it was broken into severall fragments and utterly defaced, to my no small disappointment.

The boatswaine of the ship also gave me a hand and foote of a mummy, the nailes whereof had been overlaid with thin plates of gold, and the whole body was perfect when he brought it out of Egypt, but the avarice of the ship's crue broke it to pieces and divided the body among them. He presented me also with two Egyptian idols, and some loaves of the bread which the Coptics use in the Holy Sacrament, with other curiosities.

8 August. I had newes from Padoa of my election to be *Syndicus Artistarum*, which caused me after two days idling in a country villa with the Consul of Venice, to hasten thither, that I might discharge my selfe of that honour, because it was not only chargeable, but would have hindred my progresse, and they chose a Dutch gentleman in my place, which did not well please my countrymen, who had labour'd not a little

to do me the greatest honour a stranger is capable of in that University. Being freed from this impediment, and having taken leave of Dr. Janicius, a Polonian, who was going physician in the Venetian gallys to Candy, I went againe to Venice, and made a collection of severall books and some toys. Three days after, I return'd to Padoa, where I studied hard till the arrival of Mr. Henshaw, Bramstone, and some other English gentlemen whom I had left at Rome, and who made me go back with them to Venice, where I spent some time in shewing them what I had seene there.

26 Sept. My dear friend, and till now my constant fellow traveller, Mr. Thicknesse, being obliged to returne to England upon his particular concerne, and who had served his Majesty in the warrs, I accompanied him part of his way, and on the 28th returned to Venice.

29. Michaelmas day, I went with my Lord Mowbray (eldest son to the Earle of Arundell and a most worthy person) to see the collection of a noble Venetian, Sign. Rugini. He has a stately Palace richly furnish'd with statues and heads of Roman Emperors, all plac'd in an ample roome. In the next was a cabinet of medals, both Latin and Greek, with divers curious shells and two faire pearles in two of them ; but above all he abounded in things petrified, wallnuts, eggs in which the yealk rattl'd, a peare, a piece of beefe with the bones in it, an whole hedge-hog, a plaice on a wooden trencher turn'd into stone and very perfect, charcoale, a morsel of cork yet retaining its levitie, sponges, and a piece of taffety part roll'd up, with innumerable more. In another cabinet supported by 12 pillars of Oriental achat and rail'd about with chrystal, he shew'd us severall noble intaglias of achat, especialy a head of Tiberius, a woman in a bath with her dog, some rare cornelians, onixes, chrystals, &c. in one of which was a drop of water not congeal'd, but moving up and down when shaken ; above all, a diamond which had a very faire rubie growing in it ; divers pieces of amber wherein were several insects, in particular one cut like an heart that contained in it a salamander without the least defect, and many pieces of Mosaic. The fabriq of this cabinet was very ingenious, set thick with achats, turquoises, and other precious stones, in the midst of which was an antiq of a dog in stone scratching his eare, very rarely cut and comparable to the greatest curiositie I had ever seene of that kind for the accuratenesse of the work. The next chamber had a bedstead all inlay'd with achats, chrystals, cornelians, lazuli, &c. esteemed worth 16,000 crownes ; but for the most part the bedsteads in Italy are of forged iron gilded, since it is impossible to keepe the wooden ones from the chimices.

From hence I returned to Padoa, when that towne was so infested with souldjers that many houses were broken open in the night, some murders comitted, and the nunns next our lodging disturb'd, so as we were forc'd to be on our guard with pistols and other fire-arnes to

defend our doores ; and indeede the students themselves take a barbarous liberty in the evenings when they go to their strumpets, to stop all that passe by the house where any of their companions in folly are with them ; this costome they call *Chi vali*, so as the streetes are dangerous when the evenings grow dark ; nor is it easy to reforme this intollerable usage where there are so many strangers of severall nations.

Using to drink my wine cool'd with snow and ice, as the manner here is, I was so afflicted with an angina and soare-throat that it had almost cost me my life. After all the remedies Cavalier Vestlingius, cheife professor here, could apply, old Salvatico (that famous physician) being call'd made me be cupp'd and scarified in the back in foure places, which began to give me breath, and consequently life, for I was in the utmost danger ; but God being mercifull to me, I was after a fortnight abroad againe, when changing my lodging I went over against Pozzo Pinto, where I bought for winter provision 3000 weight of excellent grapes, and pressed my owne wine, which proved incomparable liquor.

10 Oct. Soon after came to visite me from Venice Mr. Henry Howard, grandchild to the Earle of Arundel, Mr. Bramstone, son to the Lord Cheif Justice, and Mr. Henshaw, with whom I went to another part of the Cittie to lodge neere St. Catherine's, over against the Monasterie of Nunns, where we hired the whole house and lived very nobly. Here I learned to play on the theorba, taught by Sig. Dominico Bassano, who had a daughter married to a Doctor of Laws, that played and sung to nine severall instruments, with that skill and addresse as few masters in Italy exceeded her ; she likewise compos'd divers excellent pieces. I had never seene any play on the Naples viol before. She presented me afterwards with two recitativos of hers, both words and musiq.

31 Oct. Being my birth-day, the Nunns of St. Catharine's sent me flowers of silk-work. We were very studious all this winter till Christmas, when on twelfth day we invited all the English and Scotts in towne to a feast, which sunk our excellent wine considerably.

1646. In January Sign. Molino was chosen Doge of Venice, but the extreame snow that fell, and the cold, hindered my going to see the solemnity, so as I stirred not from Padoa till Shrovetide, when all the world repaire to Venice to see the folly and madnesse of the Carnevall ; the women, men, and persons of all conditions disguising themselves in antiq dresses, with extravagant musiq and a thousand gambols, traversing the streetes from house to house, all places being then accessible and free to enter. Abroad, they fling eggs fill'd with sweete water, but sometimes not over 'sweete. They also have a barbarous costome of hunting bulls about the streetes and piazzas, which is very dangerous, the passages being generally narrow. The youth of the severall wards and parishes contend in other masteries and pastimes,

so that 'tis impossible to recount the universal madnesse of this place during this time of licence. The greate banks are set up for those who will play at bassett; the comedians have liberty, and the operas are open; witty pasquils are thrown about, and the mountebanks have their stages at every corner. The diversion which cheifely tooke me up was three noble operas, where were excellent voices and musiq, the most celebrated of which was the famous Anna Rencha, whom we invited to a fish dinner after foure daies in Lent, when they had given over at the theater. Accompanied with an eunuch whom she brought with her, she entertain'd us with rare musiq, both of them singing to an harpsichord. It growing late, a gentleman of Venice came for her to shew her the gallys, now ready to sayle for Candia. This entertainment produced a second, given us by the English Consul of the merchants, inviting us to his house, where he had the Genoeze, the most celebrated base in Italy, who was one of the late opera band. This diversion held us so late as night, that conveying a gentlewoman who had supped with us to her gondola at the usual place of landing, we were shot at by two carbines from out another gondola in which was a noble Venetian and his courtezan unwilling to be disturb'd, which made us run in and fetch other weapons, not knowing what the matter was, till we were informed of the danger we might incur by pursuing it farther. Three days after this I tooke my leave of Venice, and went to Padoa to be present at the famous Anatomie Lecture, which is here celebrated with extraordinary apparatus, lasting almost a whole moneth. During this time I saw a woman, a child, and a man dissected with all the manual operations of the chirurgeon on the humane body. The one was performed by Cavalier Vestlingius and Dr. Jo. Athelsteinus Leonænas, of whom I purchased those rare tables of Veines and Nerves, and caus'd him to prepare a third of the Lungs, Liver, and Nervi sexti par: with the Gastric Veines, which I sent into England, and afterwards presented to the Royall Society, being the first of that kind that had been seen there, and for aught I know in the world, tho' afterwards there were others. When the Anatomie Lectures, which were in the mornings, were ended, I went to see cures don in the Hospitals; and certainly as there are the greatest helps and the most skilfull physitians, so there are the most miserable and deplorable objects to exercise upon. Nor is there any, I should think, so powerfull an argument against the vice reigning in this licentious Country, as to be spectator of the miserie these poore creatures undergo. They are indeede very carefully attended, and with extraordinary charity.

20 March. I return'd to Venice, where I tooke leave of my friends.

22. I was invited to excellent English potted venison at Mr. Hobbson's, a worthy merchant.

23. I tooke my leave of the Patriarche and the Prince of Wirtemberg, and Mons. Grotius (son of the learned Hugo) now going a com-

mander to Candia, and in the afternoone receiv'd of Vandervoort my merchant, my bills of exchange of 300 ducats for my journey. He shew'd me his rare collection of Italian books, esteem'd very curious and of good value.

The next day I was conducted to the Ghetta, where the Jewes dwell together as in a tribe or ward, where I was present at a marriage. The bride was clad in white, sitting in a lofty chaire, and cover'd with a white vaile; then two old Rabbies joyned them together, one of them holding a glasse of wine in his hand, which in the midst of the ceremony, pretending to deliver to the woman, he let fall, the breaking whereof was to signify the frailty of our nature, and that we must expect disasters and crosses amidst all enjoyments. This don, we had a fine banquet, and were brought into the bride-chamber, where the bed was dress'd up with flowers, and the counterpan strewed in workes. At this ceremony we saw divers very beautifull Portuguez Jewesses with whom we had some conversation.

I went to the Spanish Ambassador with Bonifacio his confessor, and obtained his passe to serve me in the Spanish dominions, without which I was not to travel, in this pompous form:

'Don Gaspar de Teves y Guzman, Marques de la Fuente, Senor Le Lerena y Verazuza, Comendador de Colos, en la Orden de Sant Yago, Alcalde Mayor perpetuo y Escrivano Mayor de la Cividad de Sevilla, Gentilhombre de la Camara de S. M. su Azemilero Mayor, de su Consejo, su Embaxador extraordinario a los Principes de Italia, y Alemania, y a esta serenissima Republica de Venetia, &c. Haviendo de partir de esta Ciudad para La Milan el Sig. Cavallero Evelyn Ingles, con un Criado, mi han pedido Passa-porte para los Estados de su M. Le he mandado dar el presente, firmado de mi mano, y sellado con el sello de mis armas, por el qual encargo a todos los menestros de S. M. antes quien le presentase y a los que no lo son, suplico les dare passar libramente sin permitir que se le haya vexacion alguna antes mandar le las favor para continuar su viage. Fecho en Venecia a 24 del mes de Marzo dell an'o 1646.

Mar. de la Fuentes, &c.'

Having pack'd up my purchases of books, pictures, castes, treacle, &c. (the making and extraordinary ceremonie whereof I had ben curious to observe, for 'tis extremely pompous and worth seeing) I departed from Venice, accompanied with Mr. Waller (the celebrated Poet), now newly gotten out of England, after the Parliamt had extreamely worried him for attempting to put in execution the Commission of Aray, and for which the rest of his Collegues were hanged by the Rebels.

The next day I tooke leave of my comrades at Padoa, and receiving some directions from Dr. Salvatico as to the care of my health, I prepared for my journey towards Milan.

It was Easter Monday that I was invited to breakfast at the Earle of

Arundel's<sup>1</sup>. I tooke my leave of him in his bed, where I left that greate and excellent man in teares on some private discourse of crosses that had befall'n his illustrious family, particularly the undutifullnesse of his Grandson Philip's turning Dominican Frier (since Cardinal of Norfolk), and the miserie of his Countrie now embroil'd in civil war. He caus'd his Gentleman to give me directions, all written with his owne hand, what curiosities I should enquire after in my journey ; and so, enjoyn- ing me to write sometimes to him, I departed. There stayed for me below, Mr. Henry Howard (afterwards Duke of Norfolk), Mr. J. Digby, son of Sir Kenelm Digby, and other gentlemen, who conducted me to the coach.

The famous Lapidaries of Venice for false stones and pastes so as to emulate the best diamonds, rubies, &c. were Marco Terrasso and Gilbert.

An Accompt of what Bills of Exchange I tooke up at Venice since my coming from Rome, till my departure from Padoa : 11 August 1645 200, 7 Sept. 135, 1 October 100, 15 Jan. 1646 100, 23 April 300, 835 Ducati di Banco.

In company then with Mr. Waller, one Capt. Wray (son of Sir Christopher, whose father had ben in armes against his Majesty, and therefore by no meanes welcome to us), with Mr. Abdy, a modest and learned man, we got that night to Vincenza, passing by the Euganéan hills, celebrated for the prospects and furniture of rare simples, which we found growing about them. The wayes were something deepe, the whole country flat and even as a bowling greene. The comon fields lie square, and are orderly planted with fruite trees which the vines run upon and embrace for many miles, with delicious streames creeping along the ranges.

Vincenza is a Citty in the Marquisate of Treviso, yet appertaining to the Venetians, full of gentlemen and splendid palaces, to which the famous Palladio, borne here, has exceedingly contributed as having ben the architect. Most conspicuous is the Hall of Justice ; it has a toure of excellent work ; the lower pillars are of the first order ; those in the three upper corridors are Doric ; under them are shops in a spacious piazza. The hall was built in imitation of that at Padoa, but of a nobler designe, *a la moderna*. The next morning we visited the Theater, as being of that kind the most perfect now standing, and built by Palladio, in exact imitation of the ancient Romans, and capable of containing 5000 spectators. The sceane, which is all of stone, represents an imperial citty, the order Corinthian, decorated with statues. Over the Scenario is inccribed, 'Virtuti ac Genio Olympior : Academia Theatrum hoc a fundamentis erexit Palladio Architect: 1584.' The sceane

<sup>1</sup> Lassells, who travelled a short time after Mr. Evelyn, says, that the Earl died here, and that his bowels are buried under a black marble stone, inscribed 'Interiora Thomæ Howard Comitæ Arundeliæ' p. 429.

declines 11 foote, the suffito painted with cloudes. To this there joyns a spacious Hall for sollemn days to ballot in, and a second for the Academics. In the Piazza is also the Podesta, or Governor's house, the faciata being of the Corinthian order, very noble. The Piazza itselfe is so large as to be capable of justs and tournaments, the Nobility of this Citty being exceedingly addicted to this knight errantry and other martial diversions. In this place are two pillars in imitation of those at St. Marc's at Venice, bearing one of them a winged lion, the other the statue of St. Jo. Baptist.

In a word, this sweete Towne has more well-built Palaces than any of its dimensions in all Italy, besides a number begun and not yet finished (but of stately designe) by reason of the domestic dissensions 'twixt them and those of Brescia, fomented by the sage Venetians least by combining they might think of recovering their ancient liberty. For this reason also are permitted those disorders and insolences committed at Padoa among the youth of these two territories. It is no dishonour in this country to be some generations in finishing their palaces, that without exhausting themselves by a vast expence at once, they may at last erect a sumptuous pile. Count Oleine's Palace is neere perfected in this manner. Count Ulmarini is more famous for his gardens, being without the walls, especialy his Cedrario or Conserve of Oranges eleaven score of my paces long, set in order and ranges, making a canopy all the way by their intermixing branches for more than 200 of my single paces, and which being full of fruite and blossoms was a most delicious sight. In the middle of this garden was a cupola made of wyre, supported by slender pillars of brick, so closely cover'd with ivy, both without and within, that nothing was to be perceived but greene; 'twixt the arches there dangled festoones of the same. Here is likewise a most inextricable labyrinth.

I had in this towne recommendation to a very civil and ingenious apothecarie call'd Angelico, who had a pretty collection of paintings. I would faine have visited a place call'd the Rotunda, which was a mile out of towne belonging to Count Martio Capra, but one of our companions hasting to be gone, and little minding any thing save drinking and folly, which caus'd us to take coach sooner than we should have done.

A little from the towne we pass'd the Campo Martio, set out in imitation of ancient Rome, wherein the noblesse exercise their horses, and the ladys make the Corso; it is entred by a stately triumphal arch, the invention of Palladio.

Being now set out for Verona, about midway we din'd at Ostaria Nova, and came late to our resting-place, which was the Cavaletto, just over the monument of the Scaligeri, formerly Princes of Verona, adorn'd with devices in stone of ladders, alluding to the name.

Early next morning we went about the Citty, which is built on the

gentle declivity and bottome of an hill, environ'd in part with some considerable mountaines and downes of fine grass like some places in the South of England, and on the other side having the rich plaine where Caius Marius overthrew the Cimbrians. The Citty is divided in the midst by the river Athesis, over which are divers stately bridges, and on its banks are many goodly palaces, whereof one is well painted in *chiaro oscuro* on the outside, as are divers others in this drie climate of Italy.

The first thing that engaged our attention and wonder too, was the amphitheater, which is the most entire of ancient remains now extant. The inhabitants call it the *Arena* : it has two portico's, one within the other, and is 34 rods long, 22 in bredth, with 42 ranks of stone benches or seates which reach to the top. The vastnesse of the marble stones is stupendious. 'L. V. Flaminia Consul. ano. urb. con. LIII.' This I esteeme to be one of the noblest antiquities in Europ, it is so vast and intire, having escaped the ruines of so many other public buildings for above, 1400 yeares.

There are other arches, as that of the victorie of Marius ; temples, aquæducts, &c. shewing still considerable remains in severall places of the towne and how magnificent it has formerly ben. It has three strong castles, and a large and noble wall. Indeede the whole Citty is bravely built, especialy the Senate-house where we saw those celebrated statues of Cornelius Nepos, Emilius Marcus, Plinius and Vitruvius, all having honoured Verona by their birth, and of later date Julius Cæsar Scaliger, that prodigie of learning.

In the evening we saw the garden of Count Giusti's villa, where are walkes cut out of the maine rock, from whence we had the pleasant prospect of Mantua and Parma, though at greate distance. At the entrance of this garden growes the goodliest cypresse I fancy in Europ, cut in pyramid ; 'tis a prodigious tree both for breadth and height, entirely cover'd and thick to the base.

Dr. Cortone, a Civilian, shew'd us amongst other rarities a *St. Dorothea* of Raphael. We could not see the rare drawings, especialy of Parmensis, belonging to Dr. Marcello, another advocate, on account of his absence.

This Citty deserv'd all those elogies Scaliger has honoured it with, for in my opinion the situation is the most delightfull I ever saw, it is so sweetly mixed with rising ground and vallies, so elegantly planted with trees on which Bacchus seems riding as it were in triumph every autumn, for the vines reach from tree to tree ; here of all places I have seene in Italy would I fix a residence. Well has that learn'd man given it the name of the very eye of the world :—

Ocelle mundi, Sidus Itali cœli,  
Flos Urbium, flos corniculumq' amœnum,  
Quot sunt, eruntve, quot fuere, Verona.

The next morning we travell'd over the downes where Marius fought, and fancied ourselves about Winchester and the country towards Dorsetshire. We dined at an inn called Cavalli Caschieri, neere Peschiera, a very strong fort of the Venetian Republic, and neere the Lago di Garda, which dissembogues into that of Mantua, neere 40 miles in length, highly spoken of by my Lord Arundel to me, as the most pleasant spot in Italy, for which reason I observ'd it with the more diligence, alighting out of the coach and going up to a grove of cypresses growing about a gentleman's country house, from whence indeede it presents a most surprizing prospect. The hills and gentle risings about it produce oranges, citrons, olives, figs, and other tempting fruits, and the waters abound in excellent fish, especialy troutts. In the middle of this lake stands Sermonea on an island; here Capt. Wray bought a pretty nag of the master of our inn where we dined, for eight pistoles, which his wife, our hostesse, was so unwilling to part with, that she did nothing but kisse and weepe and hang about the horse's neck till the captaine rid away.

We came this evening to Brescia, which next morning we traverst according to our custom in search of antiquities and new sights. Here I purchas'd of old Lazarino Cominazzo my fine carabine, which cost me 9 pistoles, this Citty being famous for these fire-arnes, and that workman, with Jo. Bap. Franco, the best esteem'd. This Citty consists most in artists, every shop abounding in gunns, swords, armorers, &c. Most of the workmen come out of Germanie. The Citty stands in a fertile plaine, yet the Castle is built on an hill. The streetes abound in faire fountaines. The Torre della Pallada is of a noble Tuscan Order, and the Senate-house is inferior to few. The Piazza is but indifferent; some of the houses arched as at Padoa. The Cathedrall was under repaire. We would from hence have visited Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, &c. but the banditti and other dangerous parties being abroad, committing many enormities, we were content with a Pisgah sight of them.

We din'd next day at Ursa Vecchia, and after dinner pass'd by an exceeding strong fort of the Venetians cal'd Ursa Nova, on their frontier. Then by the river Oglio and so by Sonano, where we enter the Spanish dominions, and that night ariv'd at Crema, which belongs to Venice, and is well defended. The Podesta's Palace is finely built, and so is the Domo or Cathedral and the Tower to it, with an ample Piazza.

Early next day, after 4 miles riding, we enter'd into the State of Milan, and pass'd by Lodi, a greate Citty famous for cheese little short of the best Parmeggiano. We din'd at Marignano, 10 miles before coming to Milan, where we met halfe a dozen suspicious Cavaliers, who yet did us no harme. Then passing as through a continual garden, we went on with exceeding pleasure, for it is the paradise of Lombardy.

the highways as even and strait as a line, the fields to a vast extent planted with fruit about the inclosures, vines to every tree at equal distances, and water'd with frequent streames. There was likewise much corne, and olives in abundance. At approach of the City some of our company, in dread of the Inquisition (severer here than in all Spain), thought of throwing away some Protestant books and papers. We arriv'd about 3 in the afternoon, when the officers search'd us thoroughly for prohibited goods, but finding we were onely gentlemen travellers, dismiss'd us for a small reward, and we went quietly to our inn, the Three Kings, where for that day we refreshed ourselves, as we had neede. The next morning we delivered our letters of recommendation to the learned and courteous Ferrarius, a Doctor of the Ambrosian College, who conducted us to all the remarkable places of the towne, the first of which was the famous Cathedral. We enter'd it by a portico so little inferior to that of Rome, that when it is finished it will be hard to say which is the fairest; the materials are all of white and black marble, with columns of great height of Egyptian granite. The outside of the Church is so full of sculpture, that you may number 4000 statues all of white marble, amongst which that of St. Bartholomew is esteemed a masterpiece. The Church is very spacious, almost as long as St. Peter's at Rome, but not so large. About the Quire the sacred storie is finely sculptured in snow-white marble, nor know I where it is exceeded. About the body of the Church are the miracles of St. Char. Boromeo, and in the vault beneath is his body before the high altar, grated, and inclos'd in one of the largest chrystals in Europe. To this also belongs a rich treasure. The cupola is all of marble within and without, and even cover'd with great planks of marble, in the Gotick designe. The windows are most beautifully painted. Here are two very faire and excellent organs. The fabriq is erected in the midst of a faire Piazza, and in the center of the City.

Hence we went to the Palace of the Archbishop, which is a quadrangle, the architecture of Theobaldi, who design'd much for Philip II. in the Escorial, and has built much in Milan. Hence I went into the Governor's Palace, who was Constable of Castile; tempted by the glorious tapissries and pictures, I adventur'd so far alone, that peeping into a chamber where the greates man was under the barber's hands, he sent one of his Negro's (a slave) to know what I was; I made the best excuse I could, and that I was only admiring the pictures, which he returning and telling his lord, I heard the Governor reply that I was a spie, on which I retir'd with all the speede I could, pass'd the guard of Swisse, got into the streete, and in a moment to my company, who were gone to the Jesuites Church, which in truth is a noble structure, the front especialy, after the moderne. After dinner we were conducted to St. Celso, a church of rare architecture, built by Bramante; the carvings of the marble faciata are by Hannibal Fontana, whom they

esteeme at Milan equal to the best of the ancients. In a roome joyning to the Church is a marble Madona like a Colosse, of the same sculptor's work, which they will not expose to the aire. There are two Sacristias, in one of which is a fine *Virgin* of Leonardo da Vinci, in the other is one by Raphael d'Urbino, a piece which all the world admires. The Sacristan shew'd us a world of rich plate, jewells, and embroder'd copes, which are kept in presses.

Next we went to see the Greate Hospital, a quadrangular Cloyster of a vast compasse, a truly royal fabric, with an annual endowment of 50,000 crowns of gold. There is in the middle of it a crosse building for the sick, and just under it an altar so plac'd as to be seene in all places of the Infirmarie.

There are divers Colleges built in this quarter, richly provided for by the same Borromeo and his nephew the last Cardinal Frederico, some not yet finish'd, but of excellent designe.

In St. Eustorgio, they tell us, formerly lay the bodyes of the 3 Magi, since translated to Colin (Cologne) in Germany; they however preserve the tomb, which is a square stone, on which is engraven a star, and under it, "*Sepulchrum trium Magorum.*"

Passing by St. Laurence we saw 16 columns of marble, and the ruins of a Temple of Hercules, with this inscription yet standing :

Imp. Cæsari L. Aurelio Vero Aug. Arminiaco Medico Parthico Max. Trib. Pot. VII. Imp. IIII. Cos. III. P. P. Divi Antonini Pij Divi Hadriani Nepoti Divi Trajani Parthici Pro Nepoti Divi Nervæ Abnepoti Dec. Dec.

We concluded this day's wandering at the Monasterie of Madona della Gratia, and in the Refectorie admir'd that celebrated *Cæna Domini* of Leonardo da Vinci, which takes up the intire wall at the end, and is the same that the greate Virtuoso Francis the First of France was so enamour'd of, that he consulted to remove the whole wall by binding it about with ribs of iron and timber to convey it into France. It is indeede one of the rarest paintings that was ever executed by Leonardo, who was long in the service of that Prince, and so deare to him that the King coming to visite him in his old age and sicknesse, he expired in his armes. This incomparable piece is now exceedingly impair'd.<sup>1</sup>

Early next morning came the learned Dr. Ferarius to visite us, and took us in his coach to see the Ambrosian Librarie, where Cardinal Fred. Borromeo has expended so vast a sum on this building and in furnishing with curiosities, especialy paintings and drawings of inesti-

<sup>1</sup> It is not noticed in the Painter's Voyage of Italy, published 1679, probably from its decay. The painting is still there, but having been often retouched, on account of the dampness of the wall, is certainly not what it once was. The picture has been again drawn into notice in England from the magnificent print of it lately engraved in Italy by Raphael Morghen, which is esteemed one of the finest works of art in this kind that has ever been executed. There is also an old engraving from it by Peter Soutman, but which by no means exhibits a true delineation of the characters of the piece, as designed by Leonardo.

mable value amongst painters. It is a schole fit to make the ablest artists. There are many rare things of Hans Breugill, and amongst them the *Four Elements*. In this room stands the glorious [boasting] inscription of Cavaliero Galeazzo Arconati, valueing his gift to the librarie of severall drawings by Da Vinci, but these we could not see, the keeper of them being out of towne and he always carrying the keys with him ; but my Lord Martial, who had seene them, told me all but one booke are small, that an huge folio contain'd 400 leaves full of scratches of Indians, &c. but whereas the inscription pretends that our King Charles had offer'd £.1000 for them, the truth is, and my Lord himselfe told me, that it was he who treated with Galeazzo for himselfe in the name and by permission of the King, and that the Duke of Feria, who was then Governour, should make the bargain : but my Lord having seene them since, did not think them of so much worth.

In the great roome, where is a goodly librarie, on the right hand of the doore is a small wainscot closset furnish'd with rare manuscripts. Two original letters of the Grand Signor were shew'd us, sent to two Popes, one of which was (as I remember) to Alexander VI. (Borgia), and the other mentioning the head of the launce which pierc'd our B. Saviour's side sent as a present to the Pope : I would faine have gotten a copy of them, but could not ; I hear, however, that they are since translated into Italian, and therein is a most honourable mention of Christ.

We revisited St. Ambrose's Church. The high altar is supported by 4 porphyrie columns, and under it lie the remaines of that holy man. Neere it they shew'd us a pit or well (an obscure place it is) where they say St. Ambrose baptized St. Augustine and recited the *Te Deum*, for so imports the inscription. The place is also famous for some Councils that have ben held here, and for the coronation of divers Italian Kings and Emperors, receiving the Iron Crown from the Archbishop of this see. They shew the History by Josephus written on the bark of trees. The high altar is wonderfully rich.

Milan is one of the most princely Citties in Europe : it has no suburbs, but is circled with a stately wall for 10 miles, in the center of a country that seemes to flow with milk and hony. The aire is excellent ; the fields fruitfull to admiration, the market abounding with all sorts of provisions. In the Citty are neere 100 Churches, 71 Monasteries, 40,000 inhabitants ; it is of a circular figure, fortified with bastions, full of sumptuous palaces and rare artists, especialy for works in chrystal, which is here cheape, being found among the Alpes. They are curious straw worke among the nunns, even to admiration. It has a good river, and a citadell at some small distance from the Citty, commanding it, of greate strength for its works and munition of all kinds. It was built by Galeatius II. and consists of 4 bastions, and works at the angles and fronts ; the graff is fac'd with brick to a very great depth ; has 2 strong towres as one enters, and within is another fort and

spacious lodgings for the souldiers and for exercising them. No accommodation for strength is wanting, and all exactly uniforme. They have here also all sorts of work and tradesmen, a greate magazine of armes and provisions. The fosse is of spring water with a mill for grinding corn, and the ramparts vaulted underneath. Don Juan Vasquez Coronada was now Governor ; the garrison Spaniards onely.

There is nothing better worth seeing than the collection of Sig. Septalla,<sup>1</sup> a canon of St. Ambrose, famous over Christendome for his learning and virtues. Amongst other things he shew'd us an Indian wood that has the perfect scent of civet ; a flint or pebble, that has a quantity of water in it, which is plainly to be seen, it being cleare as achat ; divers chrystals that have water moving in them, some of them having plants, leaves, and hogs bristles in them ; much amber full of insects, &c. and divers things of woven amianthus.<sup>2</sup>

Milan is a sweete place, and tho' the streetes are narrow they abound in rich coaches, and are full of noblesse, who frequent the course every night. Walking a turn in the Portico before the Dome, a cavaliero who pass'd by hearing some of us speaking English, looked a good while earnestly on us, and by and by sending his servant desir'd we would honour him the next day at dinner. We looked on this as an odd invitation, he not speaking to us himselfe, but we returned his civilitie with thanks, tho' not fully resolv'd what to do, or indeed what might be the meaning of it in this jealous place ; but on enquirie 'twas told us he was a Scots Colonel who had an honorable command in the Citty, so that we agreed to go. This afternoon we were wholly taken up in seeing an opera represented by some Neapolitans, performed all in most excellent music with rare sceanes, in which there acted a celebrated beauty.

Next morning we went to the Colonel's, who had sent his servant againe to conduct us to his house, which we found to be a noble palace richly furnish'd. There were other guests, all souldiers, one of them a Scotchman, but we could not learn one of their names. At dinner he excus'd his rudenesse that he had not himselfe spoken to us, telling us it was his custome when he heard of any English travellers (who but rarely would be knowne to passe thro' that Citty for feare of the Inquisition) to invite them to his house, where they might be free. We had a sumptuous dinner, and the wine was so tempting that after some healths had gon about, and we had risen from table, the Colonel

<sup>1</sup> The Painter's Voyage particularizes 85 pictures in this Collection, but few of them by great Masters.

<sup>2</sup> There are two descriptive Catalogues of the Museum ; in its day, one of the most celebrated in all Italy ; both are in small quarto, the one in Latin, the later and most complete one in Italian. To this is prefixed a large inside view of the Museum, exhibiting its curious contents of busts, statues, pictures, urns, and every kind of rarity natural and artificial.

Keysler in his Travels laments the not being able to see it, on account of a law-suit then depending, and it has been long since dispersed, probably in consequence of it.

led us into his hall, where there hung up divers colours, saddles, bridles, pistols, and other armes, being trophies which he had taken with his owne hands from the enemy ; amongst them he would needs bestow a paire of pistols on Capt. Wray, one of our fellow-travellers and a good drinking gentleman, and on me a Turkish bridle woven with silk and very curiously emboss'd, with other silk trappings, to which hung a halfe moone finely wrought, which he had taken from a basshaw whom he had slaine. With this glorious spoile I rid the rest of my journey as far as Paris, and brought it afterwards into England. He then shew'd us a stable of brave horses, with his menage and cavalerizzo. Some of the horses he caus'd to be brought out, which he mounted, and performed all the motions of an excellent horseman. When this was don, and he had alighted, contrary to the advice of his groome and page, who knew the nature of the beast and that their master was a little spirited with wine, he would have a fiery horse that had not yet been menaged and was very ungovernable, but was otherwise a very beautifull creature ; this he mounting, the horse getting the reines in a full carriere, rose so desperately that he fell quite back, crushing the Colonell so forceably against the wall of the menage, that tho' he sat on him like a Centaure, yet recovering the jade on all foure againe, he desir'd to be taken down and so led in, where he cast himself on a pallet, and with infinite lamentations, after some time we tooke leave of him being now speechlesse. The next morning going to visite him, we found before the doore the canopie which they usually carry over the host, and some with lighted tapers, which made us suspect he was in very sad condition, and so indeede we found him, an Irish Frier standing by his bed side as confessing him, or at least disguising a confession, and other ceremonies us'd *in extremis*, for we afterwards learn'd that the gentleman was a Protestant and had this Frier his confidant, which was a dangerous thing at Milan, had it ben but suspected. At our entrance he sighed grievously and held up his hands, but was not able to speake. After vomiting some blood, he kindly tooke us all by the hand, and made signes that he should see us no more, which made us take our leave of him with extreame reluctancy and affliction for the accident. This sad disaster made us consult about our departure as soon as we could, not knowing how we might be enquir'd after or engag'd, the Inquisition being so cruelly formidable and inevitable on the least suspicion. The next morning, therefore, discharging our lodgings, we agreed for a coach to carry us to the foote of the Alpes, not a little concern'd for the death of the Colonell, which we now heard of, and who had so courteously entertain'd us.

The first day we got as far as Castellanza, by which runs a considerable river into Lago Maggiore ; here at dinner were two or three Jesuites, who were very pragmatikal and inquisitive, whom we declin'd conversation with as decently as we could : so we pursu'd our journey

thro' a most fruitfull plaine, but the weather was wet and uncomfortable. At night we lay at Sesto.

The next morning leaving our coach we embarked in a boate to carry us over the Lake (being one of the largest in Europe) and whence we could see the touring Alps, and amongst them the greate San Bernardo, esteemed the highest mountaine in Europe, appearing to be some miles above the clouds. Thro' this vast water passes the river Ticinus, which discharges itselfe into the Po, by which meanes Helvetia transports her merchandizes into Italy, which we now begin to leave behind us.

Having now sailed about two leagues, we were hal'd ashore at Arona, a strong towne belonging to the Dutchy of Milan, where being examin'd by the Governor and paying a small duty, we were dismiss'd. Opposite to this forte is Angiera, another small towne, the passage very pleasant with the prospect of the Alps cover'd with pine and fir trees, and above them snow. We pass'd the pretty Island Isabella,<sup>1</sup> about the middle of the Lake, on which is a faire house built on a mount, indeede the whole island is a mount ascended by several terraces and walks all set about with orange and citron trees.

The next we saw was Isola,<sup>1</sup> and we left on our right hand the Isle of St. Jovanni,<sup>1</sup> and so sailing by another small towne built also on an island, we ariv'd at night at Margazzo, an obscure village at the end of the Lake, and at the very foote of the Alpes, which now rise as it were suddenly after some hundreds of miles of the most even country in the world, and where there is hardly a stone to be found, as if Nature had here swept up the rubbish of the Earth in the Alpes to forme and cleare the Plaines of Lombardy, which we had hitherto pass'd since our coming from Venice. In this wretched place I lay on a bed stuff'd with leaves, which made such a crackling, and did so prick my skin thro' the tick, that I could not sleepe. The next morning I was furnish'd with an asse, for we could not get horses; instead of stirrups we had ropes tied with a loope to put our feete in, which supplied the place of other trappings. Thus with my gallant steed, bridled with my Turkish present, we pass'd thro' a reasonably pleasant but very narrow valley till we came to Duomo, where we rested, and having shew'd the Spanish Passe, tht Governor would presse another on us that his Secretary might get a croune. Here we exchang'd our asses for mules, sure footed on the hills and precipices, being accustom'd to passe them; hiring a guide, we were brought that night thro' very steepe, craggy and dangerous passages to a village called Vedra, being the last of the King of Spain's dominions in the Dutchy of Milan. We had a very infamous wretched lodging.

The next morning we mounted again thro' strange, horrid and fear-

<sup>1</sup> These are called "the Borromean Islands in the Lago Maggiore, belonging to the great Milanese family of Borromeo."

full craggs and tracts, abounding in pine trees, and onely inhabited by beares, wolves, and wild goates; nor could we any where see above a pistol shoote before us, the horizon being terminated with rocks and mountaines, whose tops cover'd with snow seem'd to touch the skies, and in many places pierced the clowdes. Some of these vast mountaines were but one entire stone, 'twixt whose clefts now and then precipitated greate cataracts of mealted snow and other waters, which made a terrible roaring, echoing from the rocks and cavities; and these waters in some places breaking in the fall wett us as if we had pass'd through a mist, so as we could neither see nor heare one another, but trusting to our honest mules we jogged on our way. The narrow bridges in some places made onely by felling huge fir trees and laying them athwart from mountaine to mountaine over cataracts of stupendious depth, are very dangerous, and so are the passages and edges made by cutting away the maine rock; others in steps; and in some places we passe betweene mountains that have ben broken and fallen on one another, which is very terrible, and one had neede of a sure foote and steady head to climb some of these precipices, besides that they are harbours for beares and wolves who have sometimes assaulted travellers. In these straights we frequently alighted, now freezing in the snow, and anon frying by the reverberation of the sun against the cliffs as we descend lower, when we meete now and then a few miserable cottages so built upon the declining of the rocks as one would expect their sliding down. Amongst these inhabite a goodly sort of people having monstrous gullets or wenns of fleshe growing to their throats, some of which I have seene as big as an hundred pound bag of silver hanging under their chinns, among the women especialy, and that so ponderous as that to ease them many wear linen cloth bound about their head and coming under the chin to support it; but *quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus?* Their drinking so much snow-water is thought to be the cause of it; the men using more wine are not so strumous as the women. The truth is, they are a peculiar race of people, and many greate water drinkers here have not these prodigious tumours; it runs as we say in the bloud, and is a vice in the race, and renders them so ugly, shrivel'd and deform'd by its drawing the skin of the face downe, that nothing can be more fritefull; to this add a strange puffing dress, furs, and the barbarous language, being a mixture of corrupt High German, French and Italian. The people are of greate stature, extreameley fierce and rude, yet very honest and trustie.

This night thro' almost unaccessible heights we came in prospect of Mons Sempronius, now Mount Sampion, which has on its sum'it a few huts and a chapell. Approaching this, Captaine Wray's water-spaniel (a huge filthy cur that had follow'd him out of England) hunted an heard of goates downe the rocks into a river made by the melting of the snow. Ariv'd at our cold harbour (tho' the house had a stove in every

roome) and supping on cheese and milk with wretched wine, we went to bed in cupbords so high from the floore that we climb'd them by a ladder; we were covered with feathers, that is we lay between two ticks stuff'd with them, and all little enough to keepe one warme. The cieling of the rooms are strangely low for those tall people. The house was now, in September, halfe cover'd with snow, nor is there a tree or bush growing within many miles.

From this uncomfortable place we prepared to hasten away the next morning, but as we were getting on our mules, comes a huge young fellow demanding mony for a goat which he affirm'd that Capt. Wray's dog had kill'd; expostulating the matter and impatient of staying in the cold, we set spurrs and endeavour'd to ride away, when a multitude of people being by this time gotten together about us (for it being Sondag morning and attending for the priest to say masse) they stopp'd our mules, beate us off our saddles, and disarming us of our carbines, drew us into one of the roomes of our lodging, and set a guard upon us. Thus we continu'd prisoners till masse was ended, and then came halfe a score grim Swisse, who taking on them to be magistrates sate downe on the table, and condemn'd us to pay a pistole for the goate and ten more for attempting to ride away, threat'ning that if we did not pay it speedily, they would send us to prison and keep us to a day of publiq justice, where, as they perhaps would have exaggerated the crime, for they pretended we had prim'd our carbines and would have shot some of them (as indeede the Captaine was about to do) we might have had our heads cut off, as we were told afterwards, for that amongst these rude people a very small misdemeanor dos often meete that sentence. Tho' the proceedings appear'd highly unjust on consultation among ourselves we thought it safer to rid ourselves out of their hands and the trouble we were brought into, and therefore we patiently layde downe the mony and with fierce countenances had our mules and armes deliver'd to us, and glad we were to escape as we did. This was cold entertainment but our journey after was colder, the rest of the way having ben as they told us cover'd with snow since the Creation; no man remember'd it to bewithout; and because by the frequent snowing the tracts are continually fill'd up, we passe by severall tall masts set up to guide travellers, so as for many miles they stand in ken of one another like to our beacons. In some places where there is a cleft between 2 mountaines the snow fills it up, whilst the bottome being thaw'd leaves as it were a frozen arch of snow, and that so hard as to beare the greatest weight; for as it snows often, so it perpetually freezes, of which I was so sensible that it flaw'd the very skin of my face.

Beginning now to descend a little, Capt. Wray's horse (that was our sumpter and carried all our baggage) plunging thro' a bank of loose snow slid downe a frightfull precipice, which so incens'd the choleriq cavalier his master that he was sending a brace of bullets into the poore

beast, least our guide should recover him and run away with his burthen ; but just as he was lifting up his carbine we gave such a shout, and so pelted the horse with snow-balls, as with all his might plunging through the snow he fell from another steepe place into another bottom neere a path we were to passe. It was yet a good while ere we got to him, but at last we recovered the place, and easing him of his charge hal'd him out of the snow, where he had ben certainly frozen in if we had not prevented it before night. It was as we judg'd almost two miles that he had slid and fall'n, yet without any other harme than the benumbing of his limbs for the present, but with lusty rubbing and chafing he began to move, and after a little walking perform'd his journey well enough. All this way, affrited with the disaster of this horse, we trudg'd on foote driving our mules before us ; sometimes we fell, sometimes we slid thro' this ocean of snow, which after October is impassable. Towards night we came into a larger way, thro' vast woods of pines which clothe the middle parts of these rocks. Here they were burning some to make pitch and rosin, piling the knotty branches as we do to make charcoale, reserving what meals from them, which hardens into pitch. We pass'd severall cascades of dissolv'd snow, that had made channels of formidable depth in the crevices of the mountaines, and with such a fearfull roaring as we could heare it for 7 long miles. It is from these sources that the Rhone and the Rhine which passe thro' all France and Germanie, derive their originals. Late at night we got to a towne called Briga at the foote of the Alpes, in the Valtoline. Almost every doore had nail'd on the outside and next the streete a beare's, wolfe's, or foxe's head, and divers of them all three ; a savage kind of sight, but as the Alpes are full of these beasts the people often kill them. The next morning we return'd our guide, and tooke fresh mules and another to conduct us to the Lake of Geneva, passing thro' as pleasant a country as that we had just travel'd was melancholy and troublesome. A strange and suddaine change it seem'd, for the reverberation of the sun-beames from the mountaines and rocks that like walls range it on both sides, not above two flight shots in bredth for a very great number of miles, renders the passage excessively hot. Thro' such extreames we continu'd our journey, that goodly river the Rhone gliding by us in a narrow and quiet channell almost in the middle of this Canton, fertilising the country for grasse and corne, which grow in abundance.

We ariv'd this night at Sion, a pretty towne and citty, a bishop's seate, and the head of Valesia. There is a Castle, and the Bishop who resides in it has both civill and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Our host, as the costome of these Cantons is, was one of the chiefest of the towne, and had ben a Colonell in France ; he us'd us with extreame civility, and was so displeas'd at the usage we received at Mount Sampion that he would needes give us a letter to the Governor of the

Country who resided at St. Maurice, which was in our way to Geneva, to revenge the affront. This was a true old blade, and had ben a very curious virtuoso, as we found by an handsome collection of books, medails, pictures, shells, and other antiquities. He shew'd two heads and hornes of the true capricorne, which animal he told us was frequently kill'd among the mountaines; one branch of them was as much as I could well lift and neere as high as my head, not much unlike the greater sort of goates, save that they bent forwards, by help whereof they climb up and hang on inaccessible rocks, from whence the inhabitants now and then shoote them; they speak prodigious things of their leaping from crag to crag, and of their sure footing notwithstanding their being cloven footed, unapt one would think to take hold and walke so steadily on those horrible ridges as they do. The Colonell would have given me one of these beames, but the want of a convenience to carry it along with me caus'd me to refuse his courtesie. He told me that in the Castle there were some Roman and Christian antiquities, and he had some inscriptions in his owne garden. He invited us to his country-house, where he said he had better pictures and other rarities; but our time being short, I could not persuade my companions to stay and visite the places he would have had us seene, nor the offer he made to shew us the hunting of the beare, wolfe, and other wild beasts. The next morning, having presented his daughter, a pretty well-fashioned young woman, with a small rubie ring, we parted somewhat late from our generous host. Passing thro' the same pleasant vally betweene the horrid mountaines on either hand, like a gallery many miles in length, we got to Martigni, where also we were well entertain'd. The houses in this country are all built of firr boards planed within, low, and seldom above one story. The people very clownish and rustickly clad after a very odd fashion, for the most part in blew cloth, very whole and warme, with little variety or distinction 'twixt the gentleman and common sort, by a law of their country being exceedingly frugal. Add to this their greate honestie and fidelity, tho' exacting enough for what they part with. I saw not one beggar. We paid the value of 20 shill. English for a day's hire of one horse. Every man gos with a sword by his side, the whole country well disciplin'd, and indeed impregnable, which made the Romans have such ill successe against them; one lusty Swisse at their narrow passages is sufficient to repell a legion. 'Tis a frequent thing here for a young tradesman or fermor to leave his wife and children for 12 or 15 yeares, and seeke his fortune in the warrs in Spaine, France, Italy, or Germanie, and then returne againe to work. I look upon this country to be the safest spot of all Europ, neither envyed nor envying; nor are any of them rich, nor poore; they live in greate simplicity and tranquillitie; and tho' of the 14 Cantons halfe be Roman Catholics, the rest Reformed, yet they mutually agree, and are confederate with Geneva, and are its onely

security against its potent neighbours, as they themselves are from being attack'd by the greater Potentates, by the mutual jealousie of their neighbours, as either of them would be overbalanc'd should the Swisse, who are wholly mercenarie and auxiliaries, be subjected to the rule of France or Spaine.

We were now arriv'd at St. Maurice, a large handsome towne and residence of the President, where justice is don ; to him we presented our letter from Sion, and made known the ill usage we had receiv'd for killing a wretched goate, which so incens'd him as he sware if we would stay he would not onely help us to our money againe, but most severely punish the whole rabble ; but our desire of revenge had by this time subsided, and glad we were to be gotten so neere France, which we reckon'd as good as home. He courteously invited us to dine with him, but we excus'd ourselves, and returning to our inn, whilst we were eating something before we tooke horse, the Governor had caus'd two pages to bring us a present of two great vessells of cover'd plate full of excellent wine, in which we drank his health, and rewarded the youthes ; they were two vast bowles supported by two Swisses, handsomly wrought after the German manner. This civilitie and that of our host at Sion perfectly reconcil'd us to the highlanders ; and so proceeding on our journey we pass'd this afternoone thro' the gate which divides the Valois from the Dutchy of Savoy, into which we were now entering, and so thro' Montei we arriv'd that evening at Beveretta. Being extremely weary and complaining of my head, and finding little accommodation in the house, I caus'd one of our hostesses daughters to be removed out of her bed and went immediately into it whilst it was yet warme, being so heavy with pain and drowsinesse that I would not stay to have the sheetes chang'd ; but I shortly after payd dearly for my impatience, falling sick of the small pox so soon as I came to Geneva, for by the smell of frankincense and the tale the good woman told me of her daughter having had an ague, I afterwards concluded she had ben newly recover'd of the small pox. Notwithstanding this I went with my company on the next day, hiring a bark to carry us over the Lake ; and indeede sick as I was, the weather was so serene and bright, the water so calme, and aire so temperate, that never had travellers a sweeter passage. Thus we sail'd the whole length of the Lake, about 30 miles, the countries bordering on it (Savoy and Berne) affording one of the most delightfull prospects in the world, the Alps cover'd with snow, tho' at a greate distance yet shewing their aspiring tops. Thro' this Lake the river Rhodanus passes with that velocity as not to mingle with its exceeding deep waters, which are very cleare, and breed the most celebrated troute for largenesse and goodness of any in Europe. I have ordinarily seene one of three foote in length sold in the market for a small price, and such we had in the lodging where we abode, which was at the White Crosse. All this while I held up tolerably, and

the next morning having a letter for Signor John Diodati, the famous Italian Minister and translator of the Holy Bible into that language, I went to his house, and had a greate deal of discourse with that learned person. He told me he had been in England, driven by tempest into Deale, whilst sailing for Holland, that he had seene London, and was exceedingly taken with the civilities he receiv'd. He so much approv'd of our Church Government by Bishops, that he told me the French Protestants would make no scruple to submitt to it and all its pomp, had they a King of the Reform'd Religion as we had. He exceedingly deplor'd the difference now betweene his Majesty and the Parliament. After dinner came one Monsieur Saladine with his little pupil the Earle of Carnarvon, to visit us, offering to carry us to the principal places of the towne, but being now no more able to hold up my head, I was constrain'd to keepe my chamber, imagining that my very eyes would have dropp'd out; and this night I felt such a stinging all about me that I could not sleepe. In the morning I was very ill, but sending for a doctor he persuaded me to be let bloud. He was a very learned old man, and as he said had ben physician to Gustavus the greate King of Sweden, when he pass'd this way into Italy under the name of Monsieur Garse, the initial letters of Gustavus Adolphus Rex Sueciæ, and of our famous Duke of Buckingham on his returning out of Italy. He afterwards acknowledged that he should not have bled me had he suspected the small pox, which brake out a day after. He afterwards purg'd me and applied leaches, and God knows what this would have produc'd if the spots had not appear'd, for he was thinking of bleeding me againe. They now kept me warme in bed for 16 daies, tended by a vigilant Swisse matron, whose monstrous throat, when I sometimes awak'd out of unquiet slumbers, would affright me. After the pimples were come forth, which were not many, I had much ease as to paine, but infinitely afflicted with the heat and noysomenesse. By God's mercy after five weeks keeping my chamber I went abroad. Monsieur Saladine and his lady sent me many refreshments. Monsieur Le Chat, my physician, to excuse his letting me bloud told me it was so burnt and vicious as it would have prov'd the plague or spotted feaver had he proceeded by any other method. On my recovering sufficiently to go abroad, I dined at Monsieur Saladine's, and in the afternoone went crosse the water on the side of the Lake, and tooke a lodging that stood exceeding pleasant about halfe a mile from the Citty for the better ayding; but I stay'd onely one night, having no company there save my pipe; so the next day I caus'd them to row me about the Lake as far as the greate stone which they call Neptune's Rock, and on which they say sacrifice was anciently offer'd to him. Thence I landed at certaine cherry-gardens and pretty villas by the side of the Lake and exceedingly pleasant. Returning I visited their conservatories of fish; in which were trouts of 6 and 7 foote long *as they affirm'd*.

The Rhone, which parts the Citty in the middst, dips into a cavern underground about 6 miles from it, and afterwards rises againe and runns its open course like our Mole or Swallow by Dorking in Surrey. The next morning (being Thursday) I heard Dr. Diodati preach in Italian, many of that Country, especialy of Lucca his native place, being inhabitants of Geneva and of the Reform'd Religion.

The towne lying between Germanie, France, and Italy, those three tongues are familiarly spoken by the inhabitants. 'Tis a strong well fortifi'd Citty, part of it built on a rising ground. The houses are not despicable, but the high pent-houses (for I can hardly call them cloysters, being all of wood) thro' which the people passe drie and in the shade winter and summer, exceedingly deforme the fronts of the buildings. Here are abundance of bookesellers, but their bookes are of ill impressions ; these, with watches (of which store are made here), chrystal, and excellent screw'd guns, are the staple commodities. All provisions are good and cheape.

The Townehouse is fairely built of stone ; the portico has foure black marble columnes, and on a table of the same under the Citty arms, a demie eagle and a crosse between crosse-keys, is a motto, ' Post Tenebras Lux,' and this inscription :—*Quum anno 1535 profligatâ Romanâ Anti-Christi Tyrannide, abrogatisq ; ejus superstitionibus, sacro-sancta Christi Religio hic in suam puritatem, Ecclesiâ in meliorem ordinem singulari Dei beneficio repositâ, et simul pulsus fugatisq ; hostibus urbs ipsa in suam Libertatem, non sine insigni miraculo, restituta fuerit ; Senatus Populusq ; Genevensis Monumentum hoc, perpetuæ memoriæ causâ, fieri atque hoc loco erigi curavit, quo suam erga Deum gratitudinem ad posteros testatum fuerit.*

The territories about the towne are not so large as many ordinary gentlemen have about their country farmes, for which cause they are in continual watch, especialy on the Savoy side ; but in case of any siege the Swisse are at hand, as this inscription in the same place shews, towards the streete :—*D. O. M. S. Anno a verâ Religione divinitus cum veteri Libertate Genevæ restitutâ, et quasi novo Jubileo ineunte, plurimus vitatis domi et foris insidiis et superatis tempestatibus, et Helvetiorum Primari Tigurini æquo jure in societatem perpetuam nobiscum venerint, et veteres fidissimi socii Bernenses prius vinculum novo adstrinxerint, S. P. Q. G. quod felix se velit D. O. M. tanti beneficii monumentum consecrarunt, anno temporis ultimi CIO. IO. XXXIV.*

In the Senat house were 14 ancient urnes, dug up as they were removing earth in the fortifications.

A little out of the towne is a spacious field, which they call Campus Martius ; and well it may be so tearm'd with better reason than that of Rome at present (which is no more a field but all built into streetes), for here on every Sondag after the evening devotions this precise people permitt their youths to exercise armes, and shoote in gunns and in the

long and crosse bowes, in which they are exceedingly expert, reputed to be as dexterous as any people in the world. To encourage this, they yearly elect him who has won most prizes at the mark to be their king, as the king of the long-bow, gun, or crosse-bow. He then weares that weapon in his hat in gold, with a crowne over it, made fast to the hat like a broach. In this field is a long house wherein their armes and furniture are kept in severall places very neatly. To this joynes a hall where at certain times they meete and feast; in the glass windows are the armes and names of their kings [of arms]. At the side of the field is a very noble Pall Mall, but it turns with an elbow. There is also a bowling-place, a tavern, and a true-table, and here they ride their managed horses. It is also the usual place of publiq execution of those who suffer for any capital crime tho' committed in another country, by which law divers fugitives have been put to death who have fled hither to escape puishment in their own country. Amongst other severe punishments here, adultery is death. Having seene this field and play'd a game at Mall, I supped with Mr. Saladine.

On Sondag I heard Dr. Diodati preach in French, and after the French mode, in a gowne with a cape and his hat on. The Church Government is severely Presbyterian, after the discipline of Calvin and Beza who set it up, but nothing so rigid as either our Scots or English Sectaries of that denomination. In the afternoone Monsieur Morice, a most learned young person and excellent poet, cheit Professor of the University, preach'd at St. Peter's, a spacious Gotick fabrick. This was heretofore a Cathedral and a reverend pile. It has 4 turrets, on one of which stands a continual sentinel; on another cannons are mounted. The Church is very decent within; nor have they at all defaced the painted windows, which are full of pictures of Saints; nor the stalls, which are all carv'd with the history of our B. Saviour.

In the afternoone I went to see the young towne's-men exercise in Mars Field, where prizes were pewter plates and dishes; 'tis said that some have gain'd competent estates by what they have thus won. Here I first saw huge balistæ or crosse-bows shot in, being such as they formerly us'd in wars before greate guns were known; they were plac'd in frames, and had' greate screws to bend them, doing execution at an incredible distance. They were most accurate at the long-bow and musket, rarely missing the smallest mark. I was as buisy with the carbine I brought from Brescia as any of them. After every shot I found the marksmen go into the long house and cleanse their guns before they charg'd againe.

On Monday I was invited to a little garden without the workes where were many rare tulips, anemonies, and other choice flowers. The Rhone, running athwart the towne out of the Lake, makes halfe the Citty a suburb, which in imitation of Paris they call St. German's Fauxbourg, and it has a church of the same name. On two wooden

bridges that crosse the river are several water mills, and shops of trades especialy smiths and cuttlers ; between the bridges is an island in the midst of which is a very ancient Tower said to have been built by Julius Cæsar. At the end of the other bridge is the Mint, and also a faire Sun-dial.

Passing againe by the Towne-house I saw a large crocodile hanging in chaines ; and against the wall of one of the chambers seaven judges were painted without hands, except one in the middle, who has but one hand ; I know not the storie. The Arsenal is at the end of this building, well furnish'd and kept.

After dinner Mr. Morice led us to the Colledge, a faire structure ; in the lower part are the scholes, which consist of 9 classes ; and an hall above, where the students assemble ; also a good library. They show'd us a very antient Bible of about 300 yeares old in the vulgar French, and a MS. in the old Monkish character : here have the Professors their lodgings. I also went to see the Hospital, which is very commodious ; but the Bishop's Palace is now a prison.

This towne is not much celebrated for beautifull women, for even at this distance from the Alps the gentlewomen have something full throates, but our Captain Wray (afterwards Sir Wm. eldest son of that Sir Christopher who had both ben in armes against this Majesty for the Parliament) fell so mightily in love with one of Mons. Saladine's daughters that with much persuasion he could not be prevail'd on to think on his journey into France, the season now coming on extremely hot.

My sicknesse and abode here cost me 45 pistoles of gold to my host, and five to my honest doctor, who for six weekes attendance and the apothecarie thought it so generous a reward, that at my taking leave he presented me with his advice for the regimen of my health, written with his own hand in Latine. This regimen I much observ'd, and I bless God pass'd the journey without inconvenience from sicknesse, but it was an extraordinarily hot unpleasant season and journey by reason of the craggie waies.

5 July, 1646, we tooke or rather purchas'd a boat, for it could not be brought back against the streame of the Rhone. We were two days going to Lions, passing many admirable prospects of rocks and cliffs, and neere the towne down a very steepe declivitie of water for a full mile. From Lions we proceeded the next morning, taking horse to Rohan, and lay that night at Farrara. At Rohan we indulged ourselves with the best that all France affords, for here the provisions are choice and plentifull, so as the supper we had might have satisfied a prince. We lay that night in damask beds, and were treated like emperors. The towne is one of the neatest built in all France, on the brink of the Loire ; and here we agreed with an old fisher to row us as farr as Orleans. The first night we came as far as Nevers, early enough to see the towne, the Cathedral (St. Cyre), the Jesuits Col-

ledge, and the Castle, a Palace of the Duke's, with the bridge to it, which is nobly built.

The next day we pass'd by La Charite, a pretty towne somewhat distant from the rivar. Here I lost my faithfull spaniel (Piccioli) who had follow'd me from Rome ; it seemes he had ben taken up by some of the Governor's pages or footemen, without recovery, which was a greate displeasure to me because the curr had many useful qualities.

The next day we ariv'd at Orleans, taking our turns to row, of which I reckon my share came to little less than 20 leagues. Sometimes we footed it thro' pleasant fields and meadows ; sometimes we shot at fowls and other birds, nothing came amiss ; sometimes we play'd at cards, whilst others sung or were composing verses, for we had the greate Poet Mr. Waller in our companie, and some other ingenious persons besides.

At Orleans we abode but one day ; the next, leaving our mad Capitaine behind us, I ariv'd at Paris, rejoic'd that after so many disasters and accidents in a tedious peregrination I was gotten so neere home, and here I resolv'd to rest myselfe before I went farther.

It was now October, and the onely time that in my whole life I spent most idly, tempted from my more profitable recesses ; but I soone recover'd my better resolutions and fell to my study, learning the High Dutch and Spanish tongues, and now and then refreshing my dauncing and such exercises as I had long omitted and which are not in much reputation amongst the sober Italians.

1647, Jan. 28, I chang'd my lodging in the Place de Monsieur de Metz neere the Abby of St. Germain's ; and thence on the 12th Feb. to another in Rue Columbier, where I had a very faire appartement which cost me 4 pistoles per moneth. The 18th I frequented a course of Chémistrie, the famous Mr. Le Febure operating upon most of the nobler processes. March 3, Monsieur Mercure began to teach me on the lute, tho' to small perfection.

In May I fell sick and had very weak eyes, for which ailment I was foure times let blood.

22 May. My valet (Hebert) robb'd me of cloths and plate to the value of threescore pounds, but thro' the diligence of Sir Richard Browne, his Majesty's Resident at the Court of France, and with whose lady and family I had contracted a greate friendship (and particularly set my affections on a daughter) I recover'd most of them, obtaining of the Judge with no small difficulty that the processe against the thiefe should not concerne his life, being his first offence.

10 June. We concluded about my marriage, in order to which I went to St. Germans, where his Majesty, then Prince of Wales, had his court; to desire of Dr. Earle, then one of his Chaplains (since Dean of Westminster, Clerke of the Closet, and Bishop of Salisbury) that he would accompany me to Paris, which he did, and on Thursday 27

June, 1647, he married us in Sir Richd. Browne's Chapell betwixte the houres of 11 and 12, some few select freinds being present : and this being Corpus Christi feast was solemnly observ'd in this country ; the streetes sumptuously hung with tapistry, and strew'd with flowers.

10 Sept. Being call'd into England to settle my affaires after an absence of about 4 yeares, I tooke leave of the Prince and Queene, leaving my wife, yet very young, under the care of an excellent lady and prudent mother.

4 Oct. I seal'd and declared my Will, and that morning went from Paris, taking my journey thro' Rouen, Dieppe, Ville-dieu, and St. Val-lerie where I staid one day with Mr. Waller with whom I had some affaires, and for which cause I tooke this circle to Calais, where I arriv'd on the 11th, and that night imbarcking in the paquet-boate, was by one o'clock got safe to Dover, for which I heartily put up my thanks to God who had conducted me safe to my owne country, and ben mercifull to me thro' so many aberrations. Hence taking post I arriv'd at London the next day at evening, being the second of October N.S.

5 Oct. I came to Wotton, the place of my birth, to my brother, and on the 10th to Hampton Court, where I had the honour to kisse his Majesty's hand, and give him an account of severall things I had in charge, he being now in the power of those execrable villians who not long after murder'd him. I lay at my cousin Serjeant Hatton's at Thames Ditton, whence on the 13th I went to London.

14th. To Sayes Court at Deptford in Kent, (since my house), where I found Mr. Pretymann my wife's uncle, who had charge of it and the estate about it during my father-in-law's residence in France. On the 15th I againe occupied my owne Chambers at the Middle Temple.

9 Nov. My sister open'd to me her marriage with Mr. Glanvill.

1648. 14 Jan. From London I went to Wotton to see my young nephew ; and thence to Baynards [in Ewhurst] to visite my brother Richard.

5 Feb. Saw a Tragie-comedy acted in the Cockpit, after there had ben none of these diversions for many years during the warr.

28. I went with my noble friend Sir Wm. Darcy (afterwards Lord Downe) to Thistleworth, where we din'd with Sir Clepesby Crew, and afterwards to see the rare miniatures of Peter Oliver and rounds of plaster, and then the curious flowers of Mr. Barill's garden, who has some good medails and pictures. Sir Clepesby has fine Indian hangings and a very good chimney-piece of water colours by Breugel, which I bought for him.

26 April. There was a greate uprore in London that the Rebells Armie quartering at Whitehall would plunder the Citty, on which there was publish'd a Proclamation for all to stand on their guard.

4 May. Came up the Essex Petitioners for an agreement 'twixt his Majesty and the Rebells. The 16th the Surrey men address'd the Parliament for the same ; of which some of them were slayne and

murder'd by Cromwell's guards in the New Palace Yard. I now sold the Impropriation of South Malling, neere Lewes in Sussex, to Mr. Kemp and Alcock for £.3000.

30 May. There was a rising now in Kent, my Lord of Norwich being at the head of them. Their first rendezvous was in Broome field next to my house at Says-Court, whence they went to Maidstone, and so to Colchester, where was that memorable siege.

27 June. I purchas'd the Manor of Hurcott in Worcestershire of my brother George for £.3300.

1 July. I sate for my picture, in which there is a Death's head, to Mr. Walker, that excellent painter.

10. Newes was brought me of my Lord Francis Villers being slaine by the Rebels neere Kingston.

16 Aug. I went to Woodcote (in Epsom) to the wedding of my brother Richard, who married the daughter and coheire of Esquire Minn lately deceas'd, by which he had a greate estate both in land and monie on the death of a brother. The coach in which the bride and the bridegroom were, was overturn'd in coming home, but no harm was done them.

28. To London from Says Court, and saw the celebrated follies of Bartholomew Fair.

Sept. 16. Came my lately married brother Richard and his wife to visite me, when I shewed them Greenewich and her Majesties Palace, now possessed by the Rebels.

28. I went to Albury to visite the Countess of Arundel, and return'd to Wotton.

31 October. I went to see my Manor of Preston Beckhelvyn and the Cliffhouse.

29th Nov. My selfe with Mr. Tho. Offley and Lady Gerrard, christned my niece Mary, eldest daughter of my brother George Evelyn by my Lady Cotton his second wife. I presented my niece a piece of plate which cost me £.18, and caused this inscription to be set on it :

'In memoriam facti

Anno c10.IX.xliix. Cal. Decemb. viii. Virginum castiss : Xtianorum inopotentiss : Nept : suaviss : Mariæ, Johan : Evelynus Avunculus et Susceptor Vasculum hoc cum Epigraphe L. M. Q. D.

Ave Maria, Gratia sis plena ; Dominus tecum.'

2 December. This day I sold my Manor of Hurcott for £.3400 to one Mr. Bridges.

13. The Parliament now sat up the whole night and endeavour'd to have concluded the Isle of Wight Treaty, but were surprized by the Rebell Army, the Members dispers'd, and greate confusion every where in expectation of what would be next.

17. I heard an Italian sermon in Mercers Chapel, one Dr. Middleton, an acquaintance of mine, preaching.

18. I got privately into the council of the Rebell Army at Whitehall, where I heard horrid villanies.

This was a most exceeding wet yeare, neither frost nor snow all the Winter for more than six days in all. Cattle died every where of a murrain.

1649, 1 Jan. I had a lodging and some bookes at my father in law's house, Sayes Court.

2 Jan. I went to see my old friend and fellow-traveller Mr. Henshaw, who had 2 rare pieces of Stenwyck's perspective.

17. To London. I heard the Rebell Peters incite the Rebell Powers met in the Painted Chamber to destroy his Majesty, and saw that arch-traytor Bradshaw, who not long after condemn'd him.

19. I returned home, passing an extraordinary danger of being drowned by our wherries falling foule in the night on another vessell then at anker, shooting the bridge at 3 quarters ebb, for which His mercy God Almighty be prais'd.

21. Was publish'd my Translation of Liberty and Servitude, for the Preface of which I was severely threatened.

22. I went thro' a course of Chymistrie at Sayes Court. Now was the Thames frozen over, and horrid tempests of wind.

The villanie of the Rebels proceeding now so far as to trie, condemne and murder our excellent King on the 30th of this month, struck me with such horror that I kept the day of his martyrdom a fast, and would not be present at that execrable wickednesse, receiving the sad account of it from my brother George and Mr. Owen, who came to visite me this afternoone, and recounted all the circumstances.

1 Feb. Now were Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Norwich, Lord Capell, &c. at their tryall before the Rebels *New Court of Injustice*.

15. I went to see the collection of one Trean, a rich merchant, who had some good pictures, especialy a rare perspective of Stenwyck ; from thence to other Virtuoso's. The paynter La Neve has an *Andromeda*, but I think it a copy after Vandyke from Titian, for the original is in France. Webb at the Exchange has some rare things in miniature of Breugel's, also Putti (Boys' Heads) in 12 squares, that were plunder'd from Sir James Palmer. At Du Bois we saw 2 tables of Putti, that were gotten, I know not how, out of the Castle of St. Angelo by old Petit, thought to be Titian's ; he had some good heads of Palma, and one of Stenwyck. Belcar shew'd us an excellent copy of his Majesty's *Sleeping Venus and the Satyre* with other figures, for now they had plunder'd, sold, and dispers'd a world of rare paintings of the King's and his loyall subjects. After all, Sir William Ducy shew'd me some excellent things in miniature, and in oyle of Holbein's *Sir Tho. More's* head, and an whole figure of *Edward 6th*, which were certainly his Majesty's, also a picture of *Queene Elizabeth*, the *Lady Isabella Thynn* ; a rare painting of *Rothenhamer*, being a *Susanna* ; and a *Magdalen*

of Quintin the Blacksmith ; also an *Hen.* 8. of Holbein ; and *Francis the first*, rare indeede, but of whose hand I know not.

16. Paris being now strictly besieged by the Prince de Condé, my wife being shut up with her father and mother, I wrote a letter of consolation to her ; and on the 22d having recommended Obadiah Walker,<sup>1</sup> a learned and most ingenious person, to be tutor to and to travell with Mr. Hillyard's two sonns, returned to Says Court.

25. Came to visite me Dr. Joyliffe, discoverer of the lymphatic vessells, and an excellent anatomist.

26. Came to see me Capt. Geo. Evelyn<sup>2</sup> my kinsman, the greate traveller, and one who believed himself a better architect than really he was, witness the Portico in the garden at Wotton ; yet the greate roome at Albury is somewhat better understood. He had a large mind, but he overbuilt every thing.

27. Came out of France my wife's unkle (Paris still besieged) being rob'd at sea by the Dunkyrk pirates : I lost among other goods my Wife's picture painted by Mons. Bourdon.

5 March. Now were the Lords murder'd in the Palace Yard.<sup>3</sup>

18. Mr. Owen, a sequester'd and learned minister, preach'd in my parlour, and gave us the blessed Sacrament, now wholly out of use in the Parish Churches, which the Presbyterians and Fanatics had usurp'd.

21 Mar. I receiv'd letters from Paris from my wife, and from Sir Richard [Browne] with whom I kept a political correspondence, with no small danger of being discover'd.

25. I heard the Common Prayer (a rare thing in these days) in St. Peter's at Paul's Wharf, London ; and in the morning the Archbishop of Armagh, that pious person and learned man, Usher, in Lincoln's Inn Chapell.

April 2. To London, and inventoried my moveables that had hitherto ben dispersed for feare of plundring : wrote into France touching my suddaine resolutions of coming over to them. On the 8th againe heard an excellent discourse from Archbp. Usher on Ephes : 4. v. 26-27.

My Italian collection being now ariv'd, came Moulins the greate Chirurgeon, too see and admire the Tables of Veins and Arteries which I purchas'd and caus'd to be drawne out of several humane bodies at Padua.

11. Received newes out of France that peace was concluded : dined with Sir Jo. Evelyn at Westminster ; and on the 13th I saw a private dissection at Moulins' house.

17. I fell dangerously ill of my head ; was blistered and let blood behind the eares and forehead : on the 23rd began to have ease by using

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Evelyn has added in the margin against Walker's name, 'Since an apostate.' He was master of University College, Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Sir John Evelyn of Godstone.

<sup>3</sup> Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel.

the fumes of cammomile on embers applied to my eares after all the physitians had don their best.

29. I saw in London an huge ox bred in Kent, 17 foote in length, and much higher than I could reach.

12 May. I purchased the Manor of Warley Magna in Essex : in the afternoone went to see Gildron's collections of payntings, where I found Mr. Endymion Porter of his late Majesties Bedchamber.

17. Went to Putney by water in barge with divers ladies, to see the Schooles or Colledges of the young gentlewomen.<sup>1</sup>

19. To see a rare cabinet of one Delabarr, who had some good paintings, especialy a *Monk at his beades*.

30 May. Un-kingship was proclaim'd, and his Majesty's statues thrown down at St. Paule's Portico and the Exchange.

7 June. I visited Sir Arthur Hopton (brother to Sir Ralph, Lord Hopton, that noble hero), who having ben Ambassador Extraordinary in Spaine, sojourn'd some time with my Father-in-law at Paris ; a most excellent person. Also Signora Lucretia, a Greeke lady, whom I knew in Italy, now come over with her husband, an English gentleman. Also the Earle and Countesse of Arundel, taking leave of them and other friends now ready to depart for France. This night was a scuffle betweene some rebell souldiers and some gentlemen about the Temple.

10. Preach'd the Archbishop of Armagh in Lincoln's Inn from Romans 5. verse 13. I receiv'd the Blessed Sacrament preparatory to my journey.

13. I din'd with my worthy friend Sir John Owen, newly freed from sentence of death among the Lords that suffer'd. With him was one Carew, who play'd incomparably on the Welsh Harp : afterwards I treated divers Ladies of my relations, in Spring Garden.

This night was buried with great pomp Dorislaus, slaine at the Hague, the villain who manag'd the trial against his sacred Majesty.

17. I got a passe from the rebell Bradshaw, then in greate power.

20. I went to Putney and other places on the Thames to take prospects in crayon to carry with me into France, where I thought to have them engrav'd.

2 July. I went from Wotton to Godstone (the residence of Sir John Evelyn), where was also Sir John Evelyn of Wilts, when I took leave of both Sir Johns and their ladys. Mem. the prodigious memory of Sir John of Wilts daughter, since married to Mr. W. Pierrepoint, and mother of the present Earle of Kingston. I returned to Says Court this night.

4. Visited Lady Hatton, her Lord sojourning at Paris with my father-in-law.

<sup>1</sup> Kept probably by Mrs. Bathsua Makins, the most learned woman of her time : she had been tutor to the Princess Elizabeth, King Charles's daughter. There is a very rare portrait of her by Marshall.

9. Din'd with Sir Walter Pye and my good friend Mr. Eaton, afterwards a Judge, who corresponded with me in France.

11. Came to see me old Alexander Rosse, the Divine, Historian and Poet; Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Scudamore, and other friends, came to take leave of me.

12. It was about 3 in the afternoone I tooke oares for Gravesend, accompanied by my cousin Stephens and sister Glanvill, who there supp'd with me and return'd; whence I tooke post immediately to Dover, where I arriv'd by 9 in the morning, and about 11 that night went on board a bark guarded by a pinnace of 8 guns; this being the first time the pacquett-boate had obtained a convoy, having severall times before ben pillag'd. We had a good passage, tho' chased for some houres by a pyrate, but he durst not attaq our fregat, and we then chas'd him till he got under the protection of the Castle at Calais. It was a small privateer belonging to the Prince of Wales. I carried over with me my servant Ri. Hoare, an incomparable writer of several hands, whom I afterwards preferr'd in the Prerogative Office, at the return of his Majesty. Lady Catherine Scot, daughter of the Earle of Norwich, follow'd us in a shallop with Mr. Arthur Slingsby, who left England *incognito*. At the entrance of the towne the Lieut. Governor being on his horse with the Guards let us passe courteously. I visited Sir Richard Lloyd, an English gent in the towne, and walked in the Church, where the ornament about the high altar of black marble is very fine, and there is a good picture of the *Assumption*. The Citadell seemes to be impregnable, and the whole country about it to be laied under water by sluices for many miles.

16. We departed for Paris in company with that very pleasant lady, and others. In all this journey we were greatly apprehensive of parties, which caus'd us to alight often out of our coach and walke separately on foot with our guns ready in all suspected places.

1 Aug. At 3 in the afternoone we came to St. Denis, saw the rarities of the Church and Treasury, and so to Paris that evening.

The next day came to wellcome me at dinner the Lord High Treasurer Cottington, Sir Edward Hyde Chancellor, Sir Edward Nicholas Secretary of State, Sir George Cartret Governor of Jersey, and Dr. Earle, having ben absent from my Wife above a yeare and halfe.

18. I went to St. Germain's to kisse his Majesty's hand; in the coach, which was my Lord Wilmot's went Mrs. Barlow the King's mistresse and mother to the Duke of Monmouth, a browne, beautifull, bold, but inspid creature.

19. I went to salute the French King and the Queene Dowager; and on the 21st returned in one of the Queenes coaches with my Lord Germain, Duke of Buckingham, Lord Wentworth, & Mr. Croftes, since created Lord Croftes.

7 Sept. Went with my Wife and deare Còsin to St. Germaines, and

kissed the Queene's-mother's hand; din'd with my L. Keeper and Lord Hatton. Divers of the greate men of France came to see the King; the next day came the Prince of Condé. Returning to Paris we went to see the President Maison's Palace, built castlewise of a milk-white fine freestone; the house not vast, but well contriv'd, especialy the staire-case and the ornaments of Putti about it. 'Tis environ'd in a dry moate, the offices under-ground, the gardens very excellent with extraordinary long walkes set with elmes, and a noble prospect towards the forest and on the Seine towards Paris. Take it altogether, the meadows, walkes, river, forest, corne-ground, and vineyards, I hardly saw any thing in Italy excede it. The yron gates are very magnificent. He has pulled downe a whole village to make roome for his pleasure about it.

12. Dr. Crighton, a Scotchman and one of his Majesties Chaplaines, a learned Grecian who set out the Council of Florence, preached.

13. The King invited the Prince of Condé to supper at St. Cloud; there I kiss'd the Duke of York's hand in the Tennis Court, where I saw a famous match 'twixt Monsieur Saumeurs and Col. Cooke, and so returned to Paris. 'Twas noised about that I was knighted, a dignity which I often declin'd.

1 Oct. Went with my cousin Tuke (afterwards Sir Samuel) to see the fountaines of St. Cloud and Ruel, and after dinner to talke with the poore ignorant and superstitious Anchorite at Mount Calvary, and so on to Paris.

2. Came Mr. William Coventrie (afterwards Sir William) & the Duke's Secretary, &c. to visite me.

5. Dined with Sir George Radcliffe the greate favourite of the late Earle of Strafford, formerly Lord Deputy of Ireland, decapitated.

7. To the Louvre to visite the Countesse of Morton, Governesse to Madame.

15. Came news of Drogheda being taken by the Rebels and all put to the sword, which made us very sad, fore-running the losse of all Ireland.

21. I went to heare Dr. D'Avinson's lecture in the physical garden, and see his laboratorie, he being Prefect of that excellent Garden and Professor Botanicus.

30. I was at the funerall of one Mr. Downes, a sober English gentleman. We accompanied his corpse to Charenton, where he was interr'd in a cabbage-garden, yet with the office of our Church, which was said before in our Chapell at Paris. Here I saw also where they buried the greate Souldier Gassion, who had a tombe built over him like a fontaine, the designe and materials meane enough. I returned to Paris with Sir Phil: Musgrave, & Sir Marmaduk Langdale, since Lord Langdale.—Memorandum. This was a very sickly and mortal Autumne.

5 Nov. I receiv'd divers letters out of England, requiring me to come over about settling some of my concerns.

7. Dr. George Morley (since Bishop of Winchester) preach'd in our Chapell on Matt: 4. verse 3.

18. I went with my Father-in-law to his audience at the French Court, where next the Pope's Nuncio he was introduced by the Master of Ceremonies, and after delivery of his credentials, as from our King since his Father's murder, he was most graciously receiv'd by the King of France and his Mother, with whom he had a long audience. This was in the Palais Cardinal.

After this, being presented to his Majesty and the Queene Regent, I went to see the house built by the late greate Cardinal de Richelieu. The most observable thing is the gallerie painted with the portraits of the most illustrious persons and signal actions in France, with innumerable emblemes 'twixt every table. In the middle of the gallery is a neate chapell rarely paved in worke and devices of severall sorts of marble, besides the altar-piece and 2 statues of white marble, one of St. John, the other of the Virgin Mary, by Bernini. The rest of the apartments are rarely gilded and carv'd, with some good modern paintings. In the presence hang 3 huge branches of chrystal. In the French King's bed-chamber is an alcove like another chamber, set as it were in a chamber like a moveable box, with a rich embroidred bed. The fabric of the Palace is not magnificent, being but of 2 stories, but the garden is so spacious as to containe a noble basin and fountaine continually playing, and there is a Mall, with an elbow or turning to protract it. So I left his Majesty on the terrace, buisie in seeing a bull baiting, and return'd home in Prince Edward's coach with Mr. Paule, the Prince Elector's agent.

19. Visited Mr. Waller, where meeting Dr. Holden, an English Sorbonne Divine, we fell into some discourse about Religion.

28 Dec. Going to waite on Mr. Waller, I view'd St. Stephen's Church; the building tho' Gothic is full of carving; within it is beautiful, especialy the quire and winding staires. The glasse is well painted, and the tapisstry hung up this day about the quire, representing the conversion of Constantine, was exceeding rich.

I went to that excellent engraver Du Bosse, for his instruction about explanation of some difficulties in perspective which were delivered in his booke.

I concluded this yeare in health, for which I gave solemn thanks to Almighty God<sup>1</sup>.

29. I christned Sir Hugh Rilies child with Sir Geo. Radcliffe in our Chapell, the parents being so poore that they had provided no gossips, so as severall of us drawing lotts it fell on me, the Deane of Peterborow

<sup>1</sup> This he does not fail to repeat at the end of every year, but it will not always be necessary to insert it in this book.

(Dr. Cosin) officiating: we named it Andrew, being on the eve of that Apostle's day.

1650. Jan. 1. I began this Jubilie with the publiq office in our Chapell: din'd at my Lady Herbert's, wife of Sir Edward Herbert, afterwards Lord Keeper.

18. This night was the Prince of Condé and his Brother carried prisoners to the Bois de Vincennes.

Feb. 6. In the evening came Signor Allessandro, one of the Cardinal Mazarine's musitians, and a person of greate name for his knowledge in art, to visite my wife, and sung before divers persons of quality in my chamber.

1 March. I went to see the masquerados which was very fantastic, but nothing so quiet and solemn as I found it at Venice.

13. Saw a triumph in Monsieur del Camp's Academie, where divers of the French and English Noblesse, especialy my Lord of Ossorie, and Richard, sonns to the Marquis of Ormond (afterwards Duke), did their exercises on horseback in noble equipage, before a world of spectators and greate persons, men and ladies. It ended in a collation.

April 25. I went out of towne to see Madrid, a palace so call'd, built by Francis the First. 'Tis observable onely for its open manner of architecture, being much of tarraces and galleries one over another to the very roofe, and for the materials, which are most of earth painted like Porcelain or China-ware, whose colours appeare very fresh, but is very fragile. There are whole statues and relievos of this potterie, chimney-pieces and columns both within and without. Under the chapell is a chimney in the midst of a roome parted from the *Salle des Gardes*. The house is fortified with a deepe ditch, and has an admirable *vista* towards the Bois de Boulogne and River.

30. I went to see the collection of the famous sculptor Steffano de la Bella returning now into Italy, and bought some prints: and likewise visited Perelle the landskip graver.

3 May. At the Hospital of La Charité I saw the operation of cutting for the stone. A child of 8 or 9 yeares old underwent the operation with most extraordinary patience, and expressing greate joy when he saw the stone was drawn. The use I made of it was to give Almighty God hearty thanks that I had not ben subject to this deplorable infirmitie.

7. I went with Sir Rich. Browne's lady and my wife, together with the Earle of Chesterfield, Lord Ossorie and his brother, to Vamber, a place neere the Citty famous for butter; when coming homewards, being on foote, a quarrel arose between Lord Ossorie and a man in a garden, who thrust Lord Ossorie from the gate with uncivil language, on which our young gallants struck the fellow on the pate, and bid him aske pardon, which he did with much submission, and so we parted; but we were not gon far before we heard a noise behind us, and saw

people coming with gunns, swords, staves, and forks, and who followed flinging stones ; on which we turn'd and were forc'd to engage, and with our swords, stones, and the help of our servants (one of whom had a pistol) made our retreat for neere a quarter of a mile, when we took shelter in a house, where we were besieg'd, and at length forc'd to submit to be prisoners. Lord Hatton with some others were taken prisoners in the flight, and his lordship was confin'd under 3 locks and as many doores in this rude fellow's master's house, who pretended to be steward to Monsieur St. Germain, one of the Presidents of the Grand Chambre du Parliament and a Canon of Notre Dame. Severall of us were much hurt. One of our lacquies escaping to Paris, caused the bailiff of St. Germain to come with his guard and rescue us. Immediately afterwards came Monsieur St. Germain himselfe in greate wrath on hearing that his housekeeper was assaulted ; but when he saw the King's Officers, the Gentlemen and Noblemen, with his Majesty's Resident, and understood the occasion, he was ashamed of the accident, requesting the fellow's pardon, and desiring the ladys to accept their submission and a supper at his house. It was 10 o'clock at night ere we got to Paris, guarded by Prince Griffith, (a Welch hero going under that name, and well known in England for his extravagances,) together with the scholars of two academies who came forth to assist and meete us on horseback, and would faine have alarm'd the towne we receiv'd the affront from, which with much ado we prevented.

12. Complaint being come to the Queene and Court of France of the affront we had receiv'd, the President was ordered to aske pardon of Sir R. Browne, his Majesty's Resident, and the fellow to make submission and be dismiss'd. There came along with him President de Thou, sonn of the greate Thuanus [the historian,] and so all was compos'd. But I have often heard that gallant gentleman my Lord Ossorie affirme solemnly that in all the conflicts he ever was in at sea or on land, (in the most desperate of both which he had often ben) he believ'd he was never in so much danger as when these people rose against us. He us'd to call it the *battaill de Vambre*, and remember it with a greate deale of mirth as an adventure *en cavalier*.

24. We were invited by the Noble Academies to a running at the Ring, where were many brave horses, gallants and ladys, my Lord Stanhope entertaining us with a collation.

12 June. Being Trinity Sunday the Dean of Peterborough preach'd ; after which there was an ordination of two Divines, Durell and Brevent (the one was afterwards Deane of Windsor, the other of Durham, both very learned persons). The Bishop of Galloway officiated with greate gravity, after a pious and learned exhortation declaring the weight and dignitie of their function, especialy now in a time of the poore Church of England's affliction ; he magnified the sublimity of the calling, from the object, *viz.* the salvation of men's soules, and the glory of God ;

producing many humane instances of the transitorinesse and vaility of all other dignities ; that of all the triumphs the Roman Conquerors made, none was comparable to that of our Blessed Saviours when he lead Captivitie captive, and gave gifts to men, namely that of the Holy Spirit, by which his faithfull and painefull Ministers triumphed over Satan as oft as they reduc'd a sinner from the errour of his ways. He then proceeded to the ordination. They were presented by the Deane in their surplices before the altar, the Bishop sitting in a chaire at one-side ; and so were made both Deacons and Priests at the same time, in regard to the necessitie of the times, there being so few Bishops left in England, and consequently danger of a failure of both functions. Lastly they proceeded to the Communion. This was all perform'd in Sir Rich. Browne's Chapell at Paris.

13 June. I sate to the famous sculptor Nanteuil, who was afterwards made a knight by the French King for his art. He engrav'd my picture in copper. At a future time he presented me with my own picture, done all with a pen ; an extraordinary curiosity.

21 June. I went to see the Samaritan or Pump at the end of the Pont Neuf, which tho' to appearance promising no greate matter, is besides the machine, furnish'd with innumerable rarities both of art and nature ; especialy the costly Grotto, where are the fairest corals growing out of the very rock, that I have seen ; also great pieces of chrystal, amethysts, gold in the mine, and other mettals and marcasites, with two greate conchas, which the owner told us cost him 200 crownes at Amsterdam. He shew'd us many landskips and prospects very rarely painted in miniature, some with the pen and crayon ; divers antiquities and relievos of Rome ; above all, that of the inside of the Amphitheater of Titus incomparably drawn by Monsieur St. Clire himselfe ; two boys and three skeletons moulded by Fiamingo ; a booke of statues with the pen made for Hen. IV. rarely executed, and by which one may discover many errors in the *taille douce* of Perrier, who has added divers conceits of his owne that are not in the originals. He has likewise an infinite collection of *taille douces* richly bound in Morocco. He led us into a stately chamber furnish'd to have entertain'd a prince, with pictures of the 'greatest masters, especialy a *Venus* of Perino del Vaga ; the *Putti* carved in the chimney-piece by the Fleming ; the vases of porcelan, and many design'd by Raphael ; some paintings of Poussin and Fioravanti ; antiques in brasse ; the looking-glasse and stands rarely carved. In a word, all was greate, choice and magnificent, and not to be pass'd by as I had often don, without the least suspicion that there were such rare things to be seene in that place. At a future visit he shew'd a new grotto and bathing-place, hew'd thro' the battlements of the arches of Pont Neuf, into a wide vault at the intercolumniation, so that the coaches and horses thunder'd over our heads.

27 June. I made my Will, and taking leave of my wife and other

friends tooke horse for England, paying the Messenger 8 pistoles for me and my servant to Calais, setting out with 17 in company well arm'd, some Portugezes, Swisse, and French, whereof 6 were Captaines and Officers. We came the first night to Beaumont; next day to Beauvais. and lay at Pois, and the next, without dining, reach'd Abbeville; next din'd at Montreuil, and proceeding met a company of foote (being now within the inroades of the parties which dangerously infest this day's journey from St. Omers and the Frontiers) which we drew very neere to, ready and resolute to charge through, and accordingly were order'd and led by a captaine of our traine; but as we were on the speede, they cal'd out, and prov'd to be Scotchmen newly rais'd and landed, and few arm'd among them. This night we were well treated at Bollogne. The next day we march'd in good order, the passage being now exceeding dangerous, and got to Calais by a little after two. The sun so scorch'd my face that it made the skin peel off.

I din'd with Mr. Booth his Majesty's Agent, and about 3 in the afternoone imbark'd in the packet-boat; hearing there was a pirate then also setting saile, we had security from molestation, and so with a fair S.W. wind, in seven hours we landed at Dover. The buisy watchman would have us to the Major to be searched, but the gent. being in bed we were dismiss'd.

Next day, being Sondag, they would not permit us to ride post, so that afternoone our trunks were visited.

The next morning by 4 we sat out for Canterbury, where I met with my Lady Catherine Scot, whom that very day twelve months before I met at sea going for France; she had been visiting Sir Tho. Peyton not far off, and would needes carry me in her coach to Gravesend. We din'd at Sittingbourn, came late to Gravesend, and so to Deptford, taking leave of my lady about 4 the next morning.

5th July. I supped in the Citty with my Lady Catherine Scott at one Mr. Dubois, where was a gentlewoman call'd Everard, that was a very great Chymist.

Sun. 7 July. In the afternoone having a mind to see what was doing among the Rebels, then in full possession at Whitehall, I went thither and found one at exercise in the Chapell, after their way; thence to St. James's, where another was preaching in the Court abroad.

17. I went to London to obtain a passe, intending but a short stay in England.

25th. I went by Epsom to Wotton, saluting Sir Robert Cook and my sister Glanvill; the country was now much molested by souldiers, who tooke away gentlemen's horses for the service of the State as then call'd.

4 Aug. I heard a sermon at the Rolls; and in the afternoone wander'd to divers churches, the pulpits full of novices and novelties.

6th. To Mr. Walker's a good painter, who shew'd me an excellent copie of Titian.

12 July. Sat out for Paris, taking post at Gravesend, and so that night to Canterbury, where being surpriz'd by the souldiers, and having only an antiquated passe, with some fortunate dexterity I got cleare of them, tho' not without extraordinary hazard, having before counterfeited one with successe, it being so difficult to procure one of the Rebels without entering into oathes, which I never would do. At Dover money to the searchers and officers was as authentiq as the hand and seale of Bradshaw himselfe, where I had not so much as my trunk open'd.

13. At 6 in the evening set saile for Calais, the wind not favourable I was very sea sick, coming to an anker about one o'clock; about five in the morning we had a long boate to carry us to land tho' at a good distance; this we willingly enter'd, because two vessells were chasing us, but being now almost at the harbour's mouth, thro' inadvertency there brake in upon us two such heavy seas as had almost sunk the boate, I being neere the middle up in water. Our steeresman it seemes apprehensive of the danger was preparing to leape into the sea and trust to swimming, but seeing the vessell émerge, he put her into the Pier, and so, God be thanked! we got to Calais, tho' wett.

Here I waited for company, the passage towards Paris being still infested with volunteers from the Spanish frontiers.

16. The Regiment of Picardy, consisting of about 1400 horse and foote (amongst them was a Capt. whom I knew), being come to towne, I took horses for myselfe and servante, and march'd under their protection to Boulogne. 'Twas a miserable spectacle to see how these tatter'd souldiers pillag'd the poore people of their sheepe, poultry, corne, catell, and whatever came in their way; but they had such ill pay that they were ready themselves to starve.

As we pass'd St. Denis the people were in uproar, the guards doubl'd, and every body running with their moveables to Paris, on an alarme that the Enemy was within 5 leagues of them, so miserably exposed was even this part of France at this time.

The 30th I got to Paris, after an absence of two moneths onely.

1 Sept. My Lady Herbert invited me to dinner; Paris, and indeede all France being full of loyall fugitives.

Came Mr. Waller to see me, about a child of his which the Popish midwife had baptis'd.

Oct. 15. Sir Tho. Osborn (afterwards Lord Treasurer) and Lord Stanhop shot for a wager of 5 Louis to be spent on a treat; they shot so exact that it was a drawn match.

Nov. 1. Took leave of my Lord Stanhop going on his journey towards Italy: also visited my Lady Hatton, Comptroller of his Majesties Household, the Countesse of Morton, Governesse to the

Lady Henrietta, and Mrs. Gardner one of the Queen's Maids of Honour.

6. Sir Thomas Osborn supping with us, his groome was set upon in the streete before our house and receiv'd two wounds, but gave the assassin nine, who was carried off to the Charité hospital. Sir Thomas went for England on the eighth, and carried divers letters for me to my friends.

16. I went to Monsieur Visse's, the French King's Secretary, to a concert of French music and voices, consisting of 24, two theorbo's and but one bass viol, being a rehearsal of what was to be sung at vespers at Saint Cecilia's, on her feast, she being patronesse of Musicians. News arriv'd of the death of the Prince of Orange of the small pox.

14 Dec. I wente to visite Mt. Ratcliffe, in whose lodging was an impostor that had like to have impos'd upon us a pretended secret of multiplying gold; 'tis certain he had liv'd some time in Paris in extraordinarie splendor, but I found him to be an egregious cheate.

22. Came the learned Dr. Boet to visite me.

31. I gave God thanks for his mercy and protection the past yeare, and made up my accompts, which came this yeare to 7015 livres, neere £.600 sterling.

1651. 1 Jan. I wrote to my brother at Wotton about his garden and fountaines. After evening Prayer Mr. Wainsford called on me: he had long ben Consul at Aleppo, and told me many strange things of those countries, the Arabs especialy.

27. I had letters of the death of Mrs. Newton, my-grandmother-in-law; she had a most tender care of me during my childhood, and was a woman of extraordinarie charity and piety.

29. Dr. Duncan preached on 8 Matt. 34, shewing the mischief of covetousnesse. My Lord Marq. of Ormond and Inchiqueen, come newly out of Ireland, were this day at Chapell.

9 Feb. Cardinal Mazarine was proscrib'd by Arret du Parlement, and great commotions began in Paris.

23. I went to see the Bonnes Hommes, a Convent that has a tayr cloister painted with the lives of the Eremites; a glorious altar now erecting in the chapell; the garden on a rock with divers descents, with a fine vineyard and a delicate prospect towards the Citty.

24. I went to see a Dromedarie, a very monstrous beaste, much like the Camel but larger. There was also dauncing on the rope; but above all surprising to those who were ignorant of the addresse, was the water-spouter, who drinking only fountaine water, rendred out of his mouth in severall glasses all sorts of wine and sweete waters, &c. For a piece of money he discover'd the secret to me. I waited on Frier Nicholas at the Convent at Challiot, who being an excellent chymist shew'd me his Laboratorie and rare collection of Spagyricall remedies.

He was both physitian and apothecarie of the Convent, and insteade of the names of his drouges painted his boxes and potts with the figure of the drug or simple contain'd in them. He shew'd me as a raritie some  $\frac{1}{2}$  of antimonie<sup>1</sup>: he had cur'd Monsieur Senetan of a desperate sicknesse, for which there was building a monumental altar that was to cost £1500.

11 March. I went to the Châtelet or Prison, where a malefactor was to have the question or torture given to him, he refusing to confess the robbery with which he was charg'd, which was thus: they first bound his wrist with a strong rope or small cable, and one end of it to an iron ring made fast to the wall about 4 foete from the floore, and then his feete with another cable, fastned about 5 foete farther than his uttmmost length to another ring on the floore of the roome: thus suspended and yet lying but aslant, they slid an horse of wood under the rope which bound his feete, which so exceedingly stiffened it, as sever'd the fellow's joynts in miserable sort, drawing him out at length in an extraordinary manner, he having onely a paire of linnen drawers on his naked body: then they questioned him of a robbery (the Lieutenant Criminal being present, and a clearke that wrote), which not confessing, they put an higher horse under the rope, to increase the torture and extension. In this agonie, confessing nothing, the Executioner with a horne (just such as they drench horses with) stuck the end of it into his mouth, and poured the quantity of two bouketts of water downe his throat and over him, which so prodigiously swelled him, as would have pittied and affrighted any one to see it; for all this, he denied all that was charged to him. They then let him downe, and carried him before a warme fire to bring him to himselfe, being now to all appearance dead with paine. What became of him I know not; but the gent. whom he robbed constantly averr'd him to be the man, and the fellow's suspitious pale lookes, before he knew he should be rack'd, betraied some guilt: The Lieutenant was also of that opinion, and told us at first sight (for he was a leane, dry, black young man) he would conquer the torture; and so it seemes they could not hang him, but did use in such cases, where the evidence is very presumptive, to send them to the gallies, which is as bad as death.

There was another Malefactor to succede, but the spectacle was so uncomfortable, that I was not able to stay the sight of another. It represented yet to me, the intollerable sufferings which our Blessed Saviour must needes undergo when his body was hanging with all its weight upon the nailes on the crosse.

20. I went this night with my wife to a Ball at the Marquiss de Crevecœur's, where were divers Princes, Dukes, and greate persons, but what appeared to me very meane was that it began with a puppet-play.

<sup>1</sup> Qu. some preparation of it; since perfected by Dr. James, whose name it now bears.

6 May. I attended the Ambassador to a Masque at Court, where the French King in person daunced five enteries : but being ingag'd in discourse and better entertained with one of the Queene Regent's Secretaries, I soon left the entertainment.

11. To the Palais Cardinal, where the Master of Ceremonies placed me to see the royal masque or opera. The first sceane represented a chariot of singers compos'd of the rarest voices that could be procur'd, representing Cornaro<sup>1</sup> and Temperance ; this was overthrowne by Bacchus and his Revellers : the rest consisted of severall enteries and pageants of excesse by all the Elements. A Masque representing Fire was admirable ; then came a Venus out of the Clouds. The conclusion was an Heaven whither all ascended. But the glory of the Masque was the greate persons performing in it, the French King, his brother the Duke of Anjou, with all the Grandees of the Court, the King performing to the admiration of all. The music was twenty-nine violins vested *a l'antiqu*, but the habits of the Masquers were stupendiously rich and glorious.

23 May. I went to take leave of the Ambassadors for Spaine, which were my Lord Treasurer Cottington and Sir Edw. Hide ; and as I return'd I visited Mr. Morine's garden and his other rarities, especialy coralls, minerals, stones and natural curiosities ; crabs of the Red Sea, the body no bigger than a small bird's egg, but flatter, and the 2 leggs or claws a foote in length. He had abundance of shells, at least 1000 sorts, which furnish'd a cabinet of greate price ; and had a very curious collection of scarabees and insects, of which he was compiling a natural historie. He had also the pictures of his choice flowers and plants in miniature. He told me there were 10,000 sorts of tulips onely. He had taille douces out of number ; the head of the ryneceros bird, which was very extravagant, and a butterflie resembling a perfect bird.

25. I went to visit Mr. White, a learned priest and famous philosopher, author of the booke De Mundo, with whose worthy brother I was well acquainted at Rome. I was shew'd a cabinet of Maroquin or Turkey leather, so curiously inlaid with other leather, and gilding, that the workman demanded for it 800 livres.

The Dean (of Peterboro') preach'd on the feast of Pentecost, perstringing those of Geneva for their irreverence of the Blessed Virgin.

4 June. Trinity Sunday I was absent from Church in the afternoone on a charitable affaire for the Abbess of Boucharvant, who but for me had been abus'd by that chymist Du Menie. Returning I stept into the grand Jesuites, who had this high day expos'd their Cibarium, made all of solid gold and imagerie, a piece of infinite cost. Dr. Croydon, who was coming out of Italy and from Padua, came to see me on his return to England.

5. I accompanied my L. Strafford and some other noble persons to

<sup>1</sup> The famous Venetian writer on Temperance.

heare Madame Lavarán sing, which she did both in French and Italian excellently well, but her voice was not strong.

7 June. Corpus Christi Day, there was a grand procession, all the streetes tapisstred, severall altars erected there, full of images and other rich furniture, especialy that before the Court, of a rare designe and architecture. There were abundance of excellent pictures and great vases of silver.

13. I went to see the collection of one Monsieur Poignant, which for variety of achates, chrystals, onyxes, porcelain, medails, statues, relievos, paintings, taille douces and antiquities, might compare with the Italian virtuosos.

21. I became acquainted with Sir William Curtius, a very learned and judicious person of the Palatinate. He had ben scholar to Alstedius the Encyclopedist, was well advanc'd in yeares, and now Resident for his Majestie at Frankfort.

2 July. Came to see me the Earle of Strafford, Lord Ossory and his Brother, Sir John Southcott, Sir Edw: Stawell, two of my Lord Spencer's Sonns, and Dr. Stewart Deane of St. Paules, a learned and pious man, where we entertained the time upon severall subjects, especialy the affaires of England and the lamentable condition of our Church. The Ld. Gerrard called to see my collection of sieges and battles.

21 July. An extraordinary fast was celebrated in our Chapell, Dr. Steward Dean of St. Paul's preaching.

2 Aug. I went with my wife to Conflans, where were abundance of ladys and others bathing in the river ; the ladys had their tents spread on the water for privacy.

29 Aug. Was kept as a solemne Fast for the calamities of our poore Church now trampled on by the Rebels. Mr. Waller being at St. Germaines, desir'd me to send him a coach from Paris to bring my wife's god-daughter to Paris, to be buried by the Common Prayer.

6 Sept. I went with my wife to St. Germaines to condole with Mr. Waller's losse. I carried with me and treated at dinner that excellent and pious person the Deane of St. Paul's Dr. Steward, and Sir Lewes Dives (half-brother to the Earle of Bristol) who entertain'd us with his wonderful escape out of prison in White-hall the very evening before he was to have ben put to death, leaping down out of a jakes two stories high into the Thames at high water, in the coldest of winter and at night ; so as by swimming he got to a boate that attended for him, tho' he was guarded by six musqueteeres. After this he went about in womens habite, and then in a small-coale-man's, travelling 200 miles on foote, embark'd for Scotland with some men he had raised, who coming on-shore were all surpriz'd and imprison'd on the Marq. of Montrose's score, he not knowing any thing of their barbarous murder of that hero. This he told us was his fifth escape, and none less miraculous, with this note, that the chargeing thro' 1000 men arm'd, or

whatever danger could befall a man, he believ'd could not more confound and distract a man's thoughts than the execution of a premeditated escape, the passions of hope and feare being so strong. This knight was indeede a valiant gentleman, but not a little given to romance when he spake of himselfe. I returned to Paris the same evening.

7 Sept. I went to visite Mr. Hobbs, the famous philosopher of Malmsbury, with whom I had long acquaintance. From his window we saw the whole equipage and glorious cavalcade of the young French Monarch Lewis XIV. passing to Parliament when first he tooke the kingly government on him, now being in his 14th yeare, out of his minority and the Queene Regent's pupillage. First came the captaine of the King's aydes at the head of 50 richly liveried ; next the Queene Mother's light horse, an hundred, the lieutenant being all over cover'd with embroderie and ribbans, having before him 4 trumpets habited in black velvet, full of lace and casques of the same ; then the King's light horse, 200, richly habited, with 4 trumpets in blue velvet embrodred with gold, before whom rid the Count d'Olonne coronet [cornet] whose belt was set with pearle ; next went the grand Prevost's company on foote with the Prevost on horseback ; after them the Swisse in black velvet toques led by 2 gallant cavalieres habited in scarlet-colour'd sattin after their country fashion, which is very fantastick ; he had in his cap a *pennach* of heron with a band of diamonds, and about him 12 little Swisse boyes with halberds ; then came the *Ayde des Ceremonies* ; next the grandees of court, governors of places, and lieutenants general of provinces, magnificently habited and mounted, among whom I must not forget the Chevalier Paul, famous for many sea-fights and signal exploits there, because 'tis said he had never been an Academist, and yet govern'd a very unruly horse, and besides his rich suite, his Malta Cross was esteem'd at 10,000 crownes ; these were headed by 2 trumpets, and the whole troupe cover'd with gold, jewels, and rich caparisons, were follow'd by 6 trumpets in blew velvet also, preceeding as many heralds in blew velvet semée with fleurs de lys, caduces in their hands and velvet caps on their heads ; behind them came one of the masters of the ceremonies ; then divers marishalls & many of the nobility, exceeding splendid ; behind them Count d'Harcourt, grand escuyer, alone, carrying the King's sword in a scarf, which he held up in a blew sheath studded with fleurs de lys ; his horse had for reines 2 scarfs of black taffata ; then came abundance of footemen and pages of the King, new liveried with white and red feathers ; next the guard de corps and other officers ; and lastly appear'd the King himselfe on an Isabella Barb, on which a houssing semée with crosses of the Order of the Holy Ghost, and fleurs de lys ; the King himself like a young Apollo, was in a sute so cover'd with rich embrodry, that one could perceive nothing of the stuff under it ; he went almost the whole way with his hat in hand, saluting the ladys and acclamators who had

fill'd the windows with their beauty, and the aire with *Vive le Roy*. He seem'd a prince of a grave yet sweete countenance. After the King follow'd divers greate persons of the Court exceeding splendid, also his esquires, masters of horse on foote, then the company of *Exempts des Gards*, and 6 guards of Scotch; 'twixt their files were divers princes of the blood, dukes, and lords; after all these, the Queene's guard of Swisse, pages, and footemen; then the Queene Mother herselfe in a rich coach, with Monsieur the King's brother, the Duke of Orleans, and some other lords and ladys of honour; about the coach march'd her *Exempts des Gards*, then the company of the King's *Gens d'armes* well mounted, 150, with 4 trumpets and as many of the Queene's; lastly, an innumerable company of coaches full of ladys and gallants. In this equipage pass'd the Monarch to the Parliament, henceforth exercising his kingly government.

15 Sept. I accompanied Sir Richard Browne, my father-in-law, to the French Court, where he had a favourable audience of the French King and the Queene his Mother, congratulating the one on his coming to the exercise of his royal charge, and the other's prudent and happy administration during her late Regency, desiring both to preserve the same amitie for his Master, our King, as they had hitherto don, which they both promis'd with many civil expressions and words of course upon such occasions. We were accompanied both going and returning by the Introducator of Ambassador and Ayd of Cermonies. I also saw the audience of Morosini the Ambassador of Venice, and divers other Ministers of State from German Princes, Savoy, &c. Afterwards I tooke a walke in the King's gardens, where I observ'd that the Mall gos the whole square thereof next the wall, and bends with an angle so made as to glace [glance] the ball; the angle is of stone. There's a basin at the end of the garden fed by a noble fountaine and high jetto. There were in it 2 or 3 boates in which the King now and then rowes about. In another part is a compleate fort, made with bastions, graft, halfe-moones, ravelins, and furnish'd with greate gunns cast on purpose to instruct the King in fortification.

22. Ariv'd the news of the fatal battail at Worcester, which exceedingly mortified our expectations.

28. I was shew'd a collection of books and of prints made for the Duke of York.

1 Oct. The Dean of Peterborough [Dr. Cosin] preach'd on 13 Job v. 15, encouraging our trust in God on all events and extremities, and for establishing and comforting some ladys of greate qualitie, who were then to be discharg'd from our Q. Mother's service, unlesse they would go over to the Romish Masse.

The Dean dining this day at our house, told me the occasion of publishing those Offices which among the Puritans were wont to be call'd

*Cosins consining Devotions*<sup>1</sup> by way of derision. At the first coming of the Queene into England, she and her French ladys were often upbraiding our religion, that had neither appointed nor set forth any houres of prayer or breviaries, by which ladies and courtiers, who have much spare time, might edify and be in devotion, as they had. Our Protestant ladys, scandaliz'd it seemes at this, mov'd the matter to the King, whereupon his Majesty presently call'd Bishop White to him, and asked his thoughts of it, and whether there might not be found some formes of prayer proper on such occasions, collected out of some already approv'd formes, that so the court ladys and others (who spend much time in trifling) might at least appeare as devout, and be so too, as the new-come-over French ladys, who tooke occasion to reproch our want of zeale and religion. On which the Bishop told his Majesty that it might be don easily and was very necessary; whereupon the King commanded him to employ some person of the Cleargy to compile such a work, and presently the Bishop naming Dr. Cosin, the King injoyn'd him to charge the Dr. in his name to set about it immediately. This the Dean told me he did, and 3 monethes after bringing the book to the King, he commanded the Bishop of London to reade it over and make his report; this was so well lik'd that (contrary to former custome of doing it by a chaplain) he would needes give it an *imprimatur* under his owne hand. Upon this there were at first onely 200 copies printed; nor, said he, was there any thing in the whole book of my owne composition, nor did I set any name as author to it, but those necessary prefaces, &c. out of the Fathers, touching the times and seasons of prayer, all the rest being intirely translated and collected out of an *Office*, publish'd by authority of Q. Elizabeth, a<sup>o</sup> 1560, and our owne Liturgie. This I rather mention to justify that industrious and pious Deane, who had exceedingly suffer'd by it, as if he had don it of his owne head to introduce Popery, from which no man was more averse, and one who in this time of temptation and apostacy held and confirm'd many to our Church<sup>2</sup>.

29 October. Came newes and letters to the Queene and Sir Richard Browne (who was the first that had intelligence of it) of his Majesties miraculous escape after the fight at Worcester, which exceedingly rejoiced us.

7 Nov. I visited Sir Kenelm Digby, with whom I had much dis-

<sup>1</sup> So called by Mr. Prynne in his brief survey of this book. The Dean was sequestered from all his preferments by the Parliament, and went abroad to Paris 1643. He kept up the service of the Church of England in Sir Rich. Browne's chapel there. On the Restoration he was made Bishop of Durham, to which See, as well as to Peter House, at Cambridge, of which he had been Master, he was a most munificent benefactor. He died in 1671.

<sup>2</sup> The Clergy who attended the English Court at this time and are mentioned to have officiated in Sir Richard Browne's Chapel were: The Bishop of Galloway; Dr. Geo. Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; Dr. Cosin, Dean of Peterborough, afterwards Bishop of Durham; Dr. Steward Dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Earle; Dr. Clare; Dr. Wolley, no great Preacher; Mr. Crowder; Dr. Lloyd; Mr. Hamilton; Dr. Duncan.

course of chymical matters. I shew'd him a particular way of extracting oyle of sulphur, and he gave me a certaine powder with which he affirm'd that he had fixed ☿ (mercury) before the late King ; he advis'd me to try and digest a little better, and gave me a water which he said was onely raine water of the autumnal equinox exceedingly rectified, very volatile ; it had a taste of a strong vitrioliq, and smelt like aqua fortis. He intended it for a dissolvent of calx of gold ; but the truth is, Sir Kenelm was an errant mountebank.—Came news of the gallant Earle of Derby's execution by the rebels.

12. Dr. Clare preach'd on 28 Gen. v. 20, 21, 22, upon Jacob's vowe, which he appositely applied, it being the first Sondag his Majesty came to Chapell after his escape. I went in the afternoone to visite the Earle of Norwich ; he lay at the Lord of Aubignies.

16. Visited Dean Steward, who had been sick about 2 daies, when going up to his lodging I found him dead, which affected me much, as besides his particular affection and love to me, he was of incomparable parts and great learning, of exemplary life, and a very greate losse to the whole Church. He was buried the next day with all our Church's ceremonies, many noble persons accompanying the corps.

17. I went to congratulate the marriage of Mrs. Gardner, maid of honor, lately married to that odd person Sir Henry Wood : but riches do many things.

I went to see Monsieur Febur's course of Chymistrie, where I found Sir Kenelm Digby and divers curious persons of learning and quality. It was his first opening the course and preliminaries in order to operations.

1 Dec. I now resolv'd to returne into England.

3. Sir Lewis Dives din'd with us, who relating some of his adventures, shew'd me divers pieces of broad gold which, being in his pocket in a fight, preserv'd his life by receiving a musket-bullet on them, which deaden'd its violence so that it went no further, but made such a stroake on the gold as fix'd the impressions upon one another, battering and bending severall of them ; the bullet itselfe was flatted, and retained on it the colour of the gold. He assur'd us that of an hundred of them, which it seems he then had in his pocket, not one escap'd without some blemish. He affirm'd that his being protected by a Neapolitan Prince who conniv'd at his bringing some horses into France, contrary to the order of the Vice-roy, by assistance of some banditti, was the occasion of a difference betweene those greate men, and consequently of the late civil war in that kingdom, the Vice-roy having kill'd the Prince standing on his defence at his owne castle. He told me that the second time of the Scots coming into England, the King was six times their number, and might easily have beaten them, but was betraied, as were all other his designs and councils by some, even of his bed-chamber, meaning M. Hamilton, who copied Montrose's letters from time to time when his Majesty was asleepe.

11. Came to visite me Mr. Obadiah Walker of University College, with his two Pupils the sons of my worthy friend Hen. Hyldiard, Esq. whom I recommended to his care.

21. Came to visite my wife Mrs. Lane, the lady who conveyed the King to the sea-side at his escape from Worcester. Mr. John Cosin, son to the Dean, debauch'd by the priests, wrote a letter to me to mediate for him with his father. I prepar'd for my last journey, being now resolved to leave France altogether.

25. The King and Duke receiv'd the Sacrament first by themselves, Lords Biron and Wilmot holding the long towell all along the altar.

26. Came news of the death of that Rebell Ireton.

31. Preach'd Dr. Wolley, after which was celebrated the Holy Communion, which I received also, preparative of my journey, being now resolved to leave France altogether, and to returne God Almighty thanks for his gracious protection of me this past yeare.

1652, 2 Jan. News of my sister Glanville's death in childbed, which exceedingly affected me.

I went to one Mark Antonio, an incomparable artist in enamailing. He wrought by the lamp figures in bosse of a large size, even to the life, so that nothing could be better moulded. He told us greate stories of a Genoese Jeweller who had the greate *Arcanum*, and had made projection before him severall times. He mett him at Cyprus travelling into Egypt, in his returne from whence he died at sea, and the secret with him, that else he had promised to have left it to him; that all his effects were seized on and dissipated by the Greekes in the vessell to an immense value. He also affirm'd, that being in a Goldsmith's shop in Amsterdam, a person of very low stature came in and desir'd the goldsmith to mealt him a pound of lead, which don he unscrew'd the pummel of his sword, and taking out of a little box a small quantity of powder, casting it into the crucible, pour'd an ingot out, which when cold, he tooke up, saying, 'Sir, you will be paid for your lead in the crucible,' and so went out immediately. When he was gon the goldsmith found 4 ounces of good gold in it, but could never set eye againe on the little man, tho' he sought all the Citty for him. This Antonio asserted with greate obtestation, nor know I what to think of it, there are so many impostors and people who love to tell strange stories, as this artist did, who had been a greate rover, and spake ten different languages.

13 Jan. I tooke leave of Mr. Waller, who having ben proscrib'd by the Rebels, had obtain'd of them permission to returne, and was going to England.

29. Aboundance of my French and English friends and some Germans came to take leave of me, and I set out in a coach for Calais, in an exceeding hard frost which had continued some time. We got that night to Beaumont; 30. to Beauvais; 31. we found the ways very

deepe with snow, and it was exceeding cold ; din'd at Pois ; lay at Pernée, a miserable cottage of miserable people in a wood, wholly unfurnish'd, but in a little time we had sorry beds and some provision, which they told me they hid in the wood for feare of the frontier enemy, the garrisons neere them continually plundering what they had. They were often infested with wolves. I cannot remember that I ever saw more miserable creatures.

1 Feb. I din'd at Abbeville ; 2. din'd at Montreuil, lay at Bologne ; 3. came to Calais by 11 in the morning ; I thought to have embarqu'd in the evening, but for feare of Pyrates plying neere the coast, I durst not trust our small vessell, and stay'd till Monday following, when 2 or 3 lusty vessells were to depart.

I brought with me from Paris Mr. Christopher Wase, sometime before made to resigne his fellowship in King's Coll. Cambridge, because he would not take the Covenant. He had ben a souldier in Flanders, and came miserable to Paris. From his excellent learning, and some relation he had to Sir R. Browne, I bore his charges into England, and clad and provided for him till he should find some better condition ; and he was worthy of it.<sup>1</sup> There came with us also Capt. Griffith, Mr. Tyrell, brother to Sir Timothy Tyrell of Shotover (near Oxford).

At Calais I dined with my Lord Wentworth, and met with Mr. Heath, Sir Richard Lloyd, Capt. Paine, and divers of our banish'd friends, of whom understanding that the Count de la Strade Governor of Dynkirke was in the towne, who had bought my wife's picture, taken by Pyrates at sea the year before (my wife having sent it for me in England) as my Lord of Norwich had inform'd me at Paris, I made my addresse to him, who frankly told me that he had such a picture in his owne bed-chamber amongst other ladys, and how he came by it ; seeming well pleas'd that it was his fortune to preserve it for me, and he generously promis'd to send it to any friend I had at Dover ; I mentioned a French merchant there, and so tooke my leave.

6 Feb. I embark'd early in the packet-boat, but put my goods in a stouter vessell. 'Twas calm, so that we got not to Dover till 8 at night. I tooke horse for Canterbury, and lay at Rochester ; next day to Gravesend, tooke a pair of oares, and landed at Sayes Court, where I stayed three days to refresh and look after my packet and goods, sent by a stouter vessell. I went to visit my co: Richard Fanshawe, and divers other friends.

March 6. Saw the magnificent funeral of that Arch-rebell Ireton, carried in pomp from Somerset House to Westminster, accompanied with divers regiments of souldiers horse and foote ; then marched the mourners, General Cromwell (his father-in-law), his mock-parliament-men, officers, and 40 poore men in gownes, 3 led horses in housings of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Evelyn did afterwards procure him a situation.

black cloth, 2 led in black velvet, and his charging-horse all cover'd over with embroidery and gold on crimson velvet ; then the guydons, ensignes, 4 heraulds carrying the armes of the State (as they cal'd it), namely, the red crosse and Ireland, with the casq, wreath, sword, spurrs, &c. ; next, a chariot canopied of black velvet and 6 horses, in which was the corps ; the pall held up by the mourners on foote ; the mace and sword, with other marks of his charge in Ireland (where he died of the plague), carried before in black scarfs. Thus in a grave pace, drums cover'd with cloth, souldiers reversing their armes, they proceeded through the streetes in a very solemn manner. This Ireton was a stout rebell, and had ben very bloudy to the King's party, witnesse his severity at Colchester, when in cold blood he put to death those gallant gentlemen, Sir Cha. Lucas and Sir George Lisle. My co. R. Fanshawe came to visite me and informe me of many considerable affaires. Sir Henry Herbert presented me with his brother my Lord Cherburie's book 'De Veritate.'

9. I went to Deptford, where I made preparation for my settlement, no more intending to go out of England, but endeavour a settl'd life, either in this or some other place, there being now so little appearance of any change for the better, all being entirely in the Rebels hands, and this particular habitation and the estate contiguous to it (belonging to my father-in-law actually in his Majesty's service), very much suffering for want of some friend to rescue it out of the power of the usurpers ; so as to preserve our interest, and take some care of my other concernes, by the advice and endeavour of my friends I was advis'd to reside in it, and compound with the souldiers. This I was besides authoriz'd by his Majesty to do, and encourag'd with a promise that what was in lease from the Crowne, if ever it pleas'd God to restore him, he would secure to us in fee-ferme. I had also addresses and cyfers to correspond with his Majesty and Ministers abroad : upon all which inducements I was persuaded to settle henceforth in England, having now run about the world, most part out of my owne country, neere 10 yeares. I therefore now likewise meditated sending over for my wife, whom as yet I had left at Paris.

14 Mar. I went to Leusham, where I heard an honest sermon on 2 Corinth. 5, 7, being the first Sondag I had ben at church since my returne, it being now a rare thing to find a priest of the Church of England in a parish pulpit, most of which were fill'd with Independents and Phanatics.

15 Mar. I saw the Diamond and Ruby launch'd in the Dock at Deptford, carrying 48 brasse cannon each. Cromwell and his Grandees present with greate acclamations.

18. That worthy divine Mr. Owen of Eltham, a sequestered person, came to visite me.

19. Invited by Lady Gerrard I went to London, where we had a

greate supper ; all the vessells, which were innumerable, were of Porcelan, she having the most ample and richest collection of that curiositie in England.

22. I went with my brother Evelyn to Wotton to give him what directions I was able about his garden, which he was now desirous to put into some forme; but for which he was to remove a mountaine overgrowne with huge trees and thicket, with a moate within 10 yards of the house. This my brother immediately attempted, and that without greate cost, for more than an hundred yards South, by digging downe the mountaine and flinging it into a rapid streame, it not onely carried away the sand, &c. but filled up the moate, and level'd that noble area, where now the garden and fountaine is. The first occasion of my brother making this alteration was my building the little retiring place betweene the greate wood Eastward next the meadow, where sometime after my father's death I made a triangular pond, or little stew, with an artificial rock after my coming out of Flanders.

29 Mar. I heard that excellent Prelate the Primate of Ireland (Jacob: Usher) preach in Lincoln's Inn, on 4 Hebrews, v. 16, encouraging of penitent sinners.

5 April. My brother Geo. brought to Says Court Cromwell's Act of Oblivion to all that would submit to the Government.

13. News was brought me that Lady Cotton, my brother George's wife, was deliver'd of a son.

I was moved by a letter out of France to publish the letter which sometime since I sent to Deane Cosin's proselyted son ; but I did not conceive it convenient, for feare of displeasing her Majesty the Queene.

15. I wrote to the Deane touching my buying his library, which was one of the choicest collections of any private person in England.

The Count de Strade most generously and handsomely sent me the picture of my wife from Dynkirk in a large tin case, without any charge. It is of Mr. Bourdon, and is that which has the dog in it, and is to the knees, but unfortunately it has been something spoil'd by washing it ignorantly with soap-suds.

25. I went to visit Ald. Kendrick, a Fanatic Lord Mayor, who had married a relation of ours, where I met with a Captain who had been thirteen times to the East Indies.

29. Was that celebrated eclipse of the sun so much threatened by the astrologers, and which had so exceedingly alarm'd the whole Nation that hardly any one would worke, nor stir out of their houses. So ridiculously were they abus'd by knavish and ignorant star-gazers.

We went this afternoone to see the Queene's House at Greenwich, now given by the rebels to Bulstrode Whitlock, one of their unhappy counsellors, and keeper of pretended liberties.

10 May. Passing by Smithfield I saw a miserable creature burning who had murder'd her husband. I went to see some workmanship of

that admirable artist Reeves, famous for perspective and the turning of curiosities in ivorie.

29. I went to take order about a coach to be made against my wife's coming, being my first coach, the pattern whereof I had brought out of Paris.

30. I went to obtain of my Lord of Devonshire that my nephew George might be brought up with my young Lord his son, to whom I was recommending Mr. Wase. I also inspected the manner of cham-bletting silk and grograms at one Monsieur La Dorees in Morefields, and thence to Coll. Morley, one of their Councel of State, as then call'd, who had ben my scholefellow, to request a passe for my wife's safe landing, and the goods she was to bring with her out of France, which he courteously granted, and did me many other kindnesses, that was a greate matter in those daies.

30. In the afternoone at Charlton Church, where I heard a Rabini-cal sermon. Here is a faire monument in black marble of Sir Adam Newton, who built that faire house neere it for Prince Henry, and where my noble friend Sir Henry Newton succeeded him.

3 June. I receiv'd a letter from Collonel Morley to the Magistrates and Searchers at Rie, to assist my wife at her landing and to shew her all civility.

4. I set out to meet her now on her journey from Paris, after she had obtain'd leave to come out of that Citty, which had now ben besieged some time by the Prince of Condé's armie in the time of the rebellion, and after she had ben now neere twelve yeares from her owne country, that is since five yeares of age, at which time she went over. I went to Rie to meet her, where was an embargo on occasion of the late conflict with the Holland fleete, the two Nations being now in warr, and which made sailing very unsafe.

On Whitsunday I went to the Church (which is a very faire one), and heard one of their Canters, who dismiss'd the assembly rudely and without any blessing. Here I stay'd till the 10th with no small impatience, when I walk'd over to survey the ruines of Winchelsea, that ancient Cinq-port, which by the remaines and ruines of ancient streetes and public structures discovers it to have ben formerly a considerable and large Citty. There are to be seene vast caves and vaults, walls and towers, ruines of monasteries and of a sumptuous church, in which are some handsom monuments, especialy of the Templars, buried just in the manner of those in the Temple at London. This place being now all in rubbish, and a few despicable hovells and cottages onely standing, hath yet a Mayor. The sea which formerly render'd it a rich and commodious port has now forsaken it.

11. About 4 in the afternoone being at bowles on the Greene, we discover'd a vessell, which prov'd to be that in which my wife was, and which got into the harbour about 8 that evening to my no small joy. They

had ben three days at sea, and escaped the Dutch fleete, thro' which they pass'd, taken for fishers, which was great good fortune, there being 17 bailes of furniture and other rich plunder, which I blesse God came all safe to land, together with my wife, and my Lady Browne her mother, who accompanied her. My wife being discompos'd by having been so long at sea, we set not forth towards home till the 14th, when hearing the small-pox was very rife in and about London, and Lady Browne having a desire to drink Tunbridge waters, I carried them thither and staied in a very sweete place, private and refreshing, and tooke the waters myself to the 23d, when I went to prepare for their reception, leaving them for the present in their little cottage by the Wells. The weather being hot, and having sent my man on before, I rod negligently under favour of the shade, till within three miles of Bromley, at a place call'd the Procession Oake, two cut-throates started out, and striking with long staves at the horse and taking hold of the reines threw me downe, took my sword, and haled me into a deepe thickett some quarter of a mile from the highway, where they might securely rob me, as they soone did. What they got of money was not considerable, but they took two rings, the one an emerald with diamonds, the other an onyx, and a pair of bouckles set with rubies and diamonds, which were of value, and after all bound my hands behind me, and my feete, having before pull'd off my bootes; they then set me up against an oake, with most bloudy threats to cutt my throat if I offer'd to crie out or make any noise, for they should be within hearing, I not being the person they looked for. I told them if they had not basely surpriz'd me they should not have had so easy a prize, and that it would teach me never to ride neere an hedge, since had I ben in the mid-way they durst not have adventur'd on me; at which they cock'd their pistols, and told me they had long guns too, and were 14 companions. I begg'd for my onyx, and told them it being engraven with my armes would betray them, but nothing prevail'd. My horse's bridle they slipt, and search'd the saddle, which they pull'd off, but let the horse graze, and then turning againe bridl'd him and tied him to a tree, yet so as he might graze, and thus left me bound. My horse was perhaps not taken because he was mark'd and cropt on both eares, and well known on that roade. Left in this manner grievously was I tormented with flies, ants, and the sunn, nor was my anxiety little how I should get loose in that solitary place, where I could neither heare or see any creature but my poore horse and a few sheepe stragling in the copse. After neere 2 houres attempting I got my hands to turn palm to palm, having been tied back to back, and then it was long before I could slip the cord over my wrists to my thumb, which at last I did, and then soone unbound my feete, and saddling my horse and roaming awhile about I at last perceiv'd dust to rise, and soone after heard the rattling of a cart, towards which I made, and by the help of two country men I got back into the high way. I rode to

Coll. Blount's, a greate justiciarie of the times, who sent out hue and cry immediately. The next morning, sore as my wrists and armes were, I went to London and got 500 tickets printed and dispers'd by an officer of Goldsmiths Hall, and within 2 daies had tidings of all I had lost except my sword which had a silver hilt, and some trifles. The rogues had pawn'd one of my rings for a trifle to a goldsmith's servant before the tickets had came to the shop, by which meanes they scap'd; the other ring was bought by a victualler, who brought it to a goldsmith, but he having seen the ticket seiz'd the man. I afterwards discharg'd him on his protestation of innocence. Thus did God deliver me from these villains, and not onely so, but restor'd what they tooke, as twice before he had graciously don, both at sea and land; I meane when I had ben rob'd by pyrates, and was in danger of a considerable losse at Amsterdam; for which, and many, many signal preservations, I am extreamely oblig'd to give thanks to God my Saviour.

25 May. After drowth of neare 4 monethes there fell so violent a tempest of haile, raine, wind, thunder, and lightning, as no man had seene the like in this age; the haile being in some places four or five inches about, brake all glasse about London, especialy at Deptford; and more at Greenwich.

29. I return'd to Tunbridge, and againe drank the water, till 10 July.

We went to see the house of my Lord Clanrickard at Summer-hill near Tunbridge (now given to that villain Bradshaw who condemned the King.) 'Tis situated on an eminent hill, with a park, but has nothing else extraordinary.

4 July. I heard a sermon at Mr. Packer's<sup>1</sup> Chapell at Grooms-bridge,<sup>2</sup> a pretty melancholy seate, well wooded and water'd. In this house was one of the French Kings<sup>3</sup> kept prisoner. The Chapell was built by Mr. Packer's father, in remembrance of K. Charles the First his safe returne out of Spaine.<sup>4</sup>

9. We went to see Penshurst, the Earl of Leicester's, famous once for its gardens and excellent fruit, and for the noble conversation which was wont to meete there, celebrated by that illustrious person Sir Philip Sidney, who had there compos'd divers of his pieces. It stands in a park, is finely water'd, and was now full of company on the marriage of my old fellow collegiate Mr. Robert Smith, who married my Lady Dorothy Sidney<sup>5</sup> widdow of the Earle of Sunderland.

One of the men who robb'd me was taken; I was accordingly summon'd to appeare against him, and on the 12th was in Westminster

<sup>1</sup> Clerk of the Privy Seal to King Charles I.

<sup>2</sup> In the parish of Speldhurst in Kent, four miles from Tunbridge.

<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Orleans taken at the battle of Agincourt 4 Hen. V. by Richard Waller, then owner of this place. Hasted's Kent, vol. I. p. 431.

<sup>4</sup> With this inscription over the door, 'D. O. M. 1625. ob felicissimi Caroli Principis ex Hispania reducis Sacellum hoc D. D. I. P.' over it the device of the Prince of Wales.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Waller's Sacharissa, daughter of Philip Earl of Leicester.

Hall, but not being bound over nor willing to hang the fellow I did not appeare, coming onely to save a friend's baile, but the bill being found he was turn'd over to the Old Bailey. In the meane time I received a petition from the prisoner, whose father I understood was an honest old farmer in Kent. He was charg'd with other crimes, and condemn'd, but repriev'd. I heard afterwards that had it not been for his companion, a younger man, he would probably have kill'd me. He was afterwards charg'd with some other crime, but refusing to plead, was press'd to death.

23. Came my old friend Mr. Spencer to visite me.

30 July. I took advice about purchasing Sir Richard's [Browne] interest of those who had bought Sayes Court.

1 Aug. Came old Jerome Lennier of Greenwich, a man skill'd in painting and musiq, and another rare musitian call'd Mell. I went to see his collection of pictures, especialy those of Julio Romano which surely had ben the King's, and an Egyptian figure, &c. There were also excellent things of Polydore, Guido, Raphael, Tintoret, &c. Lennier had been a domestic of Qu. Elizabeth, and shew'd me her head, an intaglia in a rare sardonyx, cut by a famous Italian, which he assur'd me was exceeding like her.

24. My first child, a sonn, was born precisely at one o'clock.

Sept 2. Mr. Owen, the sequestered Divine of Eltham, christened my sonn by the name of Richard.

25. I went to see Dr. Mason's house, so famous for the prospect (for the house is a wretched one) and the description of it in Barclay's *Icon Animarum*.<sup>1</sup>

22. I went to Woodcot, where Lady Browne was taken with a scarlet fever and died. She was carried to Deptford, and interr'd in the Church neere Sir Richard's relations with all decent ceremonies, and according to the Church Office, for which I obtained permission, after it had not ben us'd in that Church of 7 yeares. Thus ended an excellent and virtuous lady, universally lamented, having ben so obliging on all occasions to those who continually frequented her house in Paris, which was not only an hospital, but an asylum to all our persecuted and afflicted countrymen during eleven yeares residence there in that honourable situation.

5 Nov. I went to London to visite some friends, but the insolencies there were so greate in the streetes that I could not returne till the next day.

<sup>1</sup> The book here referred to is in the British Museum. intituled, "Joannis Barclaii *Icon Animarum*," printed at London 1614, small 12mo. It is written in Latin, and is dedicated to Lewis XIII. of France, for what reason does not appear, the Author speaking of himself as a subject of this Country. It mentions the necessity of forming the minds of youth, as a skilful gardener forms his trees; the different dispositions of men in different nations; English, Scotch, and Irish, &c. Cap. 2, contains a florid description of the beautiful scenery about Greenwich, but does not mention Dr. Mason or his house.

Dr. Scarborough was instant with me to give the *Tables of Veins and Arteries* to the Colledge of Physitians, pretending he would not onely reade upon them, but celebrate my curiositie as being the first who caus'd them to be compleated in that manner, and with that cost ; but I was not so willing yet to part with them, as to lend them to the Colledge during their anatomical lectures, which I did accordingly.

22. I went to London, where was propos'd to me the promoting that greate work, (since accomplish'd by Dr. Walton, Bishop of Chester) Biblia Polyglotta, by Mr. Pierson that most learned divine.

25. Christmas day, no sermon any where, no Church being permitted to be open, so observ'd it at home. The next day we went to Lewesham, where an honest divine preach'd.

31 Dec. I adjusted all accompts, and render'd thanks to Almighty God for his mercys to me the yeare past.

1 Jan. 1653. I set apart in preparation for the B. Sacrament which the next day Mr. Owen administered to me and all my family in Sayes Court, preaching on 6 John 32. 33. shewing the exceeding benefits of our blessed Saviour taking our nature upon him. He had christened my son and churched my wife in our own house, as before noticed.

17 Jan. I began to set out the ovall garden at Sayes Court, which was before a rude orchard and all the rest one intire field of 100 acres, without any hedge, except the hither holly hedge joyning to the bank of the mount walk. This was the beginning of all the succeeding gardens, walks, groves, enclosures, and plantations there.

21. I went to London and there seal'd some of the writings of my purchase of Sayes Court.

30 Jan. At our own parish Church a stranger preach'd. There was now and then an honest orthodox man got into the pulpit, and tho' the present incumbent was somewhat of the Independent, yet he ordinarily preach'd sound doctrine, and was a peaceable man, which was an extraordinary felicity in this age.

1 Feb. Old Alex. Rosse (author of 'Virgilius Evangelizans,' and many other little bookes) presented me with his book against Mr. Hobbs's 'Leviathan.'

19. I planted the Orchard at Sayes Court, new moone, wind W.

22. Was perfected the sealing, livery and seizin of my purchase of Sayes Court. My brother Geo. Glanvill, Mr. Scudamor, Mr. Offley, Co. William Glanvill (son to Serjeant Glanvill, sometime Speaker of the House of Commons), Co. Stephens, and severall of my friends dining with me. I had bargain'd for £3200, but I paid £3500.

25 Mar. Came to see me that rare graver in taille douce Monsieur Richett ; sent by Card. Mazarine to make a collection of pictures.

11 April. I went to take the aire in Hide Park, where every coach was made to pay a shilling, and horse 6d. by the sordid fellow who had purchas'd it of the State as they were cal'd.

17 May. My servant Hoare, who wrote those exquisite several hands, fell of a fit of an apoplexie, caus'd, as I suppose, by tampering with ☿ (mercury) about an experiment in gold.

29. I went to London to take my last leave of my honest friend Mr. Barton now dying : it was a greate losse to me and to my affaires. On the sixth of June I attended his funeral.

8 June. Came my brother George, Capt. Evelyn the greate traveller, Mr. Muschamp, my Co. Tho. Keightly, and a virtuoso fantastical Symons<sup>1</sup> who had the talent of embossing so to the life.

9 June. I went to visite my worthy neighbour Sir Hen. Newton [at Charlton], and consider the prospect, which is doubtless for city, river, ships, meadows, hill, woods, and all other amenities, one of the most noble in the world ; so as had the house running water, it were a princely seate. Mr. Henshaw and his brother-in-law came to visite me, and he presented me with a seleniscope.

19. This day I paid all my debts to a farthing, ô blessed day !

21. My Lady Gerrard and one Esquire Knight, a very rich Gent. living in Northamptonshire, visited me.

23. Mr. Lombart, a famous graver, came to see my Collections.

27. Monsieur Roupel sent me a small phial of his *aurum potable*, with a letter shewing the way of administering it, and the stupendous cures it had don at Paris ; but ere it came to me, by what accident I know not, it was all run out.

17 Aug. I went to visite Mr. Hyldiard at his house at Horsley (formerly the great Sir Walter Raleigh's), where met me Mr. Oughtred the famous mathematician ; he shew'd me a box or golden case of divers rich and aromatic balsams, which a chymist a scholar of his had sent him out of Germany.

21. I heard that good old man Mr. Higham the parson of the parish of Wotton where I was born, & who had baptized me, preach after his very plaine way on Luke, comparing this troublesome world to the sea, the ministers to the fishermen, and the saints to the fish.

22. We all went to Guildford to rejoyce at the famous Inn, the Red Lion, and to see the Hospital, and the monument of Arch-Bish. Abbot the founder, who lies buried in the chapell of his endowment.

28 Sept. At Greenwich preach'd that holy martyr Dr. Hewer on Psalm 90 v. 11. magnifying the grace of God to penitents, and threatning the extinction of his Gospel light for the prodigious impiety of the age we live in.

11 Oct. My sonn John Stansfield was borne, being my second child, and christned by the name of my mother's father, that name now quite extinct, being of Cheshire. Christen'd by Mr. Owen in my Library at Sayes Court, where he afterwards churched my wife, I always making

<sup>1</sup> Abraham Simons, a strange character, but most excellent modeller after life, and engraver of medals.

use of him on these occasions, because the Parish Minister durst not have officiated according to the forme and usage of the Church of England, to which I always adhered.

25. Mr. Owen preach'd in my Library at Sayes Court on 18 Luke, 7. 8. an excellent discourse on the unjust judge, shewing why Almighty God would sometimes be compared by such similitudes. He afterwards administered to us all the Holy Sacrament.

28. Went to London to visit my Lady Gerrard, where I saw that cursed woman call'd the Lady Norton, of whom it was reported that she spit in our King's face as he went to the scaffold. Indeede her talke and discourse was like an impudent woman.

21 Nov. I went to London to speak with Sir John Evelyn my kinsman about the purchase of an estate of Mr. Lambard's at Westram, which afterwards Sir J. himself bought for his son-in-law Leech.

4 Dec. Going this day to our Church I was surpriz'd to see a tradesman, a mechanic, step up; I was resolv'd yet to stay and see what he would make of it. His text was from 2 Sam. ch. 23. v. 20. 'And Benaiah went downe also and slew a lion in the midst of a pit in the time of snow;' the purport was, that no danger was to be thought difficult when God call'd for shedding of blood, inferring that now the Saints were call'd to destroy temporal governments; with such feculent stuff; so dangerous a crisis were things growne to.

25. Christmas Day. No Churches or publiq assembly. I was faine to passe the devotions of that blessed day with my family at home.

1654. 20 Jan. Came to see me my old acquaintance and the most incomparable player on the Irish harp, Mr. Clarke, after his travells. He was an excellent musitian, a discreete gentleman, borne in Devonshire (as I remember). Such musiq before or since did I never heare, that instrument being neglected for its extraordinary difficulty; but in my judgment it is far superior to the Lute itselfe, or whatever speaks with strings.

25. Died my son J. Stansfield, of convulsion fits; buried at Deptford on the East corner of the Church, and near his mother's great-grandfather, &c.

8 Feb. Ash Wednesday. In contradiction to all costome and decency, the Usurper Cromwell feasted at the Lord Maior's, riding in triumph thro' the Citty.

14. I saw a tame lion play familiarly with a lamb; he was a huge beast, and I thrust my hand into his mouth and found his tongue rough like a cat's; a sheepe also with 6 leggs, which made use of 5 of them to walke; a goose that had 4 leggs, 2 crops, and as many vents.

29 March. That excellent man Mr. Owen preached in my Library on Matt. 28. v. 6. a Resurrection Sermon, and after it we all received the Holy Communion.

6 April. Came my Lord Herbert, Sir Kenelme Digbie, Mr. Denham, and other friends, to see me.

15. I went to London to heare the famous Doctor Jeremy Taylor (since Bishop of Downe and Connor) at St. Gregg: on 6 Matt. 48. concerning evangelical perfection.

5 May. I bound my laquay Tho. Headly apprentice to a carpenter, giving with him five pounds and new cloathing ; he thrived very well, and became rich.

8. I went to Hackney to see my Lady Brook's garden, which was one of the neatest and most celebrated in England, the house well furnish'd, but a despicable building. Returning, visited one Mr. Tombs's garden ; it has large and noble walks, some modern statues, a vineyard, planted in strawberry borders, staked at 10 foote distances ; the banquetting-house of cedar, where the couch and seates were carv'd *a l'antique* ; some good pictures in the house, especialy one of Vandyke's, being a *Man in his shirt* ; also some of Stenwyck. I also call'd at Mr. Ducie's who has indeede a rare collection of the best masters, and one of the largest stories of H. Holbein. I also saw Sir Tho. Fowler's aviarie, which is a poore businesse.

10. My Lady Gerrard treated us at Mulberry Garden,<sup>1</sup> now the onely place of refreshment about the towne for persons of the best quality to be exceedingly cheated at ; Cromwell and his partisans having shut up and seiz'd on Spring Garden, which till now had ben the usual rendezvous for the ladys and gallants at this season.

11. I now observed how the women began to paint themselves, formerly a most ignominious thing and us'd only by prostitutes.

14. There being no such thing as Church Anniversaries, in the Parochial Assemblies, I was forced to provide at home for Whitsonday.

15. Came Sir Robt. Stapleton, the translator of Juvenal, to visite me.

8 June. My wife and I set out in a coach and 4 horses, in our way to visite relations of hers in Wiltshire and other parts, where we resolved to spend some moneths. We din'd at Windsor, and saw the Castle and the Chapell of St. George, where they have laied our blessed Martyr King Charles in the *vault just before the altar*. The Church and workmanship in stone is admirable. The Castle itselfe large in circumference, but the roomes melancholy and of antient magnificence. The keepe, or mount, hath besides its incomparable prospect a very profound well ; and the terrace towards Eaton, with the park, meandering Thames, and sweete meadows, yield one of the most delightful prospects. That night we lay at Reading. Saw my Lord Craven's house at Causam [Caversham] now in ruines, his goodly woods felling by the Rebels.

<sup>1</sup> Buckingham House (now the Queen's Palace) was built on the site of these gardens : see Dr. King, III. 73, ed. 1776 ; Malcolm's Londinium Redivium, IV. 263 ; but the latter afterwards, p. 327, says that the piece of ground called the Mulberry Garden was granted by Charles II. in 1672 to Henry Earl of Arlington ; in that case it would be what is now called Arlington Street, unless it extended up to the Queen's Palace.

9. Din'd at Marlborough, which having ben lately fir'd was now new built. At one end of this towne we saw my Lord Seymour's house,<sup>1</sup> but nothing observable save the Mount, to which we ascended by windings for neere halfe a mile. It seems to have ben cast up by hand. We pass'd by Coll. Popham's, a noble seate, park and river. Thence to Newberry, a considerable towne, and Donnington Castle famous for its battle, siege, and castle : that this last had been the possession of old Geofrie Chaucer. Then to Aldermaston, a house of Sir Humphry Forster's, built *à la moderne*. Also that exceedingly beautifull scate of my Lord Pembroke, on the ascent of an hill, flank'd with wood, and regarding the river ; and so at night to Cadenham, the mansion of Edward Hungerford, Esq. uncle to my wife, where we made some stay. The rest of the weeke we did nothing but feast and make good cheere to welcome my wife.

27. We all went to see Bathe, where I bathed in the Crosse Bathe. Amongst the rest of the idle diversions of the towne, one musitian was famous for acting a changeling, which indeede he personated strangely.

The faciate of this Cathedrall is remarkable for its historical carving. The King's Bath is esteem'd the fairest in Europe. The towne is intirely built of stone, but the streetes narrow, uneven, and unpleasant. Here we trifled and bathed, and intervisited with the company who frequent the place for health, &c. till the 30th, and then went to Bristoll, a Citty emulating London, not for its large extent but manner of building, shops, bridge, traffiq, exchange, market-place, &c. The Governor shew'd us the Castle, of no greate concernment. The Citty wholly mercantile, as standing neere the famous Severne, commodiously for Ireland and the Western world. Here I first saw the manner of refining suggar and casting it into loaves, where we had a collation of eggs fried in the suggar furnace<sup>2</sup> together with excellent Spanish wine : but what was most stupendious to me was the rock of St. Vincent, a little distance from the towne, the precipice whereoff is equal to any thing of that nature I have seene in the most confragose cataracts of the Alpes, the river gliding betweene them at an extraordinary depth. Here we went searching for diamonds, and to the Hot Wells at its foote. There is also on the side of this horrid Alp a very romantic seate : and so we return'd to Bathe in the evening, and on first July to Cadenham.

4 July. On a letter from my wife's uncle, Mr. Pretymen, I waited back on her to London, passing by Hungerford, a towne famous for its troutes, and the next day ariv'd at Deptford, which was sixty miles, in the extremity of heate.

<sup>1</sup> Now the famous inn there.

<sup>2</sup> A kind of entertainment like that we now have of eating beef-steaks drest on the stoker's shovel and drinking porter at the famous brewhouses in London.

6. I went early to London, and the next day met my wife and company at Oxford, the eve of the Act.

8. Was spent in hearing several exercises in the scholes, and after dinner the Proctor opened the Act at St. Marie's (according to custome) and the Prevaricators their drolery. Then the Doctors disputed. We supp'd at Wadham College.

9. Dr. French preach'd at St. Marie's on 12 Matt. 42. advising the Students to search after true wisdom, not to be had in the bookes of Philosophers, but in the Scriptures alone. In the afternoone the famous Independent, Dr. Owen, perstringing Episcopacy. He was now Cromwell's Vice-Chancellor. We din'd with Dr. Ward, Mathematical Professor (since Bp. of Sarum), and at night supp'd in Balliol Coll. Hall, where I had once ben Student and Fellow Commoner, and where they made me extraordinarily welcome.

10. On Monday I went againe to the Scholes to heare the severall Faculties, and in the afternoone tarried out the whole Act in St. Marie's, the long speeches of the Proctors, the Vice-Chancellor, the severall Professors, creation of Doctors by the cap, ring, kisse, &c. those antient ceremonies and institution being as yet not wholly abolish'd. Dr. Kendal, now Inceptor amongst others, performing his Act incomparably well, concluded it with an excellent oration, abating his Presbyterian animosities, which he withheld not even against that learned and pious divine Dr. Hammond. The Act was closed with the speech of the Vice-Chancellor, there being but 4 in Theologie, 3 in Medicine, which was thought a considerable matter, the times consider'd. I din'd at one Monsieur Fiat's, a Student at Exeter College, and supp'd at a magnificent entertainment in Wadham Hall, invited by my deare and excellent friend Dr. Wilkins, then Warden (afterwards the Bishop of Chester.)

11. Was the Latin sermon, which I could not be at, tho' invited, being taken up at All Souls, where we had music, voices, and theorbos, perform'd by some ingenious scholars. After dinner I visited that miracle of a youth Mr. Christopher Wren, nephew of the Bishop of Ely. Then Mr. Barlow (since Bishop of Lincoln) Bibliothecarius of the Bodleian Library, my most learned friend. He shew'd us the rarities of that most famous place, manuscripts, medails, and other curiosities. Amongst the MSS. an old English Bible, wherein the Eunuch mentioned to be baptized by Philip is called the Gelding: 'and Philip and the Gelding went down into the water,' &c. The original Acts of the Council of Basil 900 yeares since, with the bulla or leaden affix, which has a silken cord passing thro' every parchment; a MS. of Venerable Bede of 800 yeares antiquity; the old Ritual *secundum usum Sarum*, exceeding voluminous; then amongst the nicer curiosities, the Proverbs of Solomon written in French by a lady,<sup>1</sup> every chapter of a

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Esther English, married to Bartholomew Kello, Rector of Willinghall Spain in Essex. See an account of her curious penmanship in Massey's Origin and Progress of Letters.

severall character or hand the most exquisite imaginable ; an hieroglyphical table or carta folded up like a map, I suppose it painted on asses hide, extremely rare ; but what is most illustrious, there were no less than 1000 MSS. in 19 languages, especially Oriental, furnishing that new part of the Library built by Abp. Lawd from a designe of Sir Kenelme Digby and the Earle of Pembroke. In the closet of the Tower they shew some Indian weapons, urnes, lamps, &c. but the rarest is the whole Alcoran written on one large sheet of calico, which is made up in a priest's vesture or cope, after the Turkish and Arabic character, so exquisitely written as no printed letter comes neere it ; also a roll of magical charms, divers talismans, and some medails.

Then I led my wife into the Convocation House, finely wainscoted ; the Divinity Schole and Gothic carv'd rooffe ; the Physick or Anatomie Schole, adorn'd with some rarities of natural things, but nothing extraordinary save the skin of a jaccall, a rarely colour'd jacatoo or prodigious large parrot, 2 humming birds not much bigger than our humble bee, which I had not seene before, that I remember.

12. We went to St. John's, saw the Library and the 2 skeletons which are finely cleans'd and put together ; observable is here also the store of mathematical instruments, cheifely given by the late Abp. Lawd, who built here an handsome quadrangle.

Thence we went to New College, where the Chapel was in its ancient garb, notwithstanding the scrupulositie of the times. Thence to Christ's Church, in whose library was shew'd us an Office of Hen. 8, the writing miniatures, and gilding whereof is equal if not surpassing any curiosity I had seene of that kind ; it was given by their founder, Cardinal Wolsey. The glasse windows of the Cathedrall (famous in my time), I found much abus'd. The ample Hall and columnne that spreads its capital to sustaine the rooffe as one goes up the stayres is a very remarkable structure.

Next we walked to Magdalen College, where we saw the Library and Chapell, which was likewise in pontifical order, the altar onely I think turn'd table-wise, and there was still the double organ, which abominations (as now esteem'd) were almost universaly demolish'd ; Mr. Gibbon, that famous musitian, giving us a taste of his skill and talents on that instrument.

Hence we went to the Physick Garden, where the sensitive plant was shew'd us for a greate wonder. There grew canes, olive-trees, rhubarb, but no extraordinary curiosities, besides very good fruit, which when the ladys had tasted, we returned in our coach to our lodgings.

13. We all din'd at that most obliging and universally-curious Dr. Wilkins's, at Wadham College. He was the first who shew'd me the transparent apiaries, which he had built like castles and palaces, and so order'd them one upon another as to take the hony without destroy-

ing the bees. These were adorn'd with a variety of dials, little statues, vanes, &c. and he was so abundantly civil, as finding me pleas'd with them, to present me with one of the hives which he had empty, and which I afterwards had in my garden at Sayes Court, where it continu'd many years, and which his Majestie came on purpose to see and contemplate with much satisfaction. He had also contriv'd an hollow statue which gave a voice and utter'd words, by a long conceal'd pipe that went to its mouth<sup>1</sup>, whilst one speaks through it at a good distance. He had above in his lodgings and gallery variety of shadows, dyals, perspectives, and many other artificial, mathematical, and magical curiosities, a way-wiser, a thermometer, a monstrous magnet, conic and other sections, a ballance on a demi-circle, most of them of his owne and that prodigious young scholar Mr. Chr. Wren, who presented me with a piece of white marble, which he had stain'd with a lively red very deepe, as beautiful as if it had ben natural.

Thus satisfied with the civilities of Oxford, we left it, dining at Faringdon, a towne which had ben newly fir'd during the warrs ; and passing neere the seate of Sir Wal. Pie, we came to Cadenham.

16. We went to another uncle and relative of my wife's, Sir John Glanvill, a famous lawyer, formerly Speaker of the House of Commons ; his seate is at Broad-Hinton, where he now liv'd, but in the Gatehouse, his very faire dwelling house having ben burnt by his owne hands to prevent the rebels making a garrison of it. Here my cousin Will. Glanvill, his eldest sonn, shew'd me such a lock for a doore, that for its filing and rare contrivances was a master-piece, yet made by a country black-smith. But we have seene watches made by another with as much curiositie as the best of that profession can brag of ; and not many yeares after, there was nothing more frequent than all sorts of Iron-work more exquisitely wrought and polish'd than in any part of Europ, so as a dore-lock of a tolerable price was esteem'd a curiositie even among forraine princes.

Went back to Cadenham, and on the 19th to Sir Ed. Baynton's at Spie Park, a place capable of being made a noble seate ; but the humorous old Knight has built a long single house of 2 low stories on the precipice of an incomparable prospect, and landing on a bowling greene in the park. The house is like a long barne, and has not a window on the prospect side. After dinner they went to bowles, and in the meantime our coach-men were made so exceedingly drunk, that in returning home we escap'd greate dangers. This it seems was by order of the Knight, that all gentlemen's servants be so treated ; but the custome is a barbarous one, and much unbecoming a Knight, still lesse a Christian.

20. We proceeded to Salisbury ; the Cathedral I take to be the com-

<sup>1</sup> This reminds us of the speaking figures so long exhibited in Spring Gardens, and in Leicester Fields, some years ago.

pleatest piece of Gothic worke in Europe, taken in all its uniformitie. The pillars, reputed to be cast, are of stone manifestly cut out of the quarry ; most observable are those in the Chapter-house. There are some remarkable monuments, particularly the antient Bishops founders of the Church, Knights Templars, the Marques of Hartford's, the cloysters of the palace and garden, and the greate mural dial.

In the afternoone we went to Wilton, a fine house of the Earl of Pembroke, in which the most observable are the dining-roome in the modern built part towards the garden, richly gilded and painted with story by De Creete ; also some other apartments, as that of hunting landskips by Pierce ; some magnificent chimney-pieces after the best French manner ; a paire of artificial winding-stayres of stone, and divers rare pictures. The garden, heretofore esteem'd the noblest in England, is a large handsom plaine, with a grotto and water-works, which might be made much more pleasant were the river that passes through cleans'd and rais'd, for all is effected by a meere force. It has a flower garden not inelegant. But after all, that which renders the seate delightful is its being so neere the downes and noble plaines about the country contiguous to it. The stables are well order'd and yeild a gracefull front, by reason of the walkes of lime-trees, with the court and fountaine of the stables adorn'd with the Cæsar's heads.

We returned this evening by the plaine, and 14 mile race, where out of my lord's hare-warren we were entertained with a long course of an hare for neere 2 miles in sight. Neere this is a pergola or stand, built to view the sports : and so we came to Salisbury, and viewed the most considerable parts of the Citty. The market place with most of the streetes are water'd by a quick current and pure streame running thro' the middle of them, but are negligently kept, when with small charge they might be purg'd and render'd infinitely agreeable, and made one of the sweetest townes, but now the common buildings are despicable and the streetes are dirty.

22 July. We departed and din'd at a ferme of my uncle Hungerford's, call'd Darneford Magna, situate in a vally under the plaine, most sweetly water'd, abounding in trouts catch'd by speare in the night when they come attracted by a light set in the sterne of a boate.

After dinner, continuing our returne, we passed over the goodly plaine, or rather sea of carpet, which I think for evenness, extent, verdure, and innumerable flocks, to be one of the most delightful prospects in nature, and reminded me of the pleasant lives of shepherds we reade of in Romances.

Now we were arived at Stone-henge, indeede a stupendious monument, appearing at a distance like a castle ; how so many and huge pillars of stone should have ben brought together, some erect, others transverse on the tops of them, in a circular area as rudely representing a cloyster or heathen and more natural temple, is wonderfull. The

stone is so exceeding hard, that all my strength with a hammer could not breake a fragment, which hardnesse I impute to their so long exposure. To number them exactly is very difficult, they lie in such variety of postures and confusion, tho' they seem'd not to exceed 100 ; we counted onely 95. As to their being brought thither, there being no navigable river neere, is by some admir'd ; but for the stone there seemes to be the same kind about 20 miles distant, some of which appeare above ground. About the same hills are divers mounts rais'd, conceiv'd to be ancient intrenchments, or places of burial after bloody fights. We now went by the Devizes, a reasonable large towne, and came late to Cadenham.

27. I went to the hunting of a sorel deere, and had excellent chase for 4 or 5 houres, but the venison little worth.

29 July. I went to Langford to see my cousin Stephens. I also saw Dryfield, the house heretofore of Sir John Pretymann, grendfather to my wife, and sold by her uncle ; both the seate and house very honourable and well built, much after the modern fashion.

31. Taking leave of Cadenham, where we had ben long and nobly entertain'd, we went a compass into Leicestershire, where dwelt another relation of my wife's ; for I indeede made these excursions to shew her the most considerable parts of her native country, who from her childhood had liv'd altogether in France, as well as for my owne curiosity and information.

About two miles before coming to Gloucester, we have a prospect from woody hills into a most goodly vale and country. Gloucester is a handsome Citty, considerable for the Church & monuments. The Minster is indeede a noble fabric. The whispering gallery is rare, being thro' a passage of 25 yards, in a many-angled cloister, and was, I suppose, either to shew the skill of the architect, or some invention of a cunning priest, who standing unseene in a recesse in the middle of the Chappell, might heare whatever was spoken at either end. This is above the quire, in which lies buried K. Stephen under a monument of Irish oake, not ill carved considering the age. The new Librarie is a noble tho' a private designe. I was likewise pleased with the Severne gliding so sweetely by it. The Duke's house, the Castle workes, are now almost quite dismantl'd ; nor yet without sad thoughts did I see the Towne, considering how fatal the siege had ben a few yeares before to our good King.

1 August. We sat out towards Worcester by a way thick planted with cider-fruit. We deviated to the Holy Wells, trickling out of a vally thro' a steepe declivity towards the foote of the greate Mauvern Hills ; they are said to heale many infirmities, as king's evil, leprosie, sore eyes, &c. Ascending a great height above them to the Trench dividing England from South Wales, we had the prospect of all Herefordshire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, Worcester, Gloucester,

Shropshire, Warwick, Derby shires, and many more. We could discern Tewxbery, King's-rode towards Bristol, &c. so as I esteeme it one of the goodliest vista's in England.

2. This evening we ariv'd at Worcester, the Judges of Assize and Sheriff just entering as we did. Viewing the Towne the next day, we found the Cathedral much ruin'd by the late warrs, otherwise a noble structure. The Towne is neatly pav'd and very cleane, the goodly river Severne running by it, and standing in a most fertile country.

3. We pass'd next thro' Warwick, and saw the Castle, the dwelling-house of the Lord Brook, and the furniture noble. It is built on an eminent rock which gives prospect into a most goodly greene, a woody and plentifully watred country; the river running so delightfully under it, that it may passe for one of the most surprising seates one should meete with. The gardens are pretily disposed, but might be much improv'd. Here they shew us Sir Guy's greate two-handed sword, staff, horse-arnes, pott, and other reliques of that famous knight-errant. Warwick is a faire old Towne, and hath one Church full of antient monuments. Having viewed these, I went to visite my worthy friend Sir H. Puckering at the Abby, and tho' a melancholy old seate, yet in a rich soile. Hence to Sir Guy's Grott, where they say he did his penances and dyed. 'Tis a squalid den made in the rock, crown'd yet with venerable oakes and looking on a goodly streame, so as, were it improv'd as it might be, 'twere capable of being made a most romantiq and pleasant place. Neere this we were shew'd his chapell and gigantic statue hewn out of the solid rock, out of which there are likewise divers other caves cut, & some very capacious. The next place to Coventry. The Crosse is remarkable for Gothic worke and rich gilding, comparable to any I had ever seene except that of Cheapeside in London, now demolish'd. This Citty has many handsome churches, a beautifull wall, a faire free-schole and librarie to it; the streetes full of greate shops, cleane and well pav'd. At going forth the Gate they shew us the bone or rib of a wild boare said to have beene kill'd by Sir Guy, but which I take to be the chine of a whale.

4. Hence riding thro' a considerable part of Leicestershire, an open, rich, but unpleasant country, we came late in the evening to Horninghold, a seate of my wife's unkle [not nam'd].

7. Went to Uppingham, the Shire-towne of Rutland, pretty and well builte of stone, which is a rarity in that part of England, where most of the rural parishes are but of mud, and the people living as wretchedly as in the most impoverish'd parts of France, which they much resemble, being idle and sluttish. The country (especialy Leicestershire) much in common; the gentry free drinkers.

9. To the old and ragged Citty of Leicester, large and pleasantly seated, but despicably built, the chimney flues like so many smiths forges; however, famous for the tombe of the Tyrant Richard the

Third, which is now converted to a cistern, at which (I think) cattle drink. Also here in one of the Churches lies buried the magnificent Cardinal Wolsey. John of Gaunt has here also built a large but poor Hospital, neere which a wretch has made him an house out of the ruins of a stately church. Saw the ruins of an old Roman Temple, thought to be of Janus. Entertain'd at a very fine collation of fruits, such as I did not expect to meet with so far North, especially very good melons. We return'd to my unkle's.

14. I tooke a journey into the Northern parts, riding thro' Oakham, a pretty towne in Rutlandshire, famous for the tenure of the Barons (Ferrars), who hold it by taking off a shoe from every nobleman's horse that passes with his Lord thro' the streete, unlesse redeem'd with a certain piece of money. In token of this are severall gilded shoes nail'd up on the Castle-gate, which seemes to have ben large and faire. Hence we went by Brook, a very sweete seate and parke of the old Lady Camdens. Next by Burleigh House, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham,<sup>1</sup> and worthily reckon'd among the noblest seates in England, situate on the brow of an hill, built *a la moderne* neere a park wall'd in, and a fine wood at the descent.

Now we were come to Cottsmore, a pretty seate belonging to Mr. Heath, sonn to the late Lord Cheif Justice of that name. Here, after dinner, parting with the company that conducted us that far, I pass'd that evening by Belvoir Castle, built on a round mount at the point of a long ridge of hills, which affords a stately prospect, and is famous for its strenuous resistance in the late civil warr.

Went by Newark on Trent, a brave towne and garison. Next by Wharton House, belonging to the Lord Chaworth, an handsom seate; then by Home, a noble place belonging to the Marques of Dorchester, and pass'd the famous river Trent, which divides the South from the North of England, and so lay that night at Nottingham. This whole Towne and County seemes to be but one entire rock as it were, an exceeding pleasant shire, full of gentry. Here I observ'd divers to live in the rocks and caves, much after the manner as about Tours in France. The Church is well built on an eminence; there is a faire house of the Lord Clare's, another of Pierreponts; an ample market-place; large streetes full of crosses; the reliques of an ancient castle hollow'd, beneath which are many caverns, especially that of the Scots King, and his work whilst there. This place is remarkable for being the place where his Majesty first erected his standard at the beginning of our late unhappy differences. The prospects from this citty towards the river and meadows are most delightfull.

15. We pass'd next thro' Sherewood Forest, accounted the most

<sup>1</sup> Called Burleigh on the Hill, for distinction from the Earl of Exeter's near Stamford. The Duke of Buckingham sold it to the family of Finch, now Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, to whom it belongs.

extensive in England. Then Paplewick, an incomparable vista with the pretty castle neere it. Thence we saw Newstead Abby belonging to the Lord Biron, situated much like Fontaine-bleau in France, capable of being made a noble seate. accommodated as it is with brave woods and streames ; it has yet remaining the front of a glorious Abby Church. Next by Mansfield Towne ; then Wellbeck, the house of the Marques of Newcastle, seated in a botome in a park, and environ'd with woods, a noble yet melancholy seate. The palace is a handsom and stately building. Next to Worksop Abby, almost demolish'd ; the Church has a double flat towre intire, and a pretty gate. The Mannor belongs to the Earle of Arundel, and has to it a faire house at the foote of an hill in a park that afords a delicate prospect. Tickel, a Towne and Castlé, has a very noble aspect. All these in Nottinghamshire.

16. We ariv'd at Doncaster, where we lay this night ; it is a large faire towne, famous for greate wax-lights and good stockings.

17. Pass'd thro' Pontefract ; the Castle, famous for many sieges both of late and ancient times, and the death of that unhappy King murdered in it (Richard II.) was now demolishing by the Rebels ; it stands on a mount and makes a goodly shew at a distance. The Queene has an house here, and there are many faire seats neere it, especialy Mr. Pierrepont's, built at the foote of an hill out of the Castle ruines. We all alighted in the highway to drink at a cristal spring which they call Robin Hood's Well ; neere it is a stone chaire, and an iron ladle to drink out of, chain'd to the seate. We rode to Tadcaster, at the side of which we have prospect of the Archbishop's Palace (which is a noble seate), and in sight of divers other gentlemen's faire houses. This tract is a goodly, fertile, well-water'd and wooded country, abounding with pasture and plenty of provisions.

17 August. To York, the second Citty of England, fairely wall'd, of a circular forme, water'd by the brave river Ouse, bearing vessels of considerable burthen on it ; over it is a stone bridge emulating that of London, and built on, the middle arch is larger than any I have seene in England, with a wharfe of hewn stone, which makes the river appeare very neate. But most remarkable and worthy seeing is St. Peter's Cathedrall, which of all the greate churches in England had ben best preserv'd from the furie of the sacrilegious,<sup>1</sup> by composition with the Rebels when they tooke the Citty, during the many incursions of Scotch and others. It is a most intire magnificent piece of Gothic architecture. The skreene before the quire is of stone carv'd with flowers, running work and statues of the old Kings. Many of the monuments are very ancient. Here, as a greate rarity in these dayes and at this time, they shew'd me a Bible and Common Prayer Book cover'd with crimson velvet. and richly emboss'd with silver gilt ; also a service for the altar of guilt wrought plate, flagons, basin, euer, chali-

<sup>1</sup> By Sir Thomas Fairfax.

ces, patins, &c. with a gorgeous covering for the altar and pulpit, carefully preserv'd in the Vestrie, in the hollow wall whereof rises a plentiful spring of excellent water. I got up to the Towre, whence we had a prospect towards Duresme, and could see Rippon, part of Lancashire, the famous and fatal Marston Moore, the Spaws of Knaresbrough, and all the environs of that admirable country, Sir ——— Ingoldsby has here a large house, gardens, and tennis court ; also the King's house and Church neere the Castle, which was modernly fortified with a palizade and bastions. The streetes are narrow and ill pav'd, the shops like London.

18 Aug. We went to Beverly, a large towne with 2 stately churches, St. John's and St. Marie's, not much inferior to the best of our Cathedrals. Here a very old woman shew'd us the monuments, and being above 100 yeares old, spake the language of Queen Marie's daies, in whose time she was born ; she was widow of a Sexton who had belong'd to the church an hundred yeares.

Hence we pass'd thro' a fenny but rich country to Hull, situate like Calais, modernly and strongly fortified with three block-houses of brick and earth. It has a good mercat-place and harbour for ships. Famous also (or rather infamous) is this towne for Hotham's refusing enterance to his Majesty. The Water-house is worth seeing. And here ends the South of Yorkshire.

19. We passe the Humber, an arme of the sea of about 2 leagues breadth. The weather was bad, but we cross'd it in a good barg to Barton, the first towne in that part of Lincolnshire. All marsh ground till we came to Brigg, famous for the plantations of licorice, and then had brave pleasant riding to Lincoln, much resembling Salisbury Plaine. Lincoln is an old confus'd towne, very long, uneven, steepe, and ragged ; formerly full of good houses, especialy churches and abbies. The minster almost comparable to that of York itselfe, abounding with marble pillars and having a faire front. Herein was interr'd Q. Elianor, the loyal and loving wife who suck'd the poison out of her husband's wound ; the Abbot founder, with rare carving in the stone ; the greate Bell, or Tom, as they call it ; I went up the steeple, from whence is a goodly prospect all over the country. The souldiers had lately knocked off most of the brasses from the grave-stones, so as few inscriptions were left ; they told us that these men went in with axes and hammers, and shut themselves in, till they had rent and torne off some barge-loads of mettall, not sparing even the monuments of the dead, so hellish an avarice possessed them ; besides which they exceedingly ruin'd the Citty.

Here I saw a tall woman six foote two inches high, comely, middle ag'd and well proportion'd, who kept a very neate and cleane ale-house, and got most by people's coming to see her on account of her height.

20. From hence we had a most pleasant ride over a large heath

open like Salisbury Plaine, to Grantham, a pretty towne, so well situated on the side of a bottome, which is large and at distance inviron'd with ascending grounds, that for pleasure I consider it comparable to most inland places of England : famous is the Steeple for the exceeding height of the shaft, which is of stone.

About 18 miles we passe by a noble seate, and see Boston at a distance. Here we came to a parish of which the parson has Tithe Ale.

Thence thro' Rutland we brought night to Horninghold, from whence I sat out on this excursion.

22. I went a setting and hawking, where we had tolerable sport.

25. I went to see Kirby, a very noble house of my Lord Hatton's in Northamptonshire, built *à la moderne*; the garden and stables agreeable, but the avenue was ungraceful and the seate naked : returned that evening.

27. Mr. Allington preach'd an excellent discourse from Romans 6. 19. This was he who publish'd those bold sermons of the members warring against the mind, or the Jewes crucifying Christ, applied to the wicked regicides, for which he was ruin'd. We had no sermon in the afternoone.

30. Taking leave of my friends who had now feasted me more than a moneth, I, with my wife, &c. set our faces towards home, and got this evening to Peterborow, passing by a stately palace (Thorpe) of St. John's (one deepe in the bloud of our good King), built out of the ruines of the Bishops Palace and Cloyster. The Church is exceeding faire, full of monuments of greate antiquity. Here lies Queene Catharine, the unhappy wife of Hen. VIII. and the no lesse unfortunate Mary Q. of Scots. On the steeple we view'd the Fens of Lincolnshire, now much inclos'd and drained with infinite expence, and by many sluices, cutts, mounds, and ingenious mills, and the like inventions, at which the Citty and country about it, consisting of a poore and very lazy sort of people, were much displeas'd.

Peterborow is an handsome towne, and hath in it another well-built Church.

31. Thro' part of Huntingdon shire we passe that towne, faire and ancient, a river running by it. The country about it so abounds in wheate, that when any King of England passes thro' it they have a costom to meet him with an hundred plows.

This evening to Cambridge ; and went first to see St. John's Colledge, well built of brick, and Librarie, which I think is the fairest of that University. One Mr. Benlowes<sup>1</sup> has given it all the ornaments of Pietra Commessa<sup>2</sup>, whereof a table and one piece of perspective is very

<sup>1</sup> Edward Benlowes, Esq. a writer of Divine Poesy, of a good family in Essex, and of a good estate, but which he wasted by improvident liberality, and buying curiosities, as Wood says. Wood's Fasti, 876.

<sup>2</sup> Marble inlaid of various colours, representing flowers, birds, &c.

fine ; other trifles there also be of no great value, besides a vast old song book or service, and some faire manuscripts. There hangs in the library the picture of John Williams Abp. of York sometime Lord Keeper, my kinsman and their greate benefactor.

Trinity College is said by some to be the fairest quadrangle of any University in Europ, but in truth is far inferior to that of Christ Church in Oxford : the hall is ample and of stone, the fountaine in the quadrangle is gracefull, the Chapell and Library faire. There they shew'd us the prophetic manuscript of the famous Grebner, but the passage and emblem which they would apply to our late King, is manifestly relating to the Swedish ; in truth it seemes to be a meere fantastic rhapsody, however the title may bespeake strange revelations. There is an Office in manuscript with fine miniatures, and some other antiquities given by the Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. and the before mention'd Abp. Williams when Bishop of Lincoln. The Library is pretty well stor'd. The Greeke Professor had me into another large quadrangle cloister'd and well built, and gave us a handsome collation in his own chamber.

Thence to Caius, and afterwards to King's College, where I found the Chapel altogether answer'd expectation, especially the rooffe all of stone, which for the flatness of its laying and carving, may I conceive vie with any in Christendome. The contignation of the roof (which I went upon) weight and artificial joyneing of the stones is admirable. The lights are also very faire. In one ile lies the famous Dr. Collins so celebrated for his fluency in the Latin tongue. From this rooffe we could descry Ely, and the incampment of Sturbridge faire now beginning to set up their tents and boothes ; also Royston, Newmarket, &c. houses belonging to the King. The Library is too narrow.

Clare Hall is of a new and noble designe, but not finish'd.

Peter House formerly under the government of my worthy friend Dr. Jo. Cosin Deane of Peterborow ;<sup>1</sup> a pretty neate College having a delicate Chapell. Next to Sidney, a fine College.

Catharine Hall, tho' a meane structure, is yet famous for the learned Bp. Andrews, once Master. Emanuel Colledge, that zealous house, where to the hall they have a parler for the Fellows. The Chapell is reform'd, *ab origine*, built N. and S. meanelly built, as is the Librarie.

Jesus College, one of the best built, but in a melancholy situation. Next to Christ College, a noble erection, especially the modern part, built without the quadrangle towards the gardens, of exact architecture.

The Schooles are very despicable, and Public Librarie but meane, tho' somewhat improv'd by the wainscoting and books lately added by the Bp. Bancroft's Library and MSS. They shew'd us little of antiquity, onely K. James's Works, being his owne gift and kept very reverently.

The Mercat-place is very ample, and remarkable for old Hobson the

<sup>1</sup> Ejected from all his preferments in 1640 or 1641. Afterwards Bishop of Durham.

pleasant Carrier's beneficence of a fountaine. But the whole towne is situate in a low dirty unpleasant place, the streetes ill paved, the aire thicke and infected by the Fennes, nor are its churches (of which St. Marie's is the best) any thing considerable in compare with those of Oxford.<sup>1</sup>

From Cambridge we went to Audley End, and spent some time in seeing that goodly palace built by Howard Earl of Suffolk, once Lord Treasurer. It is a mixt fabric 'twixt antiq and modern, but observable for its being compleately finish'd, and without comparison is one of the stateliest palaces of the kingdom. It consists of two courts, the first very large, wing'd with cloisters. The front hath a double entrance; the hall is faire, but somewhat too small for so august a pile. The kitchen is very large, as are the cellars arch'd with stone, very neate and well dispos'd; these offices are joyn'd by a wing out of the way very handsomely. The gallery is the most cheerfull, and I thinke one of the best in England; a faire dining-roome, and the rest of the lodgings answerable, with a pretty chapell. The gardens are not in order, tho' well inclos'd. It has also a bowling-ally, a noble well wall'd, wooded, and water'd park, full of fine collines and ponds: the river glides before the palace, to which is an avenue of lime trees, but all this is much diminish'd by its being plac'd in an obscure bottome; for the rest, it is a perfectly uniform structure, and shewes without like a diadem, by the decorations of the cupolas and other ornaments on the pavilions; instead of railes and balusters, there is a bordure of capital letters, as was lately also on Suffolk House neere Charing Crosse, built by the same Lord Treasurer.

This house stands in the parish of Saffron Walden, famous for the abundance of saffron there cultivated, and esteem'd the best of any forraine country.

3 Oct. Having din'd here we pass'd thro' Bishop's Stortford, a pretty water'd towne, and so by London late home to Sayes Court, after a journey of 700 miles, but for the variety an agreeable refreshment after my turmoil and building, &c.

10. To my brother at Wotton, who had ben sick.

14. I went to visit my noble friend Mr. Hyldiard, where I met that learned gentleman my Lord Aungier, and Dr. Stokes, one of his Majesty's Chaplains.

15. To Betchworth Castle to Sir Ambrose Browne, and other gentlemen of my sweete and native country.

24. The good old parson Higham preach'd at Wotton Church: a plaine preacher, but innocent and honest man.

23 Oct. I went to London to visit my co. Fanshawe, and this day I saw one of the rarest collections of achates, onyxes, and intaglios, that I had ever seene either at home or abroad, collected by a conceited old

<sup>1</sup> The reader must remember that an Oxford man is speaking.

hatt-maker in Black Friars, especialy one achat vase, heretofore the greate Earle of Leicester's.

28. Came Lady Langham, a kinswoman of mine, to visit us ; also one Captain Cooke, esteem'd ye best singer after the Italian manner of any in England ; he entertain'd us with his voice and theorba.

31. My birth-day, being the 34th yeare of my age : blessing God for his providence I went to London to visite my brother.

3 Dec. Advent Sunday. There being no office at the church, but extemporie prayers after the Presbyterian way, for now all formes were prohibited, and most of the preachers were usurpers, I seldome went to Church upon solemn feasts, but either went to London, where some of the orthodox sequestred Divines did privately use the Common Prayer, administer sacraments, &c. or else I procur'd one to officiate in my house ; wherefore, on the 10th, Dr. Richard Owen, the sequester'd minister of Eltham, preach'd to my family in my library, and gave us the holy communion.

25. Christmas Day. No public offices in churches, but penalties on observers, so as I was constrain'd to celebrate it at home.

1655. Jan. 1. Having with my Family performed the publiq offices of the day, and begged a blessing on the yeare I was now entering, I went to keepe the rest of Christmas at my brother's, R. Evelyn at Woodcot.

19. My wife was brought to bed of another son, being my third, but second living. Christen'd on the 26th by the name of John.

28. A stranger preached from 3 Coloss., 2, inciting our affections to the obtaining heavenly things. I understood afterwards that this man had ben both Chaplaine and Lieutennent to Admiral Pen, using both swords, whether ordained or not I cannot say ; into such times were we fallen !

Feb. 24. I was shew'd a table clock whose ballance was onely a chrystall ball sliding on parallel wyers without being at all fixed, but rolling from stage to stage till falling on a spring conceal'd from sight, it was throwne up to the upmost channel againe, made with an imperceptible declivity, in this continual vicissitude of motion prettily entertaining the eye every halfe minute, and the next halfe giving progress to the hand that shew'd the houre, and giving notice by a small bell, so as in 120 halfe minutes, or periods of the bullet's-falling on the ejaculatorie spring, the clock part struck. This very extraordinary piece (richly adorn'd) had been presented by some German Prince to our late King, and was in possession of the Usurper, valu'd at 200*l*.

2 Mar. Mr. Simson, the King's jeweler, shew'd me a most rich achat cup of an escalop shape and having a figure of Cleopatra at the scroll, her body, haire, mantle, and vaile of the several natural colours. It was supported by a halfe M. Antony, the colours rarely natural, and the work truly antique, but I conceiv'd they were of severall pieces ; had they ben all of one stone it were invaluable.

18. Went to London on purpose to heare that excellent preacher Dr. Jeremy Taylor on 14 Matt. 17. shewing what were the conditions of obtaining eternal life: also concerning abatements for unavoidable infirmities, how cast on the accompts of the Crosse. On the 31st I made a visit to Dr. Jer. Taylor to conferr with him about some spiritual matters, using him thenceforward as my ghostly father. I beseech God Almighty to make me ever mindful of, and thankful for, his heavenly assistances.

2 April. This was the first weeke that my V. Pret. [Uncle Pretymán] being parted with his family from me, I began housekeeping, till now sojourning with him in my owne house.

9. I went to see the greate ship newly built by the Usurper Oliver, carrying 96 brasse guns, and 1000 tons burthen. In the prow was Oliver on horseback, trampling 6 Nations under foote, a Scott, Irishman, Dutchman, Frenchman, Spaniard, and English, as was easily made out by their several habits. A Fame held a laurel over his insulting head; the word, *God with us*.

15. I went to London with my family to celebrate the feast of Easter. Dr. Wild preach'd at St. Gregorie's; the Ruling Powers conniving at the use of the Liturgy &c. in this church alone. In the afternoone Mr. Pierson (since Bishop of Chester) preach'd at East Cheape, but was disturb'd by an alarme of fire, which about this time was very frequent in the Cittie.

29 May. I sold Preston to Col. Morley.

June 17. There was a collection for the Persecuted Churches and Christians in Savoy, remnants of the ancient Albigenses.

3 July. I was shew'd a pretty Terrella, describ'd with all the circles, and shewing all the magnetic deviations, &c.

14. Came Mr. Pratt, my old acquaintance at Rome, also Sir Edward Hales, Sir Jo. Tufton with Mr. Seamour.

1 Aug. I went to Dorking to see Mr. Cha. Howard's amphitheater, garden, or solitarie recess, being 15 acres environ'd by a hill. He shew'd us divers rare plants, caves, and an elaboratory.

10. I went to Alburie to visit Mr. Howard, who had begun to build and alter the gardens much. He shew'd me many rare pictures, particularly the *Moore on horseback*; *Erasmus* as big as the life, by Holbein; a *Madona* in miniature by Oliver; but above all the Skull carv'd in wood by Albert Durer, for which his father was offer'd 100*l.*; also *Albert's head* by himselfe; with divers rare achates, intalias, and other curiosities.

21. I went to Rygate to visit Mrs. Carey at my Lady Peterboro's, in an antient monastery well in repaire, but the parke much defac'd; the house is nobly furnish'd. The chimney-piece in the greate chamber, carv'd in wood, was of Hen. 8. and was taken from an house of his in Blechinglee. At Rygate was now the Archbishop of Armagh, the

learned James Usher, whom I wente to visite. He receiv'd me exceeding kindly. In discourse with him he told me how greate the losse of time was to study much the Eastern languages : that excepting Hebrew there was little fruite to be gather'd of exceeding labour ; that besides some mathematical bookes, the Arabic itselfe had little considerable ; that the best texte was the Hebrew Bible ; that the Septuagint was finish'd in 70 daies, but full of errors, about which he was then writing ; that St. Hierom's was to be valued next the Hebrew ; also that the 70 translated the Pentateuch onely, the rest was finish'd by others ; that the Italians at present understood but little Greeke, and Kircher was a mountebank ; that Mr. Selden's best book was his 'Titles of Honour ;' that the Church would be destroyed by sectaries, who would in all likelihood bring in Poperie. In conclusion he recommended to me the study of Philologie above all human studies ; and so with his blessing I tooke my leave of this excellent person, and returned to Wotton.

27. I went to Box-hill to see those rare natural bowers, cabinets, and shady walkes in the box copses : hence we walk'd to Mickleham, and saw Sir F. Stidolph's seate environ'd with elme-trees and walnuts innumerable, and of which last he told us they receiv'd a considerable revenue. Here are such goodly walkes and hills shaded with yew and box as render the place extreamely agreeable, it seeming from these ever-greens to be summer all the winter.

28. Came that renown'd mathematician Mr. Oughtred to see me, I sending my coach to bring him to Wotton, being now very aged. Amongst other discourse he told me he thought water to be the philosopher's first matter, and that he was well perswaded of the possibility of their elixir ; he believ'd the sunn to be a material fire, the moone a continent, as appears by the late Selenographers ; he had strong apprehensions of some extraordinary event to happen the following yeare, from the calculation of coincidence with the diluvian period ; and added that it might possibly be to convert the Jewes by our Saviour's visible appearance, or to judge the world ; and therefore his word was *Parate in occursum* ; he said original sin was not met with in the Greeke Fathers, yet he believ'd the thing ; this was from some discourse on Dr. Taylor's late booke which I had lent him.

16. Preach'd at St. Gregories one Darnel on 4 Psalm 4. concerning the benefit of selfe examination ; more learning in *so short a time as an hour* I have seldom heard.

17 Sept. Receiv'd 2600*l.* of Mr. Hurt for the manor of Warley Magna in Essex, purchased by me some time since. The taxes were so intollerable that they eate up the rents &c. surcharged as that county had been above all others during our unnatural war.

19. Came to see me Sir Edw. Hales, Mr. Ashmole, Mr. Harlaken-ton, and Mr. Thornhill ; and the next day I visited Sir Hen. Newton at

Charleton, where I met the Earl of Winchelsea and Lady Beauchamp, daughter to the Lord Capel.

On Sunday afternoone I frequently stay'd at home to catechise and instruct my familie, those exercises universally ceasing in the parish churches, so as people had no principles, and grew very ignorant of even the common points of Christianity ; all devotion being now plac'd in hearing sermons and discourses of speculative and notional things.

26. I went to see Col. Blount's subterranean warren, and drank of the wine of his vineyard, which was good for little.

31. Sir Nick. Crisp came to treat with me about his vast designe of a Mole to be made for ships in part of my grounds at Sayes Court.

3 Nov. I had accidentally discourse with a Persian and a Greeke concerning the sad devastation of Poland by the late incursion of the Swedes.

27. To London about Sir Nicholas Crisps designs.

I went to see York House and gardens belonging to the former greate Buckingham, but now much ruin'd thro' neglect.<sup>1</sup>

Thence to visit honest and learned Mr. Hartlib,<sup>2</sup> a public spirited and ingenious person, who had propagated many usefull things and arts. He told me of the Castles which they set for ornament on their stoves in Germany (he himselfe being a Lithuanian as I remember), which are furnish'd with small ordinance of silver on the battlements, out of which they discharge excellent perfumes about the roomes charging them with a little powder to set them on fire and disperse the smoke ; and in truth no more than neede, for their stoves are sufficiently nasty. He told me of an inke that would give a dozen copies, moist sheets of paper being press'd on it, and remaine perfect ; and a receipt how to take off any print without the least injury to the originall. This gentleman was master of innumerable curiosities, and very communicative. I returned home that evening by water, and was afflicted for it with a cold that had almost kill'd me.

27. This day came forth the Protectors Edict or Proclamation, prohibiting all ministers of the Church of England from preaching or teaching any scholes, in which he imitated the Apostate Julian ; with the decimation of all the royal parties revenues throughout England.

14 Dec. I visited Mr. Hobbs the famous philosopher of Malmesbury with whom I had ben long acquainted in France.

Now were the Jews admitted.

25. There was no more notice taken of Christmas day in churches. I went to London where Dr. Wild preach'd the funeral sermon of

<sup>1</sup> The Duke's names and titles are still preserved in the buildings erected on the site ; viz. George Street, Villiers Street, Duke Street, Off Alley, Buckingham Street.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Hartlib. Milton's Tractate of Education is addressed to him. Mr. Todd in his Life of that Poet prefixed to the last Edition of his Poetical Works, observes that 'a Life of Hartlib is a desideratum in English Biography : ' there are ample materials for it in the publications of the time.

Preaching, this being the last day, after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer Sacraments, teach schoole, &c. on paine of imprisonment or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seene, or the Church of England herselfe since the Reformation ; to the greate rejoicing of both Papist and Presbyter<sup>1</sup>. So pathetic was his discourse that it drew many teares from the auditory. Myself, wife, and some of our family receiv'd the Communion ; God make me thankfull, who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our soules as well as bodies ! The Lord Jesus pity our distress'd Church, and bring back the captivity of Sion !

1656. 5 Jan. Came to visit me my Lord Lisle, sonn to the Earle of Leicester, with Sir Charles Ouseley, two of the Usurper's Council ; Mr. John Hervey, and John Denham the poet.

18. Went to Eltham on foote, being a greate frost, but a mist falling as I returned, gave me such a rheume as kept me within doores neere a whole moneth after.

5 Feb. Was shew'd me a pretty perspective and well represented in a triangular box, the greate Church of Harlem in Holland, to be seene thro' a small hole at one of the corners and contriv'd into an handsome cabinet. It was so rarely don, that all the artists and painters in towne flock'd to see and admire it.

10. I heard Dr. Wilkins<sup>2</sup> preach before the Lord Mayor in St. Pauls, shewing how obedience was preferable to sacrifice. He was a most obliging person, who had married the Protector's sister, and tooke greate pains to preserve the Universities from the ignorant sacrilegious Commanders and Souldiers, who would faine have demolish'd all places and persons that pretended to learning.

11. I ventur'd to go to White-hall, where of many yeares I had not ben, and found it very glorious and well furnish'd as far as I could safely go, and was glad to find they had not much defac'd that rare piece of Hen. VII. &c. don on the walles of the King's privy chamber.

14. I dined with Mr. Berkeley, son of Lord Berkeley of Berkeley Castle, where I renewed my acquaintance with my Lord Bruce, my fellow-traveller in Italy.

19. Went with Dr. Wilkins to see Barlow, the famous painter of fowls, beasts and birds.

4 Mar. This night I was invited by Mr. Roger L'Estrange to hear the incomparable Lubicer on the violin. His variety on a few notes and plaine ground with that wonderful dexterity was admirable. Tho' a young man, yet so perfect and skilfull, that there was nothing, how-

<sup>1</sup> The text was 2 Cor. 13. 9. That, however persecution dealt with the Ministers of God's word, they were still to pray for the flocke, and wish their perfection, as it was the flocke to pray for and assist their pastors, by the example of St. Paul. J. E.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Chester.

ever cross and perplex, brought to him by our Artists, which he did not play off at sight with ravishing sweetnesse and improvements, to the astonishment of our best Masters. In sum he plaid on that single instrument a full concert, so as the rest flung down their instruments, acknowledging the victory. As to my own particular, I stand to this hour amaz'd that God should give so greate perfection to so young a person. There were at that time as excellent in their profession as any were thought to be in Europ, Paul Wheeler, Mr. Mell and others, till this prodigie appear'd. I can no longer question the effects we reade of in David's harp to charme evil spirits, or what is said some particular notes produc'd in the passions of Alexander, and on that King of Denmark.

12 April. Mr. Berkeley, and Mr. Robert Boyle (that excellent person and greate virtuoso), Dr. Taylor and Dr. Wilkins, din'd with me at Sayes Court, when I presented Dr. Wilkins with my rare burning-glasse. -In the afternoone we all went to Colonel Blount's to see his new-invented plows.

22. Came to see Mr. Henshaw and Sir William Paston's sonn, since Earle of Yarmouth. Afterwards I went to see his Majesty's house at Eltham, both Palace and Chapell in miserable ruines, the noble woods and park destroy'd by Rich the Rebell.

6 May. I brought Monsieur le Franc, a young French Sorbonnist, a proselyte, to converse with Dr. Taylor; they fell to dispute on original sinn, in Latine, upon a booke newly publish'd by the Doctor, who was much satisfied with the young man. Thence I went to see Mr. Dugdale, our learned Antiquarie and Herald. Returning, I was show'd the three vast volumes of Father Kircher's 'Obeliscus Pamphilius' and 'Ægyptiacus'; in the second volume I found the Hieroglyphic I first communicated and sent to him at Rome by the hands of Mr. Henshaw, whom he mentions. I design'd it from the stone itselfe brought me to Venice from Cairo by Cap. Powell.

7. I visited Dr. Taylor and prevail'd on him to propose Mons. le Franc to the Bishop that he might have orders, I having some time before brought him to a full consent to the Church of England her doctrine and discipline, in which he had till of late made some difficulty; so he was this day ordain'd both Deacon and Priest, by the Bishop of Meath. I paid the fees to his Lordship, who was very poore and in greate want, to that necessity were our Clergy reduc'd! In the afternoone I met Alderman Robinson, to treat with Mr. Papillion about the marriage of my cousin Geo. Tuke with Mrs. Fontaine.

8. I went to visit Dr. Wilkins at White-hall, when I first met with Sir P. Neale, famous for his optic glasses. Greatorix the mathematical instrument maker shew'd me his excellent invention to quench fire.

12. Was publish'd my Essay on Lucretius,<sup>1</sup> with innumerable

<sup>1</sup> A Translation into English verse of the first Book only, the Frontispiece to which was

errata by the negligence of Mr. Triplet who undertook the correction of the press in my absence. Little of the Epicurean philosophy was then known amongst us.

28. I din'd with Nieuport the Holland Ambassador, who receiv'd me with extraordinary courtesie. I found him a judicious, crafty and wise man. He gave me excellent cautions as to the danger of the times, and the circumstances our nation was in. I remember the observation he made upon the ill success of our former Parliaments, and their private animosities, and little care of the public.

Came to visit me the old Marques of Argyle (since executed), Lord Lothian, and some other Scotch noblemen, all strangers to me. Note, the Marques tooke the turtle-doves in the aviary for owles.

The Earl of Southampton (since Treasurer) and Mr. Spencer, brother to the Earle of Sunderland, came to see my garden.

7 July. I began my journey to see some parts of the North East of England, but the weather was so excessive hot and dusty that I shortned my progresse.

8. To Colchester, a faire towne, but now wretchedly demolished by the late siege, especialy the suburbs, which were all burnt, but were then repairing. The towne is built on a rising ground, having faire meadows on one side, and a river with a strong ancient castle, said to have ben built by K. Coilus, father of Helena mother of Constantine the Great, of whom I find no memory save at the pinnacle of one of their wool-staple houses, where is a statue of Coilus in wood, wretchedly carved. The walles are exceeding strong, deeply trench'd and fill'd with earth. It has 6 gates and some watch-towres, and some handsome churches. But what was shewed us as a kind of miracle, at the outside of the Castle, the wall where Sir Cha. Lucas and Sir Geo. Lisle, those valiant and noble persons who so bravely behav'd themselves in the last siege, were barbarously shot, murder'd by Ireton in cold blood after surrendering on articles; having ben disappointed of relief from the Scotch army, which had ben defeated with the King at Worcester. The place was bare of grasse for a large space, all the rest of it abounding with herbage. For the rest, this is a ragged and factious towne, now swarming with Sectaries. Their trading is in cloth with the Dutch, and baies and saies with Spaine; it is the only place in England where these stuffs are made unsophisticated. It is also famous for oysters and eringo-root, growing here about and candied for sale.

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designed by Mr. Evelyn's Lady. Prefixed to the copy in the Library at Wotton is this note in his own hand-writing: 'Never was book so abominably misused by printer: never copy so negligently surveied by one who undertooke to looke over the prooffe-sheets with all exactnesse and care, namely Dr. Triplet, well knowne for his abilitie, and who pretended to oblige me in my absence, and so readily offer'd himselfe. This good yet I received by it, that publishing it vainely, its ill successe at the printer's discourag'd me with troubling the worlde with the rest.'

Went to Dedham, a pretty country towne, having a very faire church finely situated, the valley well watred. Here I met with Dr. Stokes, a young gentleman but an excellent mathematician. This is a clothing towne, as most are in Essex, but lies in the unwholesome hundreds.

Hence to Ipswich, doubtlesse one of the sweetest, most pleasant, well built Townes in England. It has twelve faire churches, many noble houses, especially the Lord Devereux's; a brave kay and commodious harbour, being about 7 miles from the maine; an ample mercat-place. Here was born the Great Cardinal Wolsey, who began a palace here, which was not finish'd.

I had the curiosity to visite some Quakers here in prison; a new phanatic sect, of dangerous principles, who shew no respect to any man, magistrate or other, and seeme a melancholy proud sort of people, and exceedingly ignorant. One of these was said to have fasted 20 daies, but another endeavouring to do the like, perish'd on the 10th, when he would have eaten but could not.

10. I return'd homeward, passing againe thro' Colchester; and by the way neere the antient towne of Chelmsford, saw New Hall, built in a parke by Henry 7. and 8. and given by Queen Elizabeth to the Earle of Sussex, who sold it to the late greate Duke of Buckingham, and since seiz'd on by O. Cromwell (pretended Protector). It is a faire old house built with brick, low, being only of 2 stories, as the manner then was; the Gate-house better; the Court large and pretty; the staire-case of extraordinary widnesse, with a piece representing *Sir F. Drake's action* in the year 1580, an excellent sea-piece; the galleries are trifling; the hall is noble; the garden a faire plot, and the whole seate well accommodated with water; but above all I admir'd the faire avenue planted with stately lime-trees in 4 rowes, for neere a mile in length. It has three descents, which is the only fault, and may be reform'd. There is another faire walk of the same at the mall and wilderness, with a tennis-court, and pleasant terrace towards the park, which was well stor'd with deere and ponds.

11. Came home by Greenwich Ferry, where I saw Sir John Winter's new project of *charring sea-coale*, to burne out the sulphure and render it sweete. He did it by burning the coales in such earthen pots as the glasse-men mealt their mettall, so firing them without consuming them, using a barr of yron in each crucible or pot, which barr has a hook at one end, that so the coales being mealted in a furnace with other crude sea-coales under them, may be drawn out of the potts sticking to the yron, whence they are beaten off in greate halfe-exhausted cinders, which being rekindl'd make a cleare pleasant chamber fire, depriv'd of their sulphur and arsenic malignity. What successe it may have, time will discover.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some years ago Lord Dundonald revived the project, but with the projected improvement of extracting and saving the Tar. Unfortunately his Lordship did not profit by it. The Gas-Light Company sell the coal thus charred, by the name of *Coke*, for fuel for many purposes (1818).

3 Aug. I went to London to receive the B. Sacrament, the first time the Church of England was reduced to a chamber and conventicle, so sharp was the persecution. The Parish Churches were fill'd with Sectaries of all sorts, blasphemous and ignorant mechanics usurping the pulpets every where. Dr. Wild preach'd in a private house in Fleete Streete, where we had a greate meeting of zealous Christians, who were generally much more devout and religious than in our greatest prosperity. In the afternoone I went to the French Church in the Savoy, where I heard Monsieur d'Espagne catechise, and so return'd to my house.

20. Was a confus'd election of Parliament cal'd by the Usurper.

7 Sept. I went to take leave of my excellent neighbour and friend Sir H. Newton & Lady, now going to dwell at Warwick; and Mr. Needham, my dear and learned friend, came to visite me.

14. Now was old Sir Hen. Vane sent to Carisbrook Castle in Wight for a foolish booke he publish'd; the pretended Protector fortifying himselfe exceedingly, and sending many to prison.

2 Oct. Came to visite me my co. Stephens, and Mr. Pierce (since Head of Magdalen Coll. Oxford) a learned minister of Brington in Northamptonshire, and Captain Cooke, both excellent musicians.

2 Nov. There was now nothing practical preached or that pressed reformation of life, but high and speculative points and straines that few understood, which left people very ignorant and of no steady principles, the source of all our sects and divisions, for there was much envy and uncharity in the world; God of his mercy amend it! Now indeed that I went at all to church whilst these usurpers possess'd the pulpets, was that I might not be suspected for a Papist, and that tho' the Minister was Presbyterianly affected, he yet was as I understood duly ordain'd, and preach'd sound doctrine after their way, and besides was an humble, harmlesse and peaceable man.

25 Dec. I went to London to receive the B. Communion this holy festival at Dr. Wild's lodgings, where I rejoiced to find so full an assembly of devout and sober Christians.

26. I invited some of my neighbours and tenants according to custome, and to preserve hospitality and charity.

28. A stranger preached on 18 Luke, 7, 8. on which he made a confused discourse, with a greate deale of Greeke and ostentation of learning to but little purpose.

30. Dined with me Sir William Paston's sonn, Mr. Henshaw and Mr. Clayton.

31. I begged God's blessings & mercys for his goodnesse to me the past yeere, and set my domestic affaires in order.

1657. January 1. Having praied with my family and celebrated the Anniversarie, I spent some time in imploring God's blessing the yeare I was entred into.

7 Jan. Came Mr. Matthew Wren (since Secretary to the Duke, slain in the Dutch war) eldest son to the Bishop of Ely, now a prisoner in the Tower ; a most worthy and learned gentleman.

10. Came Dr. Joylife, that famous physician and anatomist, first detector of the lymphatic veins : also the old Marques of Argyle and another Scotch Earle.

5 Feb. Din'd at the Holland Ambassador's ; he told me the East India Company of Holland had constantly a stock of £400,000 in India, and 48 men of war there : he spoke of their exact and just keeping their books & correspondence, so as no adventurer's stock could possibly be lost or defeated ; that it was a vulgar error that the Hollanders furnished their enemies with powder and ammunition for their money, tho' engaged in a cruell warr, but that they us'd to merchandize indifferently, and were permitted to sell to the friends of their enemies. He laugh'd at our Committee of Trade, as compos'd of men wholly ignorant of it, and how they were the ruine of commerce, by gratifying some for private ends.

10 Feb. I went to visite the Governor of Havanna, a brave, sober, valiant Spanish gentleman, taken by Capt. Young of Deptford, when after 20 yeares being in the Indies, and amassing greate wealth, his lady and whole family except two sonns were burnt, destroy'd and taken within sight of Spaine, his eldest sonn, daughter and wife - perishing with immense treasure.<sup>1</sup> One sonn, of about 17 years old, with his brother of one yeare old, were the onely ones sav'd. The young gentleman about 17, was a well-complexion'd youth, not olive-colour'd ; he spake Latine handsomely, was extreamely well-bred, and born in the Caraccas, 1000 miles South of the Equinoxial, neere the mountaines of Potosi ; he had never ben in Europe before. The Governor was an ancient gentleman of greate courage, of the order of St. Jago, sore wounded in his arme, and his ribs broken ; he lost for his owne share £100,000 sterling, which he seem'd to beare with exceeding indifference, and nothing dejected. After some discourse I went with them to Arundel House, where they din'd. They were now going back into Spaine, having obtain'd their liberty from Cromwell. An example of human vicissitude !

14. To London, where I found Mrs. Carey ; next day came Mr. Mordaunt (since Viscount Mordaunt, younger sonn to the Countesse of Peterborow) to see his Mistress, bringing with him two of my Lord of Dover's daughters : so after dinner they all departed.

5 Mar. Dr. Rand, a learned physician, dedicated to me his Version of Gassendus's Vita Peiriskii.

25. Dr. Taylor shew'd me his MSS. of Cases of Conscience, or *Ducto dubitantium*, now fitted for the presse.

<sup>1</sup> This disastrous event is particularly noticed in Waller's Poem on a War with Spain. Fight at Sea by General Montague 1656.

The Protector, Oliver, now affecting Kingship, is petition'd to take the Title on him by all his new-made sycophant Lords, &c. but dares not for feare of the Phanatics, not thoroughly purg'd out of his Rebell Army.

21 April. Came Sir Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer in Wales, to see me. I then waited on my Lord Hatton, with whom I dined; at my returne I stept into Bedlame, where I saw several poore miserable creatures in chaines; one of them was mad with making verses. I also visited the Charter-house, formerly belonging to the Carthusians, now an old neate fresh solitarie Colledge for decaied gentlemen. It has a grove, bowling-greene, garden, chapell, and a halle where they eate in common. I likewise saw Christ-church and Hospital, a very goodly Gothic building; the hall, school, and lodgings in greate order for bringing up many hundreds of poore children of both sexes; it is an exemplary charity. There is a large picture at one end of the hall, representing the Governors, Founders, and the Institution.

25. I had a dangerous fall out of the coach in Covent Garden, going to my brother's, but without harme: the Lord be praised.

1 May. Divers souldiers were quarter'd at my house, but I thank God went away the next day towards Flanders.

5. I went with my cousin George Tuke to see Baynards in Surrey, an house of my brother Richard's, which he would have hir'd. This is a very faire noble residence, built in a park, and having one of the goodliest avenues of oakes up to it that ever I saw; there is a pond of 60 acres neere it; the windows of the cheife roomes are of very fine painted glasse. The situation is excessively dirty and melancholy.<sup>1</sup>

15. Laurence, President of Oliver's Council, and some other of his Court Lords, came in the afternoon to see my garden and plantations.

7 June. My fourth sonn was born, christen'd George (after my Grandfather): Dr. Jer. Taylor officiating in the drawing-room.

18. At Greenwich I saw a sort of Catt<sup>2</sup> brought from the East Indies, shap'd and snouted much like the Egyptian racoon, in the body like a monkey, and so footed; the eares and taile like a catt, onely the taile much longer, and the skin variously ringed with black and white; with the taile it wound up its body like a serpent, and so got up into trees, and with it would wrap its whole body round. Its haire was woolly like a lamb; it was exceedingly nimble, gentle, and purr'd as dos the catt.

July 16. On Dr. Jer. Taylor's recommendation I went to Eltham, to help one Moody, a young man, to that living, by my interest with the Patron.

6 Aug. I went to see Col. Blount, who shewed me the application

<sup>1</sup> It is in the lower part of the parish of Ewhurst in Surrey, adjoining to Rudgwick in Sussex, in a deep clay soil. It was formerly the seat of Sir Edward Bray. It belonged to the late Earl of Onslow, who carried the painted glass to his seat at Clandon.

<sup>2</sup> This was probably the animal called a Mocock, well known at present.

of the *Way-wiser* to a coach, exactly measuring the miles, and shewing them by an index as we went on. It had 3 circles, one pointing to the number of rods, another to the miles, by 10 to 1000, with all the subdivisions of quarters; very pretty and useful.

10. Our Vicar, from John 18. v. 36, declaim'd against the folly of a sort of enthusiasts and desperate zealots, call'd the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, pretending to set up the kingdom of Christ with the sword. To this passe was this age arriv'd when we had no King in Israel.

21. Fell a most prodigious rain in London, and the yeare was very sickly in the country.

1 Sept. I visited Sir Edmund Bowyer at his melancholy seate at Camerwell. He has a very pretty grove of oakes, and hedges of yew in his garden, and a handsom row of tall elmes before his court.

15. Going to London with some company, we stept in to see a famous Rope-dauncer call'd *The Turk*. I saw even to astonishment the agilitie with which he perform'd; he walk'd barefooted taking hold by his toes only of a rope almost perpendicular, and without so much as touching it with his hands; he daunc'd blindfold on the high rope and with a boy of 12 yeares old tied to one of his feete about 20 foote beneath him, dangling as he daunc'd, yet he mov'd as nimbly as if it had ben but a feather. Lastly he stood on his head on the tope of a very high mast, daunc'd on a small rope that was very slack, and finally flew downe the perpendicular, on his breast, his head foremost, his legs and arms extended, with divers other activities.—I saw the hairy woman,<sup>1</sup> 20 years old, whom I had before seen when a child. She was borne at Augsborg in Germany. Her very eye-browes were comb'd upwards, and all her forehead as thick and even as growes on any woman's head, neatly dress'd; a very long lock of haire out of each eare; she had also a most prolix beard, and mustachios, with long locks growing on the middle of her nose, like an Iceland dog exactly, the colour of a bright browne, fine as well-dress'd flax. She was now married, and told me she had one child that was not hairy, nor were any of her parents or relations. She was very well shap'd, and plaied well on the harpsichord, &c.

17. I went to see Sir Robert Needham at Lambeth, a relation of mine; and thence to John Tradescant's Musæum, in which the cheifest rarities were, in my opinion, the ancient Roman, Indian and other nations armour, shields, and weapons; some habits of curiously-colour'd and wrought feathers, one from the phoenix wing as tradition goes. Other innumerable things there were, printed in his catalogue by Mr. Ashmole, to whom after the death of the widow they are bequeath'd, and by him design'd as a gift to Oxford.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Barbara Vanbeck. There are two portraits of her, one an engraving, the other in mezzotinto, described by Mr. Granger in his Biography. There is also another representation of her in some German Book of Natural History.

<sup>2</sup> Where they now are in the Ashmolean Muscum. See under 1678, July.

22. To towne to visit the Holland Ambassador, with whom I had now contracted much friendly correspondence, useful to the intelligence I constantly gave his Majesty abroad.

19 Sept. I went to see divers gardens about London: returning I saw at Dr. Joyliffe's 2 Virginian rattle-snakes alive, exceeding a yard in length, small heads, slender tails, but in the middle nearly the size of my leg; when vexed, swiftly vibrating and shaking their tails, as loud as a child's rattle: this, by the collision of certaine grissly skinns curiously jointed, yet loose, and transparent as parchment, by which they give warning: a providential caution for other creatures to avoid them. The Doctor tried their biting on ratts and mice, which they immediately killed: but their vigour must needes be much exhausted here, in another climate, and kept only in a barrell of bran.

26 Nov. I went to London to a Court of the East India Company upon its new union, in Merchant Taylors' Hall, where was much disorder by reason of the Anabaptists, who would have the adventurers oblig'd onely by an engagement, without swearing, that they still might pursue their private trade; but it was carried against them. Wednesday was fix'd on for a General Court for election of officers, after a sermon and prayers for good successe. The stock resolv'd on was 800,000/.

27. I tooke the oath at the E. India House, subscribing 500/.

2. Dec. Dr. Raynolds (since Bishop of Norwich) preach'd before the Company at St. Andrew Undershaft, on 13 Nehemiah, 31, shewing by the example of Nehemiah all the perfections of a trusty person in publique affaires, with many good precepts apposite to the occasion, ending with a prayer for God's blessing on the Company and the undertaking.

3. Mr. Gunning preached on 3 John, 3. against the Anabaptists, shewing the effect and necessity of the Sacrament of Baptisme. This sect was now wonderfully spread.

25. I went to London with my wife, to celebrate Christmas-day, Mr. Gunning preaching in Exeter Chapell, on 7 Michah 2. Sermon ended, as he was giving us the Holy Sacrament, the chapell was surrounded with souldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surpriz'd and kept prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away. It fell to my share to be confin'd to a roome in the house, where yet I was permitted to dine with the master of it, the Countesse of Dorset, Lady Hatton, and some others of quality who invited me. In the afternoone came Col. Whaly, Goffe and others, from White-hall, to examine us one by one; some they committed to the Marshall, some to prison. When I came before them they tooke my name and abode, examin'd me why, contrarie to an ordinance made that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity (so esteem'd by them), I durst offend, and particularly be at Common Prayers, which

they told me was but the masse in English, and particularly pray for Charles Steuart, for which we had no Scripture. I told them we did not pray for Cha. Stewart, but for all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors. They replied, in so doing we praid for the K. of Spaine too, who was their enemie and a papist, with other frivolous and insnaring questions and much threatning; and finding no colour to detain me, they dismiss'd me with much pittie of my ignorance. These were men of high flight and above ordinances, and spake spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to receive the Sacrament the miscreants held their muskets against us as if they would have shot us at the altar, but yet suffering us to finish the office of Communion, as perhaps not having instructions what to do in case they found us in that action. So I got home late the next day, blessed be God.

1658. 27 Jan. After six fits of a quartan ague with which it pleased God to visite him, died my deare son Richard, to our inexpressible grieve and affliction, 5 yeares and 3 days old onely, but at that tender age a prodigy for witt and understanding; for beauty of body a very angel; for endowment of mind of incredible and rare hopes. To give onely a little taste of some of them, and thereby glory to God, who out of the mouths of babes and infants does sometimes perfect his praises: at 2 yeares and halfe old he could perfectly reade any of the English, Latine, French, or Gottic letters, pronouncing the three first languages exactly. He had before the 5th yeare, or in that yeare, not onely skill to reade most written hands, but to decline all the nouns, conjugate the verbs regular, and most of the irregular; learn'd out Puerilis, got by heart almost the entire vocabularie of Latine and French primitives and words, could make congruous syntax, turne English into Latine, and *vice versa*, construe and prove what he read, and did the government and use of relatives, verbs, substantives, elipses, and many figures and tropes, and made a considerable progress in Comenius's Janua; began himselfe to write legibly, and had a stronge passion for Greeke. The number of verses he could recite was prodigious, and what he remember'd of the parts of playes; which he would also act; and when seeing a Plautus in one's hand, he ask'd what booke it was, and being told it was comedy, and too difficult for him, he wept for sorrow. Strange was his apt and ingenious application of fables and morals, for he had read Æsop; he had a wonderful disposition to mathematics, having by heart divers propositions of Euclid that were read to him in play, and he would make lines and demonstrate them. As to his piety, astonishing were his applications of Scripture upon occasion, and his sense of God; he had learn'd all his Catechisme early, and understood the historical part of the Bible and New Testament to a wonder, how Christ came to redeeme mankind, and how, comprehending these necessarys himselfe, his godfathers were discharg'd of their promise. These and the like illuminations far exceeded his age and experience, considering

the prettinesse of his addresse and behaviour, cannot but leave impressions in me at the memory of him. When one told him how many dayes a Quaker had fasted, he replied that was no wonder, for Christ had said man should not live by bread alone, but by the Word of God. He would of himselfe select the most pathetic psalms, and chapters out of Job, to reade to his mayde during his sicknesse, telling her when she pitied him that all God's children must suffer affliction. He declaim'd against the vanities of the world before he had seene any. Often he would desire those who came to see him to pray by him, and a yeare before he fell sick, to kneel and pray with him alone in some corner. How thankfully would he receive admonition, how soon be reconciled ! how indifferent, yet continually chereful ! He would give grave advice to his brother John, beare with his impertinencies, and say he was but a child. If he had heard of or saw any new thing, he was unquiet till he was told how it was made ; he brought to us all such difficulties as he found in books, to be expounded. He had learn'd by heart divers sentences in Latin and Greeke, which on occasion he would produce even to wonder. He was all life, all prettinesse, far from morose, sullen, or childish in any thing he said or did. The last time he had ben at church (which was at Greenwich), I ask'd him, according to costome, what he remembered of the sermon ; two good things, father, said he, *bonum gratiæ* and *bonum gloriæ*, with a just account of what the preacher said. The day before he died he cal'd to me, and in a more serious manner than usual told me that for all I loved him so dearly I should give my house, land, and all my fine things, to his brother Jack, he should have none of them ; the next morning, when he found himself ill, and that I persuaded him to keepe his hands in bed, he demanded whether he might pray to God with his hands unjoyn'd ; and a little after, whilst in greate agonie, whether he should not offend God by using his holy name so often calling for ease. What shall I say of his frequent pathetical ejaculations utter'd of himselfe ; Sweete Jesus save me, deliver me, pardon my sinns, let thine angels receive me ! So early knowledge, so much piety and perfection ! But thus God having dress'd up a Saint fit for himselfe, would not longer permit him with us, unworthy of the future fruites of this incomparable hopefull blossome. Such a child I never saw : for such a child I blesse God in whose bosome he is ! May I and mine become as this little child, who now follows the child Jesus that Lamb of God in a white robe whithersoever he goes ; Even so, Lord Jesus, *fiat voluntas tua !* Thou gavest him to us, Thou hast taken him from us, blessed be the name of the Lord ! That I had any thing acceptable to Thee was from thy grace alone, since from me he had nothing but sin, but that Thou hast pardon'd ! blessed be my God for ever, amen !

In my opinion he was suffocated by the women and maids that tended him, and cover'd him too hot with blankets as he lay in a cradle, near

an excessive hot fire in a close roome. I suffer'd him to be open'd, when they found that he was what is vulgarly call'd liver-growne. I caused his body to be coffin'd in lead and repositied on the 30th at 8 o'clock that night in the church of Deptford accompanied with divers of my relations and neighbours, among whom I distributed rings with this motto, *Dominus abstulit*; intending, God willing, to have him transported with my owne body to be interr'd in our dormitory in Wotton church, in my dear native county Surrey, and to lay my bones and mingle my dust with my fathers, if God be gracious to me and make me as fit for Him as this blessed child was. The Lord Jesus sanctify this and all other my afflictions, Amen !<sup>1</sup>

Here ends the joy of my life, and for which I go even mourning to the grave.

15 Feb. The afflicting hand of God being still upon us, it pleased Him also to take away from us this morning my youngest sonn, George, now 7 weekes languishing at nurse, breeding teeth, and ending in a dropsie. God's holy will be done ! He was buried in Deptford church the 17th following.

25. Came Dr. Jeremy Taylor & my Brothers with other friends to visite and condole with us.

March 7. To London to hear Dr. Taylor in a private house on 13 Luke 23, 24. After the sermon followed the blessed Communion, of which I participated. In the afternoone Dr. Gunning at Excester House expounding part of the Creede.

This had ben the severest winter that any man alive had known in England. The crows feete were frozen to their prey. Islands of ice inclos'd both fish and fowl frozen, and some persons in their boates.

15 May was a public Fast to avert an epidemical sicknesse, very mortal this spring.

20. I went to see a coach-race in Hide Park, and collation'd in Spring Garden.

23. Dr. Manton, the famous Presbyterian, preach'd at Covent Garden, on 6 Matthew 10. shewing what the kingdome of God was, how pray for it, &c.

There was now a collection for persecuted and sequester'd Ministers of the Church of England, whereof divers are in prison. A sad day ! The Church now in dens and caves of the earth.

31. I went to visite my Lady Peterborow, whose sonn, Mr. Mor-daunt, prisoner in the Tower, was now on his trial, and acquitted but by one voice ; but that holy martyr Dr. Hewer was condemn'd to die, without law, jury, or justice, but by a mock Council of State as they call'd it. A dangerous, treacherous time !

<sup>1</sup> In the Preface to his Translation of "The Golden Book of St. Chrysostom, concerning the Education of Children," is likewise given a very interesting account of this amiable and promising child.

2 June. An extraordinary storm of haile and raine, the season as cold as winter, the wind Northerly neere 6 moneths.

3. A large whale was taken betwixt my land butting on the Thames and Greenewich, which drew an infinite concourse to see it, by water, horse, coach, and on foote, from London and all parts. It appear'd first below Greenewich at low water, for at high water it would have destroyed all the boates, but lying now in shallow water incompass'd with boates, after a long conflict it was kill'd with a harping yron, struck in the head, out of which spouted blood and water by two tunnells, and after an horrid grone it ran quite on shore and died. Its length was 58 foote, heighth 16; black skin'd like coach leather, very small eyes, greate taile, onely 2 small finns, a picked snout, and a mouth so wide that divers men might have stood upright in it; no teeth, but suck'd the slime onely as thro' a grate of that bone which we call whale-bone; the throate yet so narrow as would not have admitted the least of fishes. The extreames of the cetaceous bones hang downewards from the upper jaw, and was hairy towards the ends and bottom within side: all of it prodigious, but in nothing more wonderfull then that an animal of so greate a bulk should be nourished onely by slime thro' those grates.

9. I went to see the Earl of Northumberland's pictures, whereof that of the *Venetian Senators*<sup>1</sup> was one of the best of Titian's, and another of Andrea del Sarto, viz. a *Madona, Christ, St. John*, and an *Old Woman*, &c. a *St. Catharine* of Da Vinci, with divers portraits of Van Dyke; a *Nativity* of Georgioni; the last of our blessed Kings (*Charles I.*) and the *Duke of York*, by Lely; a rosarie by the famous Jesuits of Bruxelles, and severall more. This was in Suffolk House: the new front towards the gardens is tollerable, were it not drown'd by a too massie and clomsie pair of stayres of stone, without any neate invention.

8. That excellent preacher and holy man Dr. Hewer was martyr'd for having intelligence with his Majesty,<sup>2</sup> thro' the Lord Marques of Ormond.

10. I went to see the Medical Garden at Westminster, well stored with plants, under Morgan, a very skilfull botanist.

26. To Eltham to visite honest Mr. Owen.

3 July. To London, and din'd with Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Dorell, and Mr. Ashmole, founder of the Oxford repository of rarities, with divers doctors of physic and virtuosos.

15. Came to see my Lord Kilmurrey & Lady, Sir Robert Needham, Mr. Offley, and two daughters of my Lord Willoughby of Parham.

3 Aug. Went to Sir John Evelyn at Godstone. The place is excellent, but might be improved by turning some offices of the house, and

<sup>1</sup> The Cornaro Family, still one of the grand ornaments of Northumberland House. There is a fine Print of it, engraved by Baron.

<sup>2</sup> He was beheaded on Tower Hill. He was Minister of St. Gregory's, London.

removing the garden. The house being a noble fabric tho' not comparable to what was first built by my uncle, who was master of all the powder-mills.

5. We went to Squirries Westerham to visit my cousin Leech, daughter to Sir John Evelyn; a pretty, finely wooded, and well water'd seate, the stables good, the house old, but convenient. 6. Returned to Wotton.

10. I din'd at Mr. Carew Raleigh's, at Horsley, son to the famous Sir Walter.

14. We went to Durdans [Epsom] to a challeng'd match at bowls for 10*l.* which we wonn.

18. To Sir Ambrose Brown at Betchworth Castle, in that tempestuous wind which threw downe my greatest trees at Sayes Court, and did so much mischeife all over England. It continued the whole night and till 3 in the afternoone of the next day, in the South West, and destroy'd all our winter fruit.

3 Sept. Died that arch rebell Oliver Cromwell, cal'd Protector.

16. Was publish'd my Translation of St. Chrysostome on Education of Children, which I dedicated to both my Brothers, to comfort them on the loss of their children.

21. My Lord Berkeley of Berkeley Castle invited me to dinner.

26. Mr. King preach'd at Ashted on 15 Proverbs 24; a Quaker would have disputed with him. In the afternoone we heard Dr. Hacket (since Bishop of Lichfield) at Cheame, where the family of the Lumlies lie buried.

27. To Bedington, that ancient seate of the Carews, a fine old hall, but a scrambling house, famous for the first Orange gardens in England, being now over-growne trees, planted in the ground, and secur'd in winter with a wooden tabernacle and stoves. This seate is rarely watred, lying low, & inviron'd with good pastures. The pomegranads beare here. To the house is also added a fine park. Thence to Cass-halton, excellently watred, and capable of being made a most delicious seate, being on the sweete downes, and a champion about it full planted with walnut and cherry-trees, which afford a considerable rent.

Riding over these downes and discoursing with the shepherds, I found that digging about the bottom neere Sir Christopher Buckle's,<sup>1</sup> neere Bansted, divers medails have ben found, both copper and silver, with foundations of houses, urns, &c. Here indeede anciently stood a Citty of the Romans. (Antonine's Itiner.)

29. I return'd home after 10 weekes absence.

Oct. 2. I went to London to receive the H. Sacrament. On the 3rd Dr. Wild preached in a private place on the 1 Isaiah 4 shewing the

<sup>1</sup> This house is not far from the course of the Roman road from Chichester through Sussex, and passing through Ockley and Dorking church-yard. Considerable remains of a Roman building have been found on Walton Heath, South of this house.

parallel betwixt the sinns of Israel and those of England. In the afternoon Mr. Hall (sonn to Joseph Bp. of Norwich) on 1 Cor. 6. 2. of the dignitie of the Saints, a most excellent discourse.

4 I din'd with the Holland Ambassador at Derby House: returning I diverted to see a very *white raven*, bred in Cumberland; also a porcupine, of that kind that shoots its quills, (see Claudian): it was headed like a rat, the fore feete like a badger, the hind feete like a beare.

19. I was summoned to London by the Commissioners for new buildings; afterwards to the Commission of Sewers; but because there was an oath to be taken of fidelity to the Government as now constituted without a King, I got to be excus'd and return'd home.

22. Saw the superb funerall of the Protector. He was carried from Somerset House in a velvet bed of state drawn by six horses, hous'd with the same; the pall held up by his new Lords; Oliver lying in effigie in royal robes, and crown'd with a crown, sceptre, and globe, like a king; the pendants and guidons were carried by the officers of the army; and the imperial banners, achievements, &c. by the heraulds in their coates; a rich caparison'd horse, embroider'd all over with gold; a knight of honour arm'd cap-a-pie, and after all, his guards, souldiers, and innumerable mourners. In this equipage they proceeded to Westminster: but it was the joyfulest funerall I ever saw, for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streetes as they went. I returned not home till the 17th Nov.

I was summon'd againe to London by the Commissioners for new foundations to be erected within such a distance of London.

6 Dec. Now was publish'd my 'French Gardener,' the first and best of that kind that introduc'd the use of the Olitorie garden to any purpose.

23. I went with my wife to keep Christmas at my co. Geo. Tuke's, at Cressing Temple in Essex. Lay that night at Brentwood.

25. Here was no publiq service, but what we privately us'd. I blessed God for his mercies the yeare past, and 1 January begged a continuance of them. Thus for three Sundays, by reason of the incumbent's death, here was neither praying nor preaching, tho' there was a Chapell in the house.

1659. 17 Jan. Our old Vicar preach'd, taking leave of the parish in a pathetical speech, to go to a living in the Citty.

24 Mar. I went to London to speake to the patron Alderman Cuttler about presenting a fit pastor for our destitute parish church.

5 April. Came the Earle of Northampton and the famous painter Mr. Wright<sup>1</sup> to visite me.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Michael Wright, who painted the twelve judges in Guildhall after the great fire. There is a long account of him in 'Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting.' See more of him under 1662, Oct.

10 April. One Mr. Littler being now presented to the living of our parish, preach'd on 6 John 55, a sermon preparatory to the Holy Sacrament.

25. A wonderfull and suddaine change in the face of the publiq; the new Protector Richard slighted; several pretenders and parties strive for the government: all anarchy and confusion; Lord have mercy on us!

5 May. I went to visite my brother in London, and next day to see a new Opera,<sup>1</sup> after the Italian way, in recitative music and sceanes, much inferior to the Italian composure and magnificence; but it was prodigious that in a time of such publiq consternation such a vanity should be kept up or permitted. I being engag'd with company could not decently resist the going to see it, tho' my heart smote me for it.

7. Came the Ambassador of Holland and his Lady to visite me, and staid the whole afternoone.

12. I return'd the visite, discoursing much of the revolutions, &c.

19 May. Came to dine with me my Lord Galloway and his son, a Scotch Lord and learned; also my Brother and his Lady, Lord Berkeley and his Lady, Mrs. Shirley, and the famous singer Mrs. Knight,<sup>2</sup> and other friendes.

23. I went to Rookwood,<sup>3</sup> and din'd with Sir William Hicks, where was a great feast and much company. 'Tis a melancholy old house, inviron'd with trees and rooks.

26. Came to see me my Lord Geo. Berkeley, Sir Will. Duncy, and Sir George Pott's sonn of Norfolk.

29. The Nation was now in extreame confusion and unsettl'd, between the Armies and the Sectaries, the poor Church of England breathing as it were her last, so sad a face of things overspread us.

7 June. To London, to take leave of my brother, and see the foundations now laying for a long streete and buildings in Hatton Garden, design'd for a little towne, lately an ample garden.

1 Sept. I communicated to Mr. Robert Boyle, son to the Earle of Corke, my proposal for erecting a philosophic mathematic College.

15. Came to see me Mr. Brereton, a very learned gentleman, son to my Lord Brereton, with his and divers other ladies. Also Henry Howard of Norfolk, since Duke of Norfolk.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Sir William Davenant's Opera, in which the cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru was expressed by instrumental and vocal music, and by art of perspective in scenes, 4to, 1658. See the "Biographia Dramatica."

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards one of Charles the Second's mistresses.

<sup>3</sup> This was a house in Layton in Essex, better known by the name of Rockholt, or Ruckholt, built by Mr. Parvish, a former owner of the estate; but a new house was afterwards erected near the site of the former by the family of Hicks, of whom William was created a baronet in 1619. King Charles II. was entertained here one day when he was hunting, and knighted William the son of the Baronet. Morant, in his 'History of Essex,' vol. I. p. 24, printed 1768, speaks of the new house as having been a beautiful one, pulled down some years ago. Previous to this it had been a place of public entertainment in a morning, at which visitors were regaled with tea and music, which is not mentioned by Morant.

30. I went to visite Sir William Ducie and Col. Blount, where I met Sir Henry Blount the famous traveller and water-drinker.

10. I came with my wife and family to London: tooke lodgings at the 3 Feathers in Russell Street, Covent Garden, for all the winter, my sonn being very unwell.

11 Oct. Came to visite me Mr. William Coventry (since Secretary to the Duke) son to the Lord Keeper, a wise and witty gentleman.

The Armie now turn'd out the Parliament. We had now no Government in the Nation; all in confusion; no Magistrate either own'd or pretended but the Souldiers, and they not agreed. God Almighty have mercy on and settle us!

17. I visited Mr. Howard at Arundel house, who gave me a faire onyx set in gold, and shew'd me his designe of a Palace there.

21. A private Fast was kept by the Church of England Protestants in towne, to beg of God the removal of His judgments, with devout prayers for His mercy to our calamitous Church.

7 Nov. Was publish'd my bold *Apologie* for the King in this time of danger, when it was capital to speake or write in favour of him. It was twice printed, so universaly it took.

9. We observ'd our solemn Fast for the calamity of our Church.

12. I went to see the severall drougs for the confection of *Treacle*, *Dioscordium*, and other Electuaries, which an ingenious Apothecarie had not onely prepared and rang'd on a large and very long table, but cover'd every ingredient with a sheete of paper, on which was very lively painted the thing in miniature, well to the life, were it plant, flowre, animal, or other exotic droug.

15 Nov. Din'd with the Dutch Ambassador. He did in a manner acknowledge that his Nation mind only their own profit, do nothing out of gratitude, but collateraly as it relates to their gaine or security; and therefore the English were to look for nothing of assistance to the banish'd King. This was to me no very grateful discourse, tho' an ingenuous confession.

18. Mr. Gunning celebrated the wonted Fast, and preached on 2 Phil. 12, 13.—Nov. 24. Sir John Evelyn [of Godstone] invited us to the 41st wedding-day feast, where was much company of friends.

26. I was introduced into the acquaintance of divers learned and worthy persons, Sir J. Marsham, Mr. Dugdale, Mr. Stanley, and others.

9 Dec. I supp'd with Mr. Gunning, it being our Fast-day, Dr. Fearne, Mr. Thrisco, Mr. Chamberlain, Dr. Henchman, Dr. Wild<sup>1</sup> and other devout and learned Divines, firm Confessors and excellent persons. Note: Most of them since made Bishops.

<sup>1</sup> He was of St. John's College, Oxford, Chaplain to Abp. Laud, Vicar of St. Giles, Reading. Adhering to the King he preach'd before the Parliament at Oxford. After the Restoration he was made Bp. of Londonderry in Ireland. He had kept up a religious meeting for the Royalists in Fleet Street. Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. II. p. 251.

10. I treated privately with Col. Morley, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and in greate trust and power, concerning delivering it to the King, and the bringing of him in, to the greate hazard of my life, but the Coll. had ben my scholefellow, and I knew would not betray me.

12. I spent in publiq concerns for his Majesty, pursuing the point to bring over Colonel Morley, and his brother-in-law Fayne, Governor of Portsmouth.

18. Preached that famous divine Dr. Sanderson (since Bp. of Linc.) now 80 yeares old, on 30 Jer. 13. concerning the evil of forsaking God.

29. Came my Lord Count Arundel of Wardour to visite me. I went also to see my Lord Viscount Montague.

31. Settling my domestic affaires in order, blessed God for his infinite mercies and preservations the past yeare.

ANNUS MIRABILIS 1660. Jan. 1. Begging God's blessings for the following yeare, I went to Excester Chapell, when Mr. Gunning began the yeare on 4 Galatians v. 3 to 7, shewing the love of Christ in shedding his blood so early for us.

12. Wrote to Col. Morley againe to declare for his Majesty.

22. I went this afternoone to visit Coll. Morley. After dinner I discours'd with him, but he was very jealous, and would not believe Monk came in to do the King any service; I told him he might do it without him, and have all the honour. He was still doubtfull, and would resolve on nothing yet, so I took leave.

3 Feb. Kept the Fast. Generall Monk came now to London out of Scotland, but no man knew what he would do, or declare, yet he was met on all his way by the Gentlemen of all the Counties which he pass'd, with petitions that he would recall the old long interrupted Parliament and settle the nation in some order, being at this time in most prodigious confusion and under no government, every body expecting what would be next and what he would do.

10. Now were the Gates of the Citty broken down by General Monke, which exceedingly exasperated the Citty, the souldiers marching up and down as triumphing over it, and all the old army of the phanatics put out of their posts, and sent out of towne.

11. A signal day. Monk, perceiving how infamous and wretched a pack of knaves would have still usurped the supreame power, and having intelligence that they intended to take away his commission, repenting of what he had don to the Citty, and where he and his forces quartered, marches to White-hall, dissipates that nest of robbers, and convenes the old Parliament, the Rump Parliament (so call'd as retaining some few rotten members of the other) being dissolv'd; and for joy whereoff were many thousand of rumps roasted publicly in the streetes at the bonfires this night<sup>1</sup>, with ringing of bells, and universal jubilee. This was the first good omen.

<sup>1</sup> Pamphlets with cuts representing this were printed at the time.

From 17 Feb. to 5 April I was detain'd in bed with a kind of double tertian, the cruell effects of the spleene and other distempers, in that extremity that my physicians, Drs. Wetherborn, Needham, and Claude, were in great doubt of my recovery, but it pleas'd God to deliver me out of this affliction, for which I render him hearty thanks: going to Church the 8th and receiving the blessed Eucharist.

During this sicknesse came divers of my relations and friends to visite me, and it retarded my going into the country longer than I intended; however I writ and printed a letter in defence of his Majesty<sup>1</sup>, against a wicked forg'd paper, pretended to be sent from Bruxells to defame his Majesties person and vertues, and render him odious, now when every body was in hope and expectation of the General and Parliament recalling him, and establishing the Government on its antient and right basis. The doing this towards the decline of my sicknesse, and setting up long in my bed, had caus'd a small relapse, out of which it yet pleas'd God also to free me, so as by the 14th I was able to go into the country, which I did to my sweete and native aire at Wotton.

3 May. Came the most happy tidings of his Majesty's gracious declaration and applications to the Parliament, Generall, and People, and their dutiful acceptance and acknowledgment, after a most bloody and unreasonable rebellion of neere 20 yeares. Praised be for ever the Lord of Heaven, who onely doeth wondrous things, because His mercy endureth for ever!

8. This day was his Majestie proclaim'd in London, &c.

9 May. I was desir'd, and design'd to accompany my Lord Berkeley with the public Adresse of the Parliament, Generall, &c. to the King, and invite him to come over and assume his Kingly Government, he being now at Breda; but I was yet so weake I could not make that journey by sea, which was not a little to my detriment, so I went to London to excuse mysele, returning the 10th, having yet receiv'd a gracious message from his Majestie by Major Scot and Coll. Tuke.

24. Came to me Col. Morley, about procuring his pardon, now too late seeing his error and neglect of the counsel I gave him, by which if he had taken it he had certainly done the great work with the same ease that Monk did it, who was then in Scotland, and Morley in a post to have done what he pleas'd, but his jealousie and feare kept him from that blessing and honor. I address'd him Lord Mordaunt, then in greate favour, for his pardon, which he obtain'd at the cost of 1000*l*. as I heard. O the sottish omission of this gentleman! what did I not undergo of danger in this negotiation to have brought him over to his Majesty's interest, when it was intirely in his hands!

29. This day his Majestie Charles II. came to London after a sad

<sup>1</sup> The title of it is, 'The late News or Message from Brussels unmask'd.' This and the pamphlet which gave occasion for it are printed in 'A Collection of interesting Tracts selected from the Sommers Collection of Tracts,' 1 vol. 4to. 1795.

and long exile and calamitous suffering both of the King and Church, being 17 yeares. This was also his birth-day, and with a triumph of above 20,000 horse and foote, brandishing their swords and shouting with inexpressible joy ; the wayes strew'd with flowers, the bells ringing, the streetes hung with tapistry, fountaines running with wine ; the Maior, Aldermen, and all the Companies in their liveries, chaines of gold, and banners ; Lords and Nobles clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet ; the windowes and balconies well set with ladies ; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven houres in passing the Citty, even from 2 in the afternoone till 9 at night.

I stood in the Strand and beheld it, and bless'd God. And all this was don without one drop of bloud shed, and by that very army which rebell'd against him ; but it was the Lord's doing, for such a Restauration was never mention'd in any history antient or modern, since the returne of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity ; nor so joyfull a day and so bright ever seene in this Nation, this hapning when to expect or effect it was past all human policy.

4 June. I receiv'd letters of Sir Richard Browne's landing at Dover, and also letters from the Queene, which I was to deliver at White-hall, not as yet presenting mysele to his Majesty by reason of the infinite concourse of people. The eagerness of men, women, and children to see his Majesty and kisse his hands was so greate, that he had scarce leisure to eate for some dayes, coming as they did from all parts of the Nation ; and the King being as willing to give them that satisfaction, would have none kept out, but gave accesse to all sorts of people.

Addressing mysele to the Duke, I was carried to his Majestie when very few noblemen were with him, and kiss'd his hands, being very graciously receiv'd. I then return'd home to meete Sir Richard Browne, who came not till the 8th, after a 19 yeares exile, during all which time he kept up in his chapell the Liturgie and Offices of the Church of England, to his no small honour, and in a time when it was so low, and as many thought utterly lost, that in various controversies both with Papists and Sectaries our Divines us'd to argue for the visibility of the Church, from his chapell and congregation.

I was all this week to and fro at Court about buisnesse.

16. The French, Italian, and Dutch Ministers came to make their address to his Majesty, one Monsieur Stoope pronouncing the harangue with greate eloquence.

18. I propos'd the Ambassy of Constantinople for Mr. Henshaw, but my Lord Winchelsea struck in.<sup>1</sup>

Goods that had ben pillag'd from White-hall during the Rebellion

<sup>1</sup> It was on his return from this embassy that his Lordship visiting Sicily was an eye-witness of the dreadful eruption of Mount Ætna in 1669, a short account of which was afterwards published in a small pamphlet, with a cut by Hollar of the Mountain, &c.

were now daily brought in and restor'd upon proclamation ; as plate, hangings, pictures, &c.

21. The Warwickshire gentlemen (as did all the shires and cheif townes in all the three Nations) presented their congratulatory Addresse. It was carried by my Lord Northampton.

30. The Sussex gentlemen presented their Addresse, to which was my hand. I went with it and kiss'd his Majesties hand, who was pleas'd to own me more particularly by calling me his old acquaintance and speaking very graciously to me.

3 July. I went to Hide-park, where was his Majestie and abundance of gallantrie.

4. I heard Sir Sam. Tuke harangue to the House of Lords in behalfe of the Roman Catholics, and his account of the transaction at Colchester in murdering Lord Capel, and the rest of those brave men that suffer'd in cold blood, after articles of rendition.

5. I saw his Majestie go with as much pompe and splendour as any earthly prince could do to the greate Citty feast, the first they had invited him to since his returne, but the exceeding raine which fell all that day much eclips'd its lustres. This was at Guild-hall, and there was also all the Parliament men, both Lords and Commons. The streetes were adorn'd with pageants at immense cost.

6. His Majestie began first to *touch for the evil*, according to custome, thus : his Majestie sitting under his State in the Banqueting House, the Chirurgeons cause the sick to be brought or led up to the throne, where they kneeling, the King strokes their faces or cheekes with both his hands at once, at which instant a Chaplaine in his formalities says, 'He put his hands upon them and he healed them.' This is sayd to every one in particular. When they have ben all touch'd they come up againe in the same order, and the other Chaplaine kneeling, and having Angel gold<sup>1</sup> strung on white ribbon on his arme, delivers them one by one to his Majestie, who puts them about the necks of the touched as they passe, whilst the first Chaplaine repeats, 'That is the true light who came into the world.' Then followes an Epistle (as at first a Gospell) with the Liturgy, prayers for the sick, with some alteration, lastly the blessing ; and the Lo. Chamberlaine and Comptroller of the Household bring a basin, ewer and towell, for his Majestie to wash.

The King receiv'd a congratulatory addresse from the Citty of Cologne in Germany, where he had ben some time in his exile ; his Majesty saying they were the best people in the world, the most kind and worthy to him that he ever met with.

I recommended Mons. Messeroy to be Judge Advocate in Jersey, by the Vice-Chamberlain's mediation with the Earle of St. Albans ; and saluted my excellent and worthy noble friend my Lord Ossory, sonn to the Marquess of Ormond, after many yeares absence returned home.

<sup>1</sup> Pieces of money so called from having the figure of an angel on them.

8. Mr. HENCHMAN preached on 5 Ephes. 5, concerning Christian circumspection. From henceforth was the Liturgie publicquely used in our Churches, whence it had ben for so many yeares banished.

15. Came Sir Geo. Carterett and Lady to visite us : he was now Treasurer of the Navy.

28. I heard his Majesties Speech in the Lords House, on passing the Bills of Tonnage and Poundage ; restauration of my Lord Ormond to his estate in Ireland ; concerning the Commission of Sewers, and continuance of the Excise.—In the afternoone I saluted my old friend the Archbishop of Armagh, formerly of Londonderry (Dr. Bramhall). He presented several Irish Divines to be promoted as Bishops in that kingdom, most of the Bishops in the three kingdoms being now almost worne out, and the Sees vacant.

31. I went to visite Sir Philip Warwick, now Secretary to the Lord Treasurer, at his house in North Cray.

Aug. 19. Our Vicar read the 39 Articles to the Congregation, the National Assemblies beginning to settle, and wanting instruction.

23. Came Duke Hamilton, Lord Lothian, and several Scottish Lords, to see my garden.

25. Coll. Spencer, Collonel of a Regiment of Horse in our County of Kent, sent to me and intreated that I would take a Commission for a Troope of Horse, and that I woulde nominate my Lieutenant and Ensigns ; I thank'd him the honour intended me, but would by no means undertake the trouble.

4 Sept. I was invited to an Ordination by the Bishop of Bangor in Henry the Seventh's Chapell, Westminster, and afterwards saw the audience of an Envoyée from the Duke of Anjou, sent to compliment his Majesties return.

5. Came to visit and dine with me the Envoyée of the King of Poland and Resident of the King of Denmark, &c.

7. I went to Chelsey, to visite Mr. Boyle, and see his pneumatic engine performe divers experiments. Thence to Kensington, to visite M. Henshaw, returning home that evening.

13. I saw in Southwark at St. Margaret's Faire, monckies and apes dance and do other feates of activity on the high rope ; they were gallantly clad *à la mode*, went upright, saluted the company, bowing and pulling off their hatts ; they saluted one another with as good a grace as if instructed by a dauncing-master ; they turn'd heels over head with a basket having eggs in it, without breaking any ; also with lighted candles in their hands and on their heads without extinguishing them, and with vessells of water without spilling a drop. I also saw an Italian wench daunce and performe all the tricks on the high rope to admiration ; all the Court went to see her. Likewise here was a man who tooke up a piece of iron cannon of about 400 lb. weight with the haire of his head onely.

17 Sept. I went to London to see the splendid entry of the Prince de Ligne, Ambassador extraordinary from Spaine ; he was Generall of the Spanish King's horse in Flanders, and was accompanied with divers greate persons from thence, and an innumerable retinue. His train consisted of 17 coaches with 6 horses of his owne, besides a greate number of English, &c. Greater bravery had I never seene. He was receiv'd in the Banqueting House in exceeding state, all the greate Officers of Court attending.

13. In the midst of all this joy and jubilee the Duke of Glocester died of the small pox in the prime of his youth, and a prince of extraordinary hopes.

27. The King receiv'd the Merchants Addresses in his closet, giving them assurance of his persisting to keepe Jamaica, choosing Sir Edw. Massy Governor. In the afternoone the Danish Ambassadors condolencies were presented, on the death of the D. of Gloucester. This evening I saw the Princesse Royal, mother to the Pr. of Orange, now come out of Holland in a fatal period.

6 Oct. I paid the greate Tax of Poll Money levied for disbanding the Army, till now kept up. I paid as an Esquire £.10, and one shilling for every servant in my house.

7 Oct. There din'd with me a French Count, with Sir George Tuke, who came to take leave of me, being sent over to the Queene Mother to breake the marriage of the Duke with the daughter of Chancellor Hide. The Queene would fain have undon it, but it seemes matters were reconcil'd on greate offers of the Chancellor's to befriend the Queene, who was much in debt, and was now to have the settlement of her affaires go through his hands.

11 Oct. The Regicides who sat on the life of our late King, were brought to tryal in the Old Bailey, before a Commission of Oyer and Terminer.

14. Axtall, Carew, Clements, Hacker, Hewson, and Peters, were executed.

17. Scot, Scroope, Cook, and Jones, suffered for reward of their iniquities at Charing Crosse, in sight of the place where they put to death their natural Prince, and in the presence of the King his sonn whom they also sought to kill. I saw not their execution, but met their quarters mangl'd and cutt and reeking as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdle. Oh the miraculous providence of God !

28. His Majesty went to meet the Queene Mother.

29. Going to London, my Lord Maior's shew stopp'd me in Cheapside ; one of the pageants represented a greate Wood, with the Royal Oake and historie of his Majesty's miraculous escape at Boscobel.

Oct. 31. Arived now to my Fortieth year, I rendered to Almighty God my due and hearty thanks.

Nov. 1. I went with some of my relations to Court, to shew them his Majesties cabinet and closset of rarities; the rare miniatures of Peter Oliver after Raphaël, Titian, and other masters, which I infinitely esteeme; also that large piece of the Dutchesse of Lennox don in ena-maile by Petitot, and a vast number of achates, onyxes and intaglios, especially a medalion of Cæsar, as broad as my hand; likewise rare cabinets of Pietra Commessa; a landscape of needlework, formerly presented by the Dutch to King Cha. I. Here I saw a vast book of mapps in a volume neere 4 yards large; a curious ship modell; and amongst the clocks, one that shew'd the rising and setting of the Sun in the Zodiaq, the Sunn represented by a face and raies of gold, upon an azure skie, observing the diurnal and annual motion, rising and setting behind a landscape of hills, the work of our famous Fromantel; and severall other rarities.

3. Ariv'd the Queene Mother in England, whence she had ben banish'd almost 20 yeares; together with her illustrious daughter the Princesse Henrietta, divers Princes and Noblemen accompanying them.

15. I kiss'd the Queene Mother's hand.

20. I din'd at the Clerk Comptroler's of the Greene Clothe, being the first day of the re-establishment of the Court Diet and settling of his Majesty's Household.

23. Being this day in the Bedchamber of the Princess Henrietta, where were many greate beauties and noblemen, I saluted divers of my old friends and acquaintances abroad; his Majesty carrying my wife to salute the Queene and Princesse, and then led her into his closet, and with his owne hands shew'd her divers curiosities.

25. Dr. Rainbow preach'd before the King, on 2 Luke 14. of the glory to be given God for all his mercies, especialy for restoring the Church and government; now the service was perform'd with musiq, voices, &c. as formerly.

27. Came downe the Cleark Comptroler [of the Greene Cloth] by the Lord Steward's appointment, to survey the land at Says Court, on which I had pretence, and to make his report.<sup>1</sup>

Dec. 6. I waited on my brother and sister Evelyn to Court. Now were presented to his Majestie those two rare pieces of Drolery, or rather a *Dutch Kitchen*, painted by Dowe so finely as hardly to be distinguish'd from enameil. I was also shew'd divers rich jewells and chrystal vases; the rare *head of Jo. Belino*, Titian's master; *Christ in the Garden*, by Hannibal Caracci; two incomparable heads by Hol-bein; the *Queene Mother* in a miniature, almost as big as the life; an exquisite piece of carving, 2 unicorns' hornes, &c. This in the Closset.

<sup>1</sup> The King's Household used to be supplied with corn and cattle from the different Counties; and oxen being sent up, pasture grounds of the King near town were allotted for them: amongst these were lands at Deptford and Tottenham Court, which were under the direction of the Lord Steward and Board of Greene Cloth. Sir Rich. Browne had the keeping of the lands at Deptford.

13. I presented my son John to the Queene Mother, who kissed him, talked with and made extraordinary much of him.

14. I visited my Lord Chancellor, the Marchionesse of Ormond, and Countesse of Guildford, all of whom we had knowne abroad in exile.

18. I carried Mr. Spellman, a most ingenious gentleman, grandchild to the learned Sir Henry, to my Lord Mordaunt, to whom I had recommended him as Secretary.

22. The marriage of the Chancellor's daughter being now newly owned, I went to see her, she being Sir Richard Browne's intimate acquaintance when she waited on the Princesse of Orange; she was now at her father's at Worcester House in the Strand. We all kiss'd her hand, as did also my Lord Chamberlain (Manchester) and Countesse of Northumberland. This was a strange change—can it succeed well!—I spent the evening at St. James's, whither the Princesse Henrietta was retir'd during the fatal sicknesse of her sister the Princesse of Orange, now come over to salute the King her brother. The Princesse gave my wife an extraordinary compliment and gracious acceptance, for the 'Character' she had presented her the day before, and which was afterwards printed.

21. This day died the Princesse of Orange, of the small pox, which wholly alter'd the face and gallantry of the whole Court.

25. Preached at the Abbey Dr. Earle, Cleark of his Majesties Closet and my deare friend, now Deane of Westminster, on 2 Luke 13. 14. condoling the breache made in the publiq. joy by the lamented death of the Princesse.

30. I din'd at Court with Mr. Crane, Cleark of the Greene Cloth.

31. I gave God thanks for his many signal mercies to my selfe, Church and Nation, this wonderfull yeare. +

1661. 2 Jan. The Queene Mother, with the Princesse Henrietta, began her journey to Portsmouth, in order to her returne into France.

5. I visited my Lord Chancellor Clarendon, with whom I had ben well acquainted abroad.

6. Dr. Allestree preach'd at the Abby, after which 4 Bishops were consecrated, Hereford, Norwich . . . .

This night was suppress'd a bloody insurrection of some *Fifth-Monarchy enthusiasts*. Some of them were examin'd at the Council the next day, but could say nothing to extenuate their madnesse and unwarrantable zeale.

I was now chosen (and nominated by his Majestie for one of the Council) by suffrage of the rest of the Members, a Fellow of the Philosophic Society now meeting at Gressham College, where was an assembly of divers learned gentlemen. This being the first meeting since the King's return; but it had ben begun some yeares before at Oxford, and was continued with interruption here in London during the Rebellion.

There was another rising of the Phanatics, in which some were slaine.

16. I went to the Philosophic Club, where was examin'd the Torricellian experiment. I presented my Circle of Mechanical Trades, and had recommended to me the publishing of what I had written upon Chalcography.

25. After divers yeares since I had seen any play, I went to see acted 'The Scornful Lady,' at a new Theater in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

30. Was the first solemn fast and day of humiliation to deplore the sinns which so long had provok'd God against this afflicted church and people, order'd by Parliament to be annually celebrated to expiate the guilt of the execrable murder of the late King.

This day (O the stupendous and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcasses of those arch rebels Cromwell, Bradshaw the Judge who condemned his Majestie, and Ireton, sonn-in-law to the Usurper, dragg'd out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the Kings, to Tyburne, and hang'd on the gallows there from 9 in the morning till 6 at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deepe pitt; thousands of people who had seene them in all their pride being spectators. Looke back at Nov. 22, 1658, [Oliver's funeral,] and be astonish'd! and feare God and honor the King; but meddle not with them who are given to change!

6 Feb. To London to our Society, where I gave notice of the visit of the Danish Ambassador Extraordinary, and was ordered to return him their acceptance of that honour, and to invite him the next meeting day.

10. Dr. Baldero preach'd at Ely House, on 6 Matt. v. 33. of seeking early the kingdome of God; after sermon the Bishop (Dr. Wren) gave us the blessing very pontifically.

13 Feb. I conducted the Danish Ambassador to our meeting at Gressham College, where were shew'd him divers experiments in *vacuo*, and other curiosities.

21. Prince Rupert first shewed me how to grave in Mezzo Tinto.

26. I went to Lord Mordaunt's at Parson's Green.

27. Ash Wed. Preached before the King the Bishop of London (Dr. Sheldon) on 18 Matt. 25. concerning charity and forgiveness.

8 March. I went to my Lord Chancellor's, and deliver'd to him the state of my concernement at Sayes Court.

9. I went with that excellent person and philosopher Sir Robert Murray, to visit Mr. Boyle at Chelsey, and saw divers effects of the Eolipile for weighing aire.

13. I went to Lambeth with Sir R. Browne's pretence to the Wardenship of Merton Coll. Oxford, to which, as having ben about 40 ycars before a student of that house, he was elected by the votes of every Fellow except one; but the Statutes of the house being so that unlesse every Fellow agree, the election devolves to the Visitor, who is the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Juxon), his Grace gave his nomina-

tion to Sir T. Clayton, resident there and the Physick Professor ; for which I was not at all displeas'd, because, tho' Sir Richard miss'd it by much ingratitude and wrong of the Archbishop (Clayton being no Fellow), yet it would have hinder'd Sir Richard from attending at Court to settle his greater concernes, and so have prejudic'd me, tho' he was much inclin'd to have pass'd his time in a collegiate life, very unfit for him at that time, for many reasons. So I tooke leave of his Grace, who was formerly Lord Treasurer in the reigne of Chs. I.

This afternoone Prince Rupert shew'd me with his owne hands the new way of graving called *Mezzo Tinto*, which afterwards by his permission I publish'd in my History of Chalcography ; this set so many artistes on worke, that they soone ariv'd to that perfection it is since come, emulating the tenderest miniatures.

Our Society now gave in my relation of the Pic of Teneriffe in the Great Canaries, to be added to more queries concerning divers natural things reported of that Island.

I return'd home with my Cousin Tuke, now going for France, as sent by his Majesty, to condole the death of that greate minister and politician Cardinal Mazarine.

29. Dr. Heylin (author of the Geography) preach'd at the Abby, on 5 Cant. 25. concerning Friendship & Charitie ; he was, I think, at this time quite darke, and so had ben for some yeares.

31. This night his Majestie promis'd to make my wife Lady of the Jewels (a very honourable charge) to the future Queene (but which he never perform'd.)

1 April. I din'd with that great mathematician and virtuoso Monsieur Zulichem, inventor of the pendule clock, and discoverer of the phænomenon of Saturn's annulus ; he was elected into our Society.

19. To London, and saw the bathing and rest of the ceremonies of the Knights of the Bath, preparatory to the Coronation ; it was in the Painted Chamber, Westminster. I might have received this honour, but declined it. The rest of the Ceremonie was in the Chapell at White-hall, when their swords being laid on the altar, the Bishop deliver'd them.

22. Was the splendid cavalcade of his Majestie from the Tower of London to White-hall, when I saw him in the Banquetting House create 6 Earls, and as many Barons, *viz.*

Edward Lord Hide,<sup>1</sup> Lord Chancellor, Earle of Clarendon ; sup-

<sup>1</sup> In 1656 or 1657, attempts were made to remove the Chancellor (Hyde), by accusing him of betraying his Majesty's Counsels, and holding correspondence with Cromwell ; but these allegations were so trivial and frivolous, that they manifestly appeared to be nothing but the effects of malice against him, and therefore produced the contrary effects to those which some desired, and strengthened the King's kindness to him ; as giving him just occasion to believe that these suggestions against him proceeded all from one and the same cause, namely, from the ambition which some people had to enter in his room into the first trust of his Majesty's affairs, if once they could remove him from his station. Life of King James II. from his own papers, 1816, vol. I. p. 274.

ported by the Earles of Northumberland and Sussex ; the Earle of Bedford carried the cap and coronet, the Earle of Warwick the sword, the Earle of Newport the mantle.

Next, was Capel, created Earle of Essex ; Brudenell, Cardigan ; Valentia, Anglesea ; Greenvill, Bath ; and Howard, Earle of Carlisle.

The Barons were : Denzill Holles ; Cornwallis ; Booth ; Townsend ; Cooper ; Crew ; who were all led up by severall Peers, with Garter and Officers of Armes before them ; when, after obedience on their severall approaches to the Throne, their patents were presented by Garter King at Armes, which being receiv'd by the Lord Chamberlaine and deliver'd to his Majesty, and by him to the Secretary of State, were read and then againe deliver'd to his Majestie, and by him to the severall Lords created ; they were then rob'd, their coronets and collers put on by his Majestie, and they were plac'd in rank on both sides the State and Throne, but the Barons put off their caps and circles and held them in their hands, the Earles keeping on their coronets as cousins to the King.

I spent the rest of the evening in seeing the severall arch-triumphals built in the streetes at severall eminent places thro' which his Majesty was next day to passe, some of which, tho' temporary, and to stand but one yeare, were of good invention and architecture, with inscriptions.

23. Was the Coronation of his Majesty Charles II. in the Abby Church of Westminster ; at all which ceremonie I was present. The King and all his Nobility went to the Tower, I accompanying my Lord Viscount Mordaunt part of the way ; this was on Sun. the 22d, but indeede his Majestie went not til early this morning, and proceeded from thence to Westminster in this order :

First went the Duke of York's Horse Guards. Messengers of the Chamber. 136 Esquires to the Knights of the Bath, each of whom had two, most richly habited. The Knight Harbinger. Serjeant Porter. Sewers of the Chamber. Quarter Waiters. Six Clearks of Chancery. Clearke of the Signet. Clearke of the Privy Seale. Clearks of the Council, of the Parliament, and of the Crowne. Chaplaines in ordinary having dignitaries 10. Kings Advocats and Remembrancer. Council at Law. Members of the Chancery. Puisne Serjeants. Kings Attorney and Solicitor. Kings eldest Serjeant. Secretaries of the French and Latine tongue. Gent. Ushers, Daily Waiters, Sewers, Carvers, and Cupbearers in ordinary. Esquires of the Body 4. Masters of standing offices being no Councillors, *viz.* of the Tents, Revels, Ceremonies, Armorie, Wardrobe, Ordnance, Requests. Chamberlaine of the Exchequer. Barons of the Exchequer. Judges. Lord Chiefe Baron. Lord C. Justice of the Common Pleas. Master of the Rolls. Lord C. Justice of England. Trumpets. Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. Knights of the Bath, 68, in crimson robes exceeding rich

<sup>1</sup> There is a full account of this Ceremony with fine Sculptures, in a folio volume, published by John Ogilby, 1662.

and the noblest shew of the whole cavalcade, his Majestie excepted. Knt. Marshall. Treasurer of the Chamber. Master of the Jewells. Lords of the Privy Council. Comptroller of the Household. Treasurer of the Household. Trumpets. Serjeant Trumpet. Two Pursuivants at Armes. Barons. Two Pursuivants at Armes. Viscounts. Two Heralds. Earles. Lord Chamberlaine of the Household. Two Heralds. Marquisses. Dukes. Heralds Clarencieux and Norroy. Lord Chancellor. Lord High Steward of England. Two persons representing the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitain, *viz.* Sir Richard Fanshawe and Sir Herbert Price, in fantastiq habits of the time. Gentlemen Ushers. Garter. Lord Maior of London. The Duke of York alone (the rest by two's). Lord High Constable of England. Lord Great Chamberlaine of England. The Sword borne by the Earle Marshal of England. The KING in royal robes and equipage. Afterwards follow'd Equerries, Footemen, Gent. Pensioners. Master of the Horse leading a horse richly caprison'd. Vice Chamberlaine. Captain of the Pensioners. Captain of the Guard. The Guard. The Horse Guard. The Troope of Volunteers with many other Officers and Gentlemen.

This magnificent traine on horseback, as rich as embroidery, velvet, cloth of gold and silver, and jewells, could make them and their pransing horses, proceed'd thro' the streetes strew'd with flowers, houses hung with rich tapessry, windoes and balconies full of ladies; the London Militia lining the ways, and the severall Companies with their banners and loud musiq rank'd in their orders; the fountaines running wine, bells ringing, with speeches made at the severall triumphal arches; at that of the Temple Barr (neere which I stood) the Lord Maior was receiv'd by the Bayliff of Westminster, who in a scarlet robe made a speech. Thence with joyful acclamations his Majestie passed to Whitehall. Bonfires at night.

The next day, being St. George's, he went by water to Westminster Abby. When his Majestie was enter'd, the Deane and Prebendaries brought all the regalia, and deliver'd them to severall Noblemen to beare before the King, who met them at the west doore of the Church singing an anthem, to the Quire. Then came the Peers in their robes, and coronets in their hands, til his Majestie was plac'd in a throne elevated before the altar. Then the Bishop of London (the Archbishop of Canterbury being sick) went to every side of the throne to present the King to the People, asking if they would have him for their King and do him homage; at this they shouted 4 times *God save King Charles the Second!* Then an anthem was sung. Then his Majestie attended by 3 Bishops went up to the altar, and he offer'd a pall and a pound of gold. Afterwards he sate downe in another chaire during the sermon, which was preach'd by Dr. Morley then Bishop of Worcester. After sermon the King tooke his oath before the altar to maintain the Religion, Magna Charta, and Laws of the Land. The hymn *Veni S. Sp.*

follow'd, and then the Litany by 2 Bishops. Then the Archibishop of Canterbury, present but much indispos'd and weake, said *Lift up your hearts*; at which the King rose up and put off his robes and upper garments, and was in a waistcoate so opened in divers places that the Archb'p might commodiously anoint him, first in the palmes of his hands, when an anthem was sung and a prayer read; then his breast and twixt the shoulders, bending of both armes, and lastly on the crowne of the head, with apposite hymns and prayers at each anoynting; this don, the Deane clos'd and button'd up the wastcoate. Then was a coyste put on, and the cobbium, syndon, or dalmatic, and over this a super'tunic of cloth of gold, with buskins and sandals of the same, spurrs, and the sword, a prayer being first said over it by the Archbishop on the altar before t'was girt on by the Lord Chamberlaine. Then the armill, mantle, &c. Then the Archbishop plac'd the crowne imperial on the altar pray'd over it, and set it on his Majesties head, at which all the Peers put on their coronets. Anthems and rare musiq, with lutes, viols, trumpets, organs, and voices, were then heard, and the Archbishop put a ring on his Majesties finger. The King next offer'd his sword on the altar, which being redeemed was drawn and borne before him. Then the Archbishop deliver'd him the sceptre with the dove in one hand, and in the other the sceptre with the globe. Then the King kneeling, the Archbishop pronounc'd the blessing. The King then ascending againe his Royal Throne, whilst *Te Deum* was singing, all the Peeres did their homage, by every one touching his crowne. The Archbishop and rest of the Bishops first kissing the King; who receiv'd the holy sacrament, and so disrob'd, yet with the crowne imperial on his head, and accompanied with all the Nobility in the former order, he went on foote upon blew cloth, which was spread and reach'd from the West dore of the Abby to Westminster stayres, when he tooke water in a triumphal barge to Whitehall, where was extraordinary feasting.

24. I presented his Majestie with his Panegyric<sup>1</sup> in the Privy Chamber, which he was pleas'd to accept most graciously; I gave copies to the Lord Chancellor and most of the Noblemen who came to me for it. I din'd at the Marques of Ormonds, where was a magnificent feaste and many greate persons.

1 May. I went to Hide Park to take the aire, where was his Majesty and an innumerable appearance of gallants and rich coaches, being now a time of universal festivitie and joy.

2. I had audience of my Lord Chancellor about my title to Says Court.

3. I went to see the wonderfull engine for weaving silk stockings, said to have ben the invention of an Oxford scholler 40 years since; and I return'd by Fromantil's the famous clock-maker to see some pendules, Monsieur Zulichem being with us.

<sup>1</sup> Viz. a Poem upon his Majesty's Coronation, the 23 of April 1661, being St. George's Day.

This evening I was with my Lord Brouncker, Sir Robert Murray, Sir Pa. Neill, Monsieur Zulichem, and Mr. Bull (all of them of our Society and excellent mathematicians), to shew his Majestie, who was present, Saturn's annulus as some thought, but as Zulichem affirm'd with his Balleus (as that learned gentleman had publish'd), very neere eclips'd by the Moon, neere the Mons Porphyritis; also Jupiter and Satelites, thro' his Majesty's great telescope, drawing 35 foote; on which were divers discourses.

8 May. His Majestie rood in state, with his imperial crowne on, and all the Peeres in their robes, in great pomp to the Parliament now newly chosen (the old one being dissolv'd); and that evening declar'd in Council his intention to marry the Infanta of Portugal.

9. At Sir Rob. Murray's, where I met Dr. Wallis, Professor of Geometry in Oxon, where was discourse of severall mathematicall subjects.

11. My wife presented to his Majesty the Madona she had copied in miniature from P. Oliver's painting after Raphael, which she wrought with extraordinary pains and judgment. The King was infinitely pleas'd with it, and caus'd it to be plac'd in his cabinet amongst his best paintings.

13. I heard and saw such exercises at the election of Scholars at Westminster School to be sent to the University, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, in themes and extemporary verses, as wonderfully astonish'd me in such youths, with such readiness and witt, some of them not above 12 or 13 years of age. Pity it is that what they attaine here so ripely, they either not retain or do not improve more considerably when they come to be men, tho' many of them do; and no lesse is to be blamed their odd pronouncing of Latine, so that out of England none were able to understand or endure it. The Examinants or Posers were, Dr. Duport, Greek Professor at Cambridge; Dr. Fell, Deane of Christ Church Oxon; Dr. Pierson, Dr. Alestree Deane of Westminster, and any that would.

14 May. His Majesty was pleas'd to discourse with me concerning several particulars relating to our Society, and the planet Saturn, &c. as he sat at supper in the withdrawing room to his bed-chamber.

16. I din'd with Mr. Garmus, the Resident from Hamburgh, who continu'd his feast neere 9 whole hours, according to the custome of his country, tho' there was no greate excesse of drinking, no man being oblig'd to take more than he lik'd.

22. The *Scotch Covenant* was burnt by the common hangman in divers places in London. Oh prodigious change!

29. This was the first Anniversarie appointed by Act of Parliament to be observed as a day of General Thanksgiving for the miraculous Restauration of his Majesty: our Vicar preaching on 118 Psalm 24. requiring us to be thankful & rejoyce, as indeede we had cause.

4 June. Came Sir Cha. Harbord, his Majesties surveyor, to take an account of what grounds I challeng'd at Says Court.

27. I saw the Portugal Ambassador at dinner with his Majestie in state, where was excellent musiq.

2 July. I went to see the New Spring Garden at Lambeth, a pretty contriv'd plantation.

19. We tried our *Diving Bell* or engine in the water-dock at Deptford, in which our Curator continu'd half an hour under water; it was made of cast lead, let down with a strong cable.

August 3. Came my Lord Hatton, Comptroller of his Majesties household, to visite me.

9. I tried several experiments on the sensitive plant and humilis, which contracted with the least touch of the sun thro' a burning glasse, tho' it rises and opens onely when it shines on it.

I first saw the famous *Queen Pine*<sup>1</sup> brought from Barbados and presented to his Majestie; but the first that were ever seen in England were those sent to Cromwell foure years since.

I din'd at Mr. Palmer's in Gray's Inn, whose curiosity excell'd in clocks and pendules, especialy one that had innumerable motions, and plaied 9 or 10 tunes on the bells very finely, some of them set in parts, which was very harmonious. It was wound up but once in a quarter. He had also good telescopes and mathematical instruments, choice pictures, and other curiosities. Thence we went to that famous mountebank Jo. Punteus.

Sir Kenelme Digby presented every one of us his Discourse of the Vegetation of Plants; and Mr. Henshaw, his History of Salt Petre and Gunpowder. I assisted him to procure his place of French Secretary to the King, which he purchas'd of Sir Hen. De Vic.

I went to that famous physitian Sir Fr. Prujean, who shew'd me his laboratorie, his work-house for turning, and other mechanics; also many excellent pictures, especialy the *Magdalen* of Caracci; and some incomparable *paisages* done in distemper; he plaied to me likewise on the *polythore*, an instrument having something of the harp, lute, theorbo, &c. It was a sweete instrument, by none known in England, or describ'd by any author, nor us'd but by this skilfull and learned Doctor.

15. I went to Tunbridge Wells, my wife being there for the benefit of her health. Walking about the solitudes, I greatly admired at the extravagant turnings, insinuations, and growth of certaine birch trees among the rocks.

13 Sept. I presented my *Fumifugium*,<sup>2</sup> dedicated to his Majesty, who was pleas'd I should publish it by his special commands, being much gratified with it.

<sup>1</sup> At Kensington Palace is a curious picture of King Charles receiving a pine apple from his gardener Mr. Rose, who is presenting it on his knees. See 1668, August.

<sup>2</sup> This pamphlet having become extremely scarce, was handsomely reprinted for Messrs. White in Fleet Street, in 4to. in 1772.

18. This day was read our Petition to his Majesty for his Royal Grant authorizing our Society to meet as a Corporation, with several privileges.

An exceedingly sickly, wet autumn.

1 Oct. I sail'd this morning with his Majesty in one of his yachts (or pleasure-boats), vessells not known among us til the Dutch E. India Company presented that curious piece to the King, being very excellent sailing vessells. It was on a wager betweene his other new pleasure boate, built frigate like, and one of the Duke of York's; the wager 100*l.*; the race from Greenwich to Gravesend and back. The King lost it going, the wind being contrary, but sav'd stakes in returning. There were divers noble persons and lords on board, his Majesty sometimes steering himselfe. His barge and kitchen boate attended. I brake fast this morning with the King at return in his smaller vessell, he being pleas'd to take me and onely foure more, who were noblemen, with him; but din'd in his yatcht, where we all eate together with his Majesty. In this passage he was pleas'd to discourse to me about my book inveighing against the nuisance of the smoke of London and proposing expedients how by removing those particulars I mention'd, it might be reform'd; commanding me to prepare a Bill against the next Session of Parliament, being as he said resolv'd to have something don in it. Then he discours'd to me of the improvement of gardens and buildings, now very rare in England comparatively to other countries. He then commanded me to draw up the matter of fact happening at the bloody encounter which then had newly happen'd betweene the French and Spanish Ambassadors neere the Tower, contending for precedency, at the reception of the Sweeds Ambassador; giving me order to consult Sir Wm. Compton, Master of the Ordnance, to informe me what he knew of it, and with his favourite Sir Cha. Berkley,<sup>1</sup> captaine of the Duke's life guard, then present with his troope and 3 foote companies; with some other reflections and instructions, to be prepar'd with a declaration to take off the reports which went about of his Majestys partiality in the affaire, and of his officers and spectators rudenesse whilst the conflict lasted. So I came home that night, and went next morning to London, where from the Officers of the Tower, Sir Wm. Compton, Sir Cha. Berkeley, and others who were attending at this meeting of the Ambassadors 3 dayes before, having collected what I could, I drew up a narrative in vindication of his Majesty and the carriage of his Officers and standers by. On Thursday his Majesty sent one of the pages of the Back Stayres for me to waite on him with my papers in his cabinet, where was present only Sir Henry Bennett<sup>2</sup> (Privy Purse), when beginning to read to his Majesty what I had drawn up, by the time I had read halfe a page, came

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Earl of Falmouth, who was killed by the side of the Duke of York, in the first Dutch war.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Secretary of State, Earl of Arlington, and Lord Chamberlain.

in Mr. Secretary Morice with a large paper, desiring to speake with his Majesty, who told him he was now very buisy, and therefore order'd him to come againe some other time ; the Secretary replied that what he had in his hand was of extraordinary importance, so the King rose up, and commanding me to stay, went aside to a corner of the roome with the Secretary ; after a while the Secretary being dispatch'd, his Majesty returning to me at the table, a letter was brought him from Madame out of France ; this he read and then bid me proceede from where I left off. This I did til I had ended all the narrative, to his Majestys greate satisfaction ; and after I had inserted one or two more clauses, in which his Majesty instructed me, commanded that it should that night be sent to the Post-house directed to the Lord Ambassador at Paris (the Earle of St. Alban's) and then at leasure to prepare him a copy which he would publish. This I did, and immediately sent my papers to the Secretary of State, with his Majesty's expresse command of dispatching them that night for France. Before I went out of his Majestys closet, he cal'd me back to shew me some ivorie statues, and other curiosities that I had not seene before.

3. Next evening, being in the withdrawing roome adjoining the bed-chamber, his Majesty espying me came to me from a greate crowde of noblemen standing neere the fire, and ask'd me if I had don ; and told me he fear'd it might be a little too sharp, on second thoughts, for he had that morning spoken with the French Ambassador, who it seemes had palliated the matter and was very tame, and therefore directed me where I should soften a period or two before it was publish'd (as afterwards it was <sup>1</sup>). This night also he spake to me to give him a sight of what was sent, and to bring it to him in his bedchamber ; which I did, and receiv'd it againe from him at dinner next day. By Saturday having finish'd it with all his Majestys notes, the King being gon abroad, I sent the papers to Sir Hen. Bennett (Privy Purse and a great favourite), and slip'd home, being myselfe much indispos'd and harrass'd with going about, and sitting up to write.

19. Oct. I went to London to visite my Lord of Bristoll, having first ben with Sir John Denham (his Majesties surveyor) to consult with him about the placing of his palace at Greenewich, which I would have had built between the river and the Queenes house, so as a large square cutt should have let in the Thames like a bay ; but Sir John was for setting it on piles at the very brink of the water, which I did not assent to, and so came away, knowing Sir John to be a better poet than architect, tho' he had Mr. Webb (Inigo Jones's man) to assist him.

<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding this positive assertion, it is very extraordinary that it has never been inserted in any Library or Auction Catalogue that a gentleman of the greatest research (Mr. Bindley) ever saw. Perhaps it was recalled.

29. I saw the Lord Maior<sup>1</sup> passe in his water triumph to Westminster, being the first solemnity of this nature after 20 yeares.

2 Nov. Came Sir Hen. Bennet, since Lord Arlington, to visite me, and to acquaint me that his Majesty would do me the honor to come and see my garden, but it then being late 'twas deferr'd.

3. One Mr. Breton<sup>2</sup> preach'd his probation Sermon at our Parish Church, and indeede made a most excellent discourse on 1 John 29 of God's free grace to penitents, so that I could not but recommend him to the patron.

10. In the afternoone preach'd at the Abby Dr. Basire, that greate travailler, or rather French Apostle, who had been planting the Church of England in divers parts of the Levant and Asia. He shew'd that the Church of England was for purity of doctrine, substance, decency, and beauty, the most perfect under Heaven; that England was the very land of Goshen.

11. I was so idle as to go see a play call'd 'Love and Honour,'—Din'd at Arundel House; and that evening discours'd with his Majestie about shipping, in which he was exceeding skilfull.

15. I din'd with the Duke of Ormond, who told me there were no moles in Ireland, nor any rats till of late, and that but in one county; but it was a mistake that spiders would not live there, only they were not poysonous. Also that they frequently took salmon with dogs.

16. I presented my Translation of 'Naudæus concerning Libraries' to my Lord Chancellor, but it was miserably false printed.

17. Dr. Creighton, a Scot, author of the 'Florentine Council,' and a most eloquent man and admirable Grecian, preached on 6 Cant. 13. celebrating the returne and restauration of the Church and King.

20. At the Royall Society Sir William Petty propos'd divers things for the improvement of shipping, a versatile keele that should be on hinges, and concerning sheathing ships with thin lead.

24. This night his Majesty fell into discourse with me concerning bees, &c.

26. I saw Hamlet Prince of Denmark played, but now the old plays began to disgust this refined age, since his Majesties being so long abroad.

28. I din'd at Chiffinch's house-warming in St. James's Park; he was his Majesty's closet keeper, and had his new house full of good pictures, &c. There din'd with us Russell, Popish Bishop of Cape Verde, who was sent out to negotiate his Majesties match with the Infanta of Portugal after the Ambassador was return'd.

29. I din'd at the Countesse of Peterborows, and went that evening

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Frederick. The pageant for this day was called 'London's Triumph,' at the Charges of the Grocers Company. By John Tatham.

<sup>2</sup> He obtained the Living.

<sup>3</sup> A Tragi-Comedy by William Davenant; the performance appears to have been in the morning.

to Parson Greene's House with my Lord Mordaunt, with whom I staid that night.

1 December. I went to take leave of my Lo. Peterborow going now to Tangier, which was to be delivered to the English on the match with Portugal.

3. By universal suffrage of our philosophic assembly an order was made and register'd that I should receive their public thanks for the honourable mention I made of them by the name of Royal Society in my Epistle dedicatory to the Lord Chancellor before my Traduction of Naudeus. Too great an honor for a trifle.

4. I had much discourse with the Duke of York concerning strange cures, he affirmed of a woman who swallow'd a whole ear of barley, which work'd out at her side. I told him of the *knife swallow'd*<sup>1</sup> and the pins.

I took leave of the Bishop of Cape Verde now going in the Fleet to bring over our new Queene.

7. I din'd at Arundel House, the day when the greate contest in Parliament was concerning the restoring the Duke of Norfolk; however 'twas carried for him. I also presented my little trifle of Sumptuary Laws, intitl'd 'Tyrannus' [or 'The Mode.']

14. I saw otter hunting with the King, and killed one.

16. I saw a French Comedy acted at White-hall.

20. The Bishop of Gloucester<sup>2</sup> preached at the Abby at the funeral of the Bishop of Hereford, brother to the Duke of Albemarle. It was a decent solemnity. There was a silver mitre with episcopal robes, born by the Herauld before the herse, which was follow'd by the Duke his brother, and all the Bishops with divers noblemen.

23. I heard an Italian play and sing to the guittar with extraordinary skill before the Duke.

1662, 1 Jan. I went to London, invited to the solemn foolerie of the Prince de la Grange at Lincoln's Inn, where came the King, Duke, &c. It began with a grand masque, and a formal pleading before the mock Princes, Grandees, Nobles, and Knights of the Sunn. He had his Lord Chancellor, Chamberlain, Treasurer, and other Royal Officers, gloriously clad and attended. It ended in a magnificent banquet. One Mr. Lort was the young spark who maintain'd the pageantry.

6 Jan. This evening, according to costome, his Majesty open'd the revells of that night by throwing the dice himsele in the privy chamber, where was a table set on purpose, and lost his 100/. (The yeare before he won 1500/.) The ladies also plaid very deepe. I came away when the Duke of Ormond had won about 1000/. and left them still at

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the Dutchman, and to an extraordinary case, contained in a "miraculous cure of the Prussian Swallow Knife, &c. by Dan. Lakin, P.C." quarto, London, 1642, with a wood cut representing the object himself and the size of the knife.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. William Nicholson.

*passage, cards, &c.* At other tables, both there and at the Groom-porter's, observing the wicked folly and monstrous excesse of passion amongst some losers; sorry I am that such a wretched costome as play to that excesse should be countenanc'd in a Court which ought to be an example of virtue to the rest of the kingdome.

9. I saw acted 'The 3rd Part of the Siege of Rhodes.' In this acted the faire and famous comedian call'd Roxalana from the part she perform'd; and I think it was the last, she being taken to be the Earle of Oxford's *Misse* (as at this time they began to call lewd women.) It was in recitativa musiq.

10. Being call'd into his Majesty's closet when Mr. Cooper, the rare limner, was crayoning of the King's face and head, to make the stamps by for the new mill'd money now contriving, I had the honour to hold the candle whilst it was doing, he choosing the night and candle-light for the better finding out the shadows. During this his Majesty discours'd with me on several things relating to painting and graving.

11 Jan. I din'd at Arundel House, where I heard excellent musiq perform'd by the ablest masters both French and English, on theorbos, viols, organs, and voices, as an exercise against the coming of the Queene, purposely compos'd for her chapell. Afterwards my Lord Aubignie (her Majesty's Almoner to be) shew'd us his elegant lodging and his wheele-chaire for ease and motion, with divers other curiosities; especialy a kind of artificial glasse or purcelan adorn'd with relievos of paste, hard and beautifull. Lord Aubignie (brother to the Duke of Lennox) was a person of good sense, but was wholly abandon'd to ease and effeminacy.

I receiv'd of Sir Peter Ball, the Queene's Attorney, a draught of an Act against the nuisance of the smoke of London, to be reform'd by removing severall trades which are the cause of it, and indanger the health of the King and his people. It was to have ben offer'd to the Parliament as his Majestie commanded.

12. At St. James's Chapell preach'd, or rather harangu'd, the famous orator Monsieur Morus,<sup>1</sup> in French. There was present the King, Duke, French Ambassador, Lo. Aubignie, Earle of Bristol, and a world of Roman Catholics, drawne thither to hear this eloquent Protestant.

15 Jan. There was a general fast thro' the whole nation, and now celebrated at London, to avert God's heavy judgments on this land. There had fallen greate raine without any frost or seasonable cold, not only in England, but in Sweden, and the most Northern parts, being here neere as warme as at midsommer in some yeares.

This solemn fast was held for the House of Commons at St. Margarets. Dr. Reeves, Dean of Windsor, preach'd on 7 Joshua 12. shewing how the neglect of exacting justice on offenders (by which he insinuated

<sup>1</sup> Probably the famous Alexander Morus (the antagonist of Milton) who was here in the year 1662. He was a very eloquent and much-admired preacher.

such of the old King's murderers as were yet reprieved and in the Tower) was a maine cause of God's punishing a land. He brought in that of the Gibeonites as well as Achan and others, concluding with an eulogie of the Parliament for their loyaltie in restoring the Bishops and Cleargie and vindicating the Church from sacrilege.

16. Having notice of the Duke of York's intention to visit my poore habitation and garden this day, I return'd, when he was pleas'd to do me that honor of his owne accord, and to stay some time viewing such things as I had to entertaine his curiosity. Afterwards he caus'd me to dine with him at the Treasurer of the Navy's house, and to sit with him cover'd at the same table. There were with his Highness the Duke of Ormond and several lords. Then they view'd some of my grounds about a project for a receptacle for ships to be moor'd in, which was laied aside as a fancy of Sir Nicholas Crisp. After this I accompanied the Duke to an East India vessell that lay at Blackwall, where we had entertainment of several curiosities. Amongst other spirituous drinks, as punch, &c. they gave us Canarie that had ben carried to and brought from the Indies, which was indeede incomparably good. I return'd to London with his highnesse. This night was acted before his Majesty 'The Widow,' a lewd play.

18. I came home to be private a little, not at all affecting the life and the hurry of Court.

24. His Majesty entertain'd me with his intentions of building his Palace of Greenewich, and quite demolishing the old one; on which I declar'd my thoughts.

25. I dined with the Trinity Company at their house, that Corporation being by charter fixed at Deptford.

3 February. I went to Chelsey to see Sir Arthur George's house.

11. I saw a comedy acted before the Dutchesse of York at the Cockpit. The King was not at it.

17. I went with my Lord of Bristoll to see his house at Wimbledon,<sup>1</sup> newly bought of the Queene Mother, to help contrive the garden after the moderne. It is a delicious place for prospect and the thicketts, but the soile cold and weeping clay. Returned to London that evening with Sir Henry Bennet.

This night was buried in Westminster Abby the Queene of Bohemia,<sup>2</sup> after all her sorrows and afflictions being come to die in the arms of her nephew the King: also this night and the next day fell such a storm of hail, thunder and lightning, as never was seene the like in any man's memorie, especialy the tempest of wind, being South West, which subverted besides huge trees, many houses, innumerable chimnies (amongst

<sup>1</sup> It came afterwards to Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, who built a new house there, burnt down a few years since. Now belonging to Earl Spencer, who has built a smaller house. There are two scarce and curious views of the old house, engraved by Winstanley.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Electress Palatine, daughter of James I. a woman of excellent understanding and most amiable disposition.

others that of my parlour at Sayes Court), and made such havoc at land and sea that severall perish'd on both. Divers lamentable fires were also kindl'd at this time, so exceedingly was God's hand against this ungrateful and vicious Nation and Court.

20. I return'd home to repaire my house, miserably shatter'd by the late tempest.

March 24. I returned home with my whole family, which had ben most part of the winter since October at London in lodgings neere the Abby of Westminster.

6 April. Being of the Vestry, in the afternoone we order'd that the Communion Table should be set as usual altar-wise, with a decent raile before it, as before the Rebellion.

17 April. The young Marquis of Argyle, whose turbulent father was executed in Scotland, came to see my garden. He seem'd to be a man of parts.

7 May. I waited on Prince Rupert to our Assembly, where were tried severall experiments in Mr. Boyle's *vacuum*. A man thrusting in his arme upon exhaustion of the aire had his flesh immediately swelled so as the bloud was neare bursting the veines: he drawing it oute we found it all speckled.

14. To London, being chosen one of the Commissioners for reforming the buildings, wayes, streetes, and incumbrances, and regulating the hackney coaches in the Citty of London, taking my oath before my Lord Chancellor, and then went to his Majesty's Surveyor's office in Scotland Yard about naming and establishing officers, adjourning till the 16th, when I went to view how St. Martin's Lane might be made more passable into the Strand. There were divers Gentlemen of quality in this Commission.

25. I went this evening to London, in order to our journey to Hampton Court to see the new Queene, who having landed at Portsmouth had ben married to the King a weeke before by the Bishop of London.

30. The Queene ariv'd with a traine of Portuguese ladies in their monstrous fardingals or guard-infantas, their complexions olivader<sup>1</sup> and sufficiently unagreeable. Her Majesty in the same habit, her fore-top long and turn'd aside very strangely. She was yet of the handsomest countenance of all the rest, and tho' low of stature pretily shaped, languishing and excellent eyes, her teeth wronging her mouth by sticking a little too far out; for the rest lovely enough.

31. I saw the Queene at dinner; the Judges came to compliment her arival, and after them the Duke of Ormond brought me to kisse her hand.

<sup>1</sup> Of a dark olive complexion. It has been noticed in other accounts that the Queen's Portuguese Ladies of Honour who came over with her were uncommonly ill-favoured and disagreeable in their appearance. See Fairthorn's curious print of her Majesty in the costume here described.

2 June. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen made their addresses to the Queene, presenting her £.1000 in gold. Now saw I her Portuguese ladies, and the Guarda-damas or Mother of her maids,<sup>1</sup> and the old Knight, a lock of whose haire quite cover'd the rest of his bald pate, bound on by a thred, very oddly. I saw the rich gondola sent to his Majesty from the State of Venice; but it was not comparable for swiftnesse to our common wherries, tho' manag'd by Venetians.

4. Went to visite the Earle of Bristoll at Wimbledon.

8 June. I saw her Majesty at supper privately in her bed-chamber.

9. I heard the Queene's Portugal musiq, consisting of pipes, harps, and very ill voices.

Hampton Court is as noble and uniforme a pile, and as capacious as any Gotiq architecture can have made it. There is incomparable furniture in it, especially hangings design'd by Raphael, very rich with gold; also many rare pictures, especially the *Cæsarian Triumphs* of Andr. Mantegna, formerly the Duke of Mantua's; of the tapessrys I believe the world can shew nothing nobler of the kind than the storys of Abraham and Tobit. The gallery of hornes is very particular for the vast beanes of staggs, elks, antelopes, &c. The Queene's bed was an embroidery of silver on crimson velvet, and cost £.8000, being a present made by the States of Holland when his Majesty returned, and had formerly ben given by them to our King's sister the Princesse of Orange, and being bought of her againe was now presented to the King. The greate looking-glasse and toilet of beaten and massive gold was given by the Queene Mother. The Queene brought over with her from Portugal such Indian cabinets as had never before ben seene here. The greate hall is a most magnificent roome. The chapell-roof excellently fretted and gilt. I was also curious to visite the wardrobe and tents and other furniture of state. The park formerly a flat naked piece of ground, now planted with sweete rows of lime trees; and the canall for water now neere perfected; also the hare park. In the garden is a rich and noble fountaine, with syrens, statues, &c. cast in copper by Fanelli, but no plenty of water. The cradle-walk of horne beame in the garden is, for the perplexed twining of the trees, very observable. There is a parterre which they call Paradise, in which is a pretty banquetting-house set over a cave or cellar. All these gardens might be exceedingly improved, as being too narrow for such a palace.

10. I returned to London, and presented my History of Chalographie (dedicated to Mr. Boyle) to our Society.

19 June. I went to Albury, to visite Mr. Hen. Howard soone after he had procured the dukedom to be restor'd. This gentleman had now compounded a debt of £.200,000, contracted by his grandfather. I was much oblig'd to that greate virtuoso, and to this young gentleman, with whom I staid a fortnight.

<sup>1</sup> A lady had this title in the reign of King George III.

2 July. We hunted and kill'd a buck in the park, Mr. Howard inviting most of the gentlemen of the country neere him.

3. My wife met me at Woodcott whither Mr. Howard accompanied me to see my son John, who had ben much brought up amongst Mr. Howard's children at Arundel House, 'til for feare of their perverting him in the Catholic religion, I was forced to take him home.

8. To London, to take leave of the Duke and Dutchesse of Ormond, going then into Ireland with extraordinary retinue.

13. Spent some time with the Lord Chancellor, where I had discourse with my Lord Willoughby, Governor of Barbados, concerning divers particulars of that colonie.

28. His Majesty going to sea to meet the Queene Mother, now coming againe for England, met with such ill weather as greatly endanger'd him. I went to Greenewich, to wait on the Queene now landed.

30. To London, where was a meeting about Charitable Uses, and particularly to enquire how the Citty had dispos'd of the revenues of Gressham College, and why the salaries of the professors there were no better improv'd. I was on this commission, with divers Bishops and Lords of the Council, but little was the progresse we could make.

31. I sate with the Commissioners about reforming the buildings and streetes of London, and we ordered the paving of the way from St. James's North, which was a quagmire, and also of the Hay-market about Piquidillo [Piccadilly], and agreed upon instructions to be printed and published for the better keeping the streetes cleane.

1 Aug. Mr. H. Howard, his brothers Charles, Edward, Bernard, Philip<sup>1</sup> now the Queens Almoner, (all brothers of the Duke of Norfolk still in Italy) came with a greate traine and din'd with me; Mr. H. Howard leaving with me his eldest and youngest sons Henry and Thomas for three or four days, my son John having ben sometime bred up in their father's house.

4. Came to see me the old Countesse of Devonshire,<sup>2</sup> with that excellent and worthy person, my Lord, her sonn, from Rowhampton.

5. To London, and next day to Hampton Court about my purchase, and took leave of Sir R. Fanshawe now Ambassador to Portugal.

13. Our Charter being now passed under the broad seale, constituting us a Corporation under the name of The Royal Society for the improvement of naturall knowledge by experiment, was this day read, and was all that was done this afternoone, being very large.

14. I sat on the commission for Charitable Uses, the Lord Maior and others of the Mercers Company being summon'd to answer some

<sup>1</sup> Since Cardinal at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Christian Countess of Devonshire. She was of considerable celebrity for her devotion, hospitality, her great care in the management of her son's affairs, and as a patroness of the wits of the age who frequently met at her house: also for her loyalty and correspondence to promote the Restoration. King Charles II. frequently visited her at this place with the Queen Mother and the Royal Family. There is a life of this lady written by Mr. Pomfret.

complaints of the professors grounded on a clause in the will of Sir Thomas Gressham the founder.

This afternoone the Queene Mother with the Earle of St. Alban's and many greate ladies and persons, was pleas'd to honor my poore villa with her presence, and to accept of a collation. She was exceedingly pleas'd and stay'd till very late in the evening.

15. Came my Lord Chancellor (the Earle of Clarendon) and his lady, his purse and mace borne before him, to visit me. They were likewise collation'd with us, and were very merry. They had all ben our old acquaintance in exile, and indeed this greate person had ever ben my friend. His sonn Lord Cornebery was here too.

17 Aug. Being the Sondag when the Common Prayer Booke reformed and ordered to be used for the future, was appointed to be read, and the solemn League and Covenant to be abjured by all the incumbents of England under penalty of looseing their livings; our Vicar read it this morning.

20. There were strong guards in the City this day, apprehending some tumults, many of the Presbyterian Ministers not conforming. I dined with the Vice Chamberlaine, and then went to see the Queene Mother, who was pleas'd to give me many thanks for the entertainment she receiv'd at my house, when she recounted to me many observable stories of the sagacity of some dogs she formerly had.

21. I was admitted and then sworne one of the Council of the Royal Society, being nominated in his Majesty's original grant to be of this Council for the regulation of the Society, and making laws and statutes conducible to its establishment and progresse, for which we now set apart every Wednesday morning till they were all finished. Lord Visct. Brouncker (that excellent mathematician) was also by his Majesty our Founder nominated our first President. The King gave us the armes of England to be borne in a canton in our armes, and sent us a mace of silver gilt of the same fashion and bigness as those carried before his Majesty, to be borne before our President on meeting daies. It was brought by Sir G. Talbot, Master of his Majestys Jewel-house.

22. I din'd with my Lord Brouncker and Sir Robt. Morray, and then went to consult about a new-model'd ship at Lambeth, the intention being to reduce that art to as certaine a method as any other part of architecture.

23 Aug. I was spectator of the most magnificent triumph that ever floated on the Thames;<sup>1</sup> considering the innumerable boates and vessells, dress'd and adorn'd with all imaginable pomp, but above all the thrones, arches, pageants, and other representations, stately barges

<sup>1</sup> An account of this solemnity was published in 'Aqua Triumphalis'; being a true relation of the honourable City of London entertaining their sacred Majesties upon the River of Thames, and welcoming them from Hampton Court to White-hall, &c. Engraved by John Tatham, folio, 1662.

of the Lord Maior and Companies, with various inventions, musiq and peales of ordnance both from the vessels and the shore, going to meete and conduct the new Queene from Hampton Court to White-hall, at the first time of her coming to towne. In my opinion it far exceeded all the Venetian Bucentoras, &c. on the Ascension, when they go to espouse the Adriatic. His Majestie and the Queene came in an antiq-shap'd open vessell, cover'd with a state or canopy of cloth of gold, made in form of a cupola, supported with high Corinthian pillars, wreath'd with flowers, festoons, and garlands. I was in our new-built vessell, sailing amongst them.

29. The Council and Fellows of the Royal Society went in a body to White-hall to acknowledge his Majestys royal grace in granting our charter, and vouchsafing to be himselfe our Founder ; when the President made an eloquent speech, to which his Majesty gave a gracious reply, and we all kiss'd his hand. Next day we went in like manner with our addresse to my Lo. Chancellor, who had much promoted our Patent ; he receiv'd us with extraordinary favour. In the evening I went to the Queene Mother's Court, and had much discourse with her.

1 Sept. Being invited by Lo. Berkley, I went to Durdans, Epsom, where din'd his Majestie, the Queene, Duke, Dutchesse, Prince Rupert, Prince Edward, and aboundance of Noblemen. I went after dinner to visit my brother of Woodcot, my sister having ben deliver'd of a son a little before, but who had now ben two days dead.

4 Sept. Commission for charitable uses, my Lord Maior and Aldermen being againe summon'd, and the improvements of Sir Tho. Gressham's estate examin'd. There were present the Bp. of London, the Lord Chief Justice, and the King's Attorney.

6. Dined with me Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Armes, Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, and severall others.

17. We now resolv'd that the armes of the Society should be, a field Argent, with a canton of the armes of England ; the supporters two talbots Argent ; Crest, an eagle Or holding a shield with the like armes of England, viz. 3 lions. The words *Nullius in verba*. It was presented to his Majesty for his approbation, and orders given to Garter King at Armes, to passe the diploma of their office for it.

20. I presented a petition to his Majesty about my own concerns, and afterwards accompanied him to Mons. Febure, his chymist, (and who had formerly ben my master in Paris) to see his accurate preparation for the composing Sir Walter Raleigh's rare cordial ; he made a learned discourse before his Majesty in French on each ingredient.

27. Came to visit me Sir Geo. Savell,<sup>1</sup> grandson to the learned Sir Hen. Savell, who published St. Chrysostome. Sir Geo. was a witty gentleman, if not a little too prompt and daring.

3 Oct. I was invited to the Colledge of Physitians, where Dr.

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards the celebrated Marquis of Halifax.

Meret, a learned man and Library Keeper, shew'd me the Library, Theater for Anatomie, and divers natural curiosities ; the statue and epigraph under it of that renowned physitian Dr. Harvey, discoverer of the circulation of the blood. There I saw Dr. Gilbert, Sir Wm. Paddy's, and other pictures of men famous in their faculty.

Visited Mr. Wright, a Scotsman, who had liv'd long at Rome and was esteem'd a good painter. The pictures of the Judges at Guild-hall are of his hand, and so are some pieces in White-hall, as the rooffe in his Majestys old bed-chamber, being Astrea, the St. Catherine, and a chimney-piece in the Queen's privy-chamber ; but his best, in my opinion, is Lacy the famous Roscius or comedian, whom he has painted in three dresses, as a gallant, a Presbyterian minister, and a Scotch highlander in his plaid. It is in his Majestys dining-room at Windsor ; He had at his house an excellent collection, especialy that small piece of Corregio, *Scotus of de la Marca*, a designe of Paulo, and above all those ruines of Polydore, with some good achates and medailles, especialy a Scipio, and a Cæsar's head of gold.

15. I this day deliver'd my Discourse concerning Forest Trees to the Society, upon occasion of certain queries sent to us by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy, being the first booke that was printed by order of the Society, and by their Printer, since it was a Corporation.

16. I saw 'Volpone' acted at Court before their Majesties.

21. To the Queene Mother's Court, where her Majesty related to us divers passages of her escapes during the Rebellion and the Warrs in England.

28 Oct. To Court in the evening, where the Queene Mother, the Queene Consort, and his Majesty, being advertis'd of some disturbance, forbore to go to the Lord Maior's shew and feast appointed next day, the new Queene not having yet seen that triumph.

29. Was my Lo. Maior's<sup>1</sup> shew, with a number of sumptuous pageants, speeches, and verses. I was standing in an house in Cheape-side against the place prepar'd for their Majesties. The Prince and heire of Denmark was there, but not our King. There were also the maids of honor. I went to court this evening, and had much discourse with Dr. Basiers,<sup>2</sup> one of his Majesty's chaplain's, the greate traveller, who shew'd me the syngraphs and original subscriptions of divers Eastern Patriarchs and Asian Churches to our Confession.

4 Nov. I was invited to the wedding of the daughter of Sir Geo. Carterat (the Treasurer of the Navy and King's Vice-Chamberlain), married to Sir N. Slaning, Kt. of the Bath ; by the Bishop of London in the Savoy Chapell ; after which was an extraordinary feast.

5. The Council of the R. Society met to amend the Statutes, and

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Robinson, Knt. and Bart. Clothworker. The pageant on this occasion was called 'London's Triumph, at the Charge of the Clothworkers Company. By John Tatham.'

<sup>2</sup> Isaac Basire. See account of him in Wood's "Athenæ."

dined together : afterwards meeting at Gressham College, where was a discourse suggested by me concerning planting his Majestys Forest of Deane with oake, now so much exhausted of the choicest ship-timber in the world.

20. Dined with the Comptroller Sir Hugh Pollard ; afterwards saw 'The Young Admiral'<sup>1</sup> acted before the King.

21. Spent the evening at Court, Sir Kenelm Digby giving me greate thanks for my *Sylva*.

27. Went to London to see the entrance of the Russian Ambassador, whom his Majesty order'd to be received with much state, the Emperor not only having ben kind to his Majesty in his distress, but banishing all commerce with our Nation during the Rebellion.

First the Citty Companies and Train'd Bands were all in their stations: his Majesty's Army and Guards in greate order. His Excellency came in a very rich coach, with some of his chiefe attendants ; many of the rest on horseback, clad in their vests after the Eastern manner, rich furs, caps, and carrying the presents, some carrying hawkes, furs, teeth, bows, &c. It was a very magnificent shew.

I din'd with the Master of the Mint, where was old Sir Ralph Freeman<sup>2</sup> ; passing my evening at the Queene Mother's Court, at night saw acted 'The Committee,' a ridiculous play of Sir R. Howard, where the mimic Lacy acted the Irish Footeman to admiration.

30. St Andrews day. Invited by the Deane of Westminster<sup>3</sup> to his consecration dinner and ceremony, on his being made Bishop of Worcester. Dr. Bolton preach'd in the Abby Church ; then follow'd the consecration by the Bishops of London, Chichester, Winchester, Salisbury, &c. After this was one of the most plentiful and magnificent dinners that in my life I ever saw ; it cost neere £.600 as I was inform'd. Here were the Judges, Nobility, Clergy, and Gentlemen innumerable, this Bishop being universally belov'd for his sweete and gentle disposition. He was author of those Characters which go under the name of Blount<sup>4</sup>. He translated his late Majesty's Icon into Latine, was Clearke of his Closet, Chaplaine, Deane of Westminster, and yet a most humble, meeke, but cheerfull man, an excellent scholar, and rare preacher. I had the honour to be loved by him. He married me at Paris, during his Majesties and the Churches exile. When I tooke leave of him he brought me to the Cloysters in his episcopal habit. I then went to the evening prayers at White-hall, where I pass'd that evening.

1 Dec. Having seen the strange and wonderful dexterity of the sliders on the new Canal in St. James's Park, perform'd before their Majesties by divers gentlemen and others with Scheets after the man-

<sup>1</sup> A Tragi-Comedy by James Shirley.

<sup>2</sup> Of Betchworth in Surrey.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. John Earle. Translated afterwards to Salisbury.

<sup>4</sup> These Characters were several times printed, and are still read with some interest.

ner of the Hollanders, with what swiftnesse they passe, how suddainly they stop in full carriere upon the ice, I went home by water, but not without exceeding difficultie, the Thames being frozen, greate flakes of ice encompassing our boate.

17. I saw acted before the King 'The Law against Lovers.'<sup>1</sup>

21. One of his Majesty's Chaplains preach'd, after which, instead of the ancient, grave, and solemn wind musiq accompanying the organ, was introduced a concert of 24 violins betweene every pause, after the French fantastical light way, better suiting a tavern or play-house than a church. This was the first time of change, and now we no more heard the cornet which gave life to the organ, that instrument quite left off in which the English were so skillfull. I din'd at Mr. Povey's, where I talk'd with Cromer, a greate musician.

23. I went with Sir George Tuke to hear the Comedians con and repeate his new comedy, 'The Adventures of 5 Hours,' a play whose plot was taken out of the famous Spanish poet Calderon.

27. I visited Sir Theophilus Biddulph.

29. Saw the audience of the Muscovy Ambassador which was with extraordinary state, his retinue being numerous, all clad in vests of severall colours, with buskins after the Eastern manner; their caps of furr; tunicks richly embrodred with gold and pearls made a glorious shew. The King being seated under a canopie in the Banquetting house, the Secretary of the Embassy went before the Ambassador in a grave march, holding up his master's letters of credence in a crimson taffeta scarfe before his forehead. The Ambassador then deliver'd it with a profound reverence to the King, who gave it to our Secretary of State; it was written in a long and lofty style. Then came in the present, borne by 165 of his retinue, consisting of mantles and other large pieces lined with sable, black fox and ermine; Persian carpets, the ground cloth of gold and velvet; hawks, such as they sayd never came the like; horses said to be Persian; bowes and arrows, &c. These borne by so long a traine rendered it very extraordinary. Wind musiq play'd all the while in the galleries above. This finish'd, the Ambassador was convey'd by the Master of the Ceremonies to York House, where he was treated with a banquet which cost £200 as I was assur'd.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Tragi-Comedy by Sir William Davenant, taken almost entirely from Shakespeare's 'Measure for Measure,' and 'Much Ado about Nothing,' blended together.

<sup>2</sup> The Czar of Muscovy sent an Ambassador to compliment K. Cha. II. on his Restoration. The K. sent the Earl of Carlisle as his Ambassador to Moscow, to desire the re-establishment of the antient privileges of the English Merchants at Archangel, which had ben taken away by the Czar, who abhorring the murder of the K's. father accused them as favorers of it. But by the means of the Czar's ministers, his lordship was very ill received, and met with what he deemed affronts, and had no success as to his demands, so that at coming away he refused the presents sent him by the Czar. The Czar sent an Ambassador to England to complain of Lord Carlisle's conduct, but his lordship vindicated himself so well, that the King told the Ambassador he saw no reason to condemn his lordship's conduct. Relation of this Embassie by G. M. authenticated by Lord Carlisle, printed 1609.

1663. 7 Jan. At night I saw the Ball, in which his Majesty daunc'd with several great ladys.

8. I went to see my kinsman Sir Geo. Tuke's comedy acted at the Duke's Theater, which took so universally that it was acted for some weekes every day, and 'twas believ'd it would be worth to the Comedians 4 or £.500. The plot was incomparable, but the language was stiffe and formal.

10. I saw a Ball againe at Court, daunc'd by the King, the Duke, and Ladies in great pompe.

21. Dined at Mr. Treasurer's of the Household, Sir Charles Berkeley's, where were the Earle of Oxford, Lord Bellassis, Lord Gerard, Sir Andrew Scroope, Sir William Coventry, Dr. Fraser, Mr. Windham, and others.

5 Feb. I saw 'The Wild Gallant,' a comedy<sup>1</sup>; and was at the greate Ball at Court, where his Majesty, the Queene, &c. daunc'd.

6. Dined at my Lord Maior's, Sir Jo. Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower.

15. This night some villains brake into my house and study below, and robbed me to the value of £.60 in plate, money, and goods. This being the third time I have ben thus plundered.

26 Mar. I sat at the Commission of Sewers, where was a greate case pleaded by his Majesty's Counsel; he having built a wall over a water-course, denied the jurisdiction of the Court. The verdict went for the Plaintiff [*i. e.* against the King].

30 April. Came his Majesty to honor my poore villa with his presence, viewing the gardens and even every roome of the house, and was pleas'd to take a small refreshment. There were with him the Duke of Richmond, Earl of St. Albans, Lord Lauderdale, and several other persons of quality.

14 May. Dined with my Lord Mordaunt, and thence went to Barnes, to visite my excellent and ingenious friend Abraham Cowley.

17. I saluted the old Bishop of Durham, Dr. Cosin, to whom I had ben kind and assisted in his exile, but which he little remember'd in his greatnesse.

29. Dr. Creighton preach'd his extravagant Sermon at St. Margaret's, before the House of Commons.

30. This morning was pass'd my Lease of Sayes Court from the Crown, for the finishing of which I had ben oblig'd to make frequent journies to London. I return'd this evening, having seene the Russian Ambassador take leave of their Majesties with greate solemnity.

2 July. I saw the greate masq at Court, and lay that night at Arundel-house.

4. I saw his Majesty's guards, being of horse and foote 4000, led by

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. Dryden. It did not succeed on its first representation, but was considerably altered to the form in which it now appears.

the General the Duke of Albemarle in extraordinary equipage and gallantry, consisting of gentlemen of quality and veteran souldiers, excellently clad, mounted and ordered, drawn up in battalia before their Majesties in Hide Park, where the old Earle of Cleveland trail'd a pike and led the right-hand file in a foote company commanded by the Lord Wentworth his son, a worthy spectacle and example, being both of them old and valiant souldiers. This was to shew the French Ambassador, Monsieur Comminges; there being a greate assembly of coaches, &c. in the park.

7. Dined at the Comptroller's; after dinner we met at the Commission about the streetes, and to regulate hackney coaches, also to make up our accompts to passe the Exchequer.

16. A most extraordinary wet and cold season.

Sir George Carteret, Treasurer of the Navy, had now married his daughter Caroline to Sir Thomas Scot, of Scottshall, in Kent. This gent: was thought to be the sonn of Prince Rupert.

2 Aug. This evening I accompanied Mr. Treasurer and Vice Chamberlain Carteret to his lately-married son-in-law's Sir Tho. Scot, to Scottshall. We tooke barge as far as Gravesend, thence by post to Rochester, whence in coaches and 6 horses to Scottshall; a right noble seate, uniformly built, with a handsome gallery. It stands in a park well stor'd, the land fat and good. We were exceedingly feasted by the young knight, and in his pretty chapell heard an excellent sermon by his chaplaine. In the afternoone preach'd the learned Sir Norton Knatchbull (who has a noble seate hard by, and a plantation of stately fir-trees). In the church-yard of the parish church I measur'd an overgrown yew-tree that was 18 of my paces in compasse, out of some branches of which, torne off by the winds, were saw'd goodly planks.

10. We return'd by Sir Norton's, whose house is likewise in a park. This gentleman is a worthy person, and learned critic, especialy in Greek and Hebrew. Passing by Chatham we saw his Majesties Royal Navy, and din'd at Commissioner Pett's, master-builder there, who shewed me his study and models, with other curiosities belonging to his art. He is esteem'd for the most skilfull ship-builder in the world. He hath a pretty garden and banquetting-house, pots, statues, cypresses, resembling some villas about Rome. After a greate feaste we rod post to Graves-end, and sending the coach to London, came by barge to Sayes Court that night.

18. To London to see my Lo. Chancellor, where I had discourse with my Lo. Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester, who injoynd me to write to Dr. Pierce, President of Magd. Coll. Oxon. about a letter sent him by Dr. Goff, a Romish Oratorian, concerning an answer to Dean Cressy's late book.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of Dr. Pierce, who was also Dean of Salisbury, Wood gives a very unfavourable account in his 'Fasti.' He appears to have been engaged in disputes both in his College and at Salis-

20. I din'd at the Comptroller's [of the Household] with the Earle of Oxford and Mr. Ashburnham ; it was said it should be the last of the public diets or tables at Court, it being determined to put down the old hospitality, at which was great murmuring, considering his Majesties vast revenue and the plenty of the Nation. • Hence I went to sit in a Committee to consider about the regulation of the Mint at the Tower, in which some small progresse was made.

27 Aug. Din'd at Sir Ph. Warwick's, Secretary to my Lo. Treasurer, who shew'd me the accompts and other private matters relating to the revenue. Thence to the Commissioners of the Mint, particularly about coynage, and bringing his Majestys rate from 15 to 10 shillings for every pound weight of gold.

31. I was invited to the Translation of Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London, from that see to Canterbury, the ceremonie performed at Lambeth. First went his grace's mace-bearer, steward, treasurer, comptroller, all in their gownes and with white staves ; next the Bishops in their habites, eight in number ; Dr. Sweate, Deane of the Arches, Dr. Exton Judge of the Admiralty, Sir William Merick, Judge of the Prerogative Court, with divers Advocates in scarlet. After divine service in the chapel, perform'd with musiq extraordinary, Dr. French and Dr. Stradling (his grace's chaplaines) saied prayers. The Archbishop in a private roome looking into the Chapel, the Bishops who were Commissioners went up to a table plac'd before the altar, and sat round it in chaires. Then Dr. Chaworth presented the commission under the broad seale to the Bishop of Winchester, and it was read by Dr. Sweate. After which the Vicar-general went to the vestry, and brought his Grace into the Chapell, his other officers marching before. He being presented to the Commissioners was seated in a greate arm chaire at one end of the table, when the definitive sentence was read by the Bishop of Winchester, and subscribed by all the Bishops, and proclamation was three times made at the Chapell dore, which was then set open for any to enter and give their exceptions, if any they had. This don, we all went to dinner in the greate hall to a mighty feast. There were present all the nobility in towne, the Lord Maior of London, Sheriffs, Duke of Albemarle, &c. My Lo. Archbishop did in particular most civilly welcome me. So going to visite my Lady Needham who liv'd at Lambeth, I went over to London.

10 Sept. I din'd with Mr. Treasurer of the Navy, where sitting by Mr. Secretary Morice, we had much discourse about bookes and authors, he being a learned man, and had a good collection.

24 Oct. Mr. Edward Phillips came to be my sonns preceptor : this

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bury. Dean Cressy was bred in the Church of England, and was appointed Canon of Windsor and Dean of Leighlin in Ireland, in the time of King Charles I. but, from the troubles of that time, had no benefit from either ; he afterwards became a Papist. The book here referred to is 'Exomologetis,' or the motives of his conversion. Wood's Fasti.

gentleman was nephew to Milton, who wrote against Salmasius's 'Defensio,' but was not at all infected with his principles, tho' he was brought up by him.

5 Nov. Dr. South, my Lord Chancellor's Chaplain, preached at Westminster Abby an excellent discourse concerning obedience to Magistrates, against the Pontificians and Sectaries. I afterwards dined at Sir Ph. Warwick's, where was much company.

6. To Court, to get Sir John Evelyn of Godstone off from being Sheriff of Surrey, in which he succeeded.

30. Was the first anniversary of our Society for the choice of new officers, according to the tenor of our Patent and Institution. It being St. Andrew's day, who was our patron, each fellow wore a St. Andrew's Crosse of ribbon on the crowne of his hatt. After the election we din'd together, his Majesty sending us venison.

16 Dec. To our Society where Mr. P. Balle, our treasurer at the late election, presented the Society with an iron chest, with 3 locks, and in it £100. as a gift.

18. Dined with the gentlemen of his Majestys bedchamber at Whitehall.

1664, 2 Jan. To Barne Elmes, to see Abraham Cowley after his sicknesse; and returned that evening to London.

4 Feb. Dined at Sir Philip Warwick's; thence to Court, where I had discourse with the King about an invention of Glasse Granados, and severall other subjects.

5. I saw 'The Indian Queene'<sup>1</sup> acted, a tragedie well written, so beautified with rich scenes as the like had never ben seene here, or haply (except rarely) elsewhere on a mercenary theater.

16. I presented my 'Sylva' to the Society; and next day to his Majestie, to whom it was dedicated; also to the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Chancellor.

24. My Lord Geo. Berkeley of Durdens, and Sir Samuel Tuke, came to visite me. We went on board Sir William Petty's double bottom'd vessell, and so to London.

26. Dined with my Lord Chancellor; and thence to Court, where I had greate thanks for my 'Sylva,' and long discourse with the King of divers particulars.

2 March. Went to London, to distribute some of my books amongst my friends.

4. Came to dine with me the Earle of Lauderdale, his Majestie's greate favorite, and Secretary of Scotland; the Earl of Tividale; my Lord Viscount Brouncker, President of the R. Society; Dr. Wilkins, Deane of Rippon, Sir Robert Murray, and Mr. Hooke, Curator to the Royal Society.

This Spring I planted the Home-field and West-field about Sayes

<sup>1</sup> Written by Sir Robert Howard and Mr. Dryden.

Court with elmes, being the same yeare that the elmes were planted by his Majesty in Greenewich Park.

9. I went to the Tower, to sit in Commission about regulating the Mint ; and now it was that the fine new mill'd coin both of white money and guineas was establish'd.

26. It pleas'd God to take away my sonn Richard, being now a moneth old, yet without any sicknesse of danger perceivably, being to all appearance a most likely child ; we suspected much the nurse had overlayne him ; to our extreame sorrow, being now againe reduced to one ; but God's will be done !

29. After evening prayers was my child buried neere the rest of his brothers—my very deare Children.

27 April. Saw a facetious Comedy called 'Love in a Tub ;' and supped at Mr. Secretary Bennet's.

3 May. Came the Earle of Kent my kindsman, and his Lady, to visite us.

5. Went with some company a journey of pleasure on the water in barge with musick, and at Mortlack had a greate banquet, returning late. The occasion was, Sir Rob. Carr now courting Mrs. Bennet, sister to the Secretary of State.

6. Went to see Mr. Wrighte the painter's collection of rare shells, &c.

8 June. Went to our Society, to which his Majestie had sent that wonderfull horne of the fish which struck a dangerous hole in the keel of a Ship in the India Sea, which being broke off with the violence of the fish and left in the timber, preserved it from foundering.

9. Sir Samuel Tuke<sup>1</sup> being this morning married to a lady, kinswoman to my Lord Arundel of Wardour, by the Queenes Lord Almoner L. Aubignie in St. James's Chapell, solemniz'd his wedding-night at my house with much companie.

22. One Tomson a Jesuite shew'd me such a collection of rarities, sent from the Jesuites of Japan and China to their Order at Paris, as a present to be reserv'd in their repository, but brought to London by the East India ships for them, as in my life I had not seene. The cheife things were, large rhinoceros's horns ; glorious vests wrought and embrodered on cloth of gold, but with such lively colours, that for splendour and vividness we have nothing in Europe that approaches it ; a girdle studded with achats and rubies of greate value and size ; knives of so keene an edge as one could not touch them, nor was the mettall of our colour, but more pale and livid ; fanns like those our ladies use, but much larger, and with long handles curiously carved and filled with Chinese characters ; a sort of paper very broad, thin and fine like abortive parchment and exquisitely polished, of an amber yellow, exceeding glorious and pretty to looke on, and seeming to be like that which my Lo. Verulame describes in his 'Nova Atlantis ;' several

<sup>1</sup> A Roman Catholic.

other sorts of paper, some written, others printed ; prints of landskips, their idols, saints, pagods, of most ugly serpentine monstrous and hideous shapes, to which they paid devotion ; pictures of men and countries rarely painted on a sort of gum'd calico transparent as glasse ; flowers, trees, beasts, birds, &c. excellently wrought in a kind of sleve silk very naturall ; divers drougs that our drouggists and physitians could make nothing of, especialy one which the Jesuite call'd *Lac Tygridis*, it look'd like a fungus, but was weighty like metall, yet was a concretion or coagulation of some other matter ; several booke MSS. ; a grammar of the language writen in Spanish ; with innumerable other rarities.

1 July. Went to see Mr. Povey's<sup>1</sup> elegant house in Lincoln's-inn-fields, where the perspective in his court, painted by Streeter, is indeede excellent, with the vasas in imitation of porphyrie, and fountains ; the inlaying of his closet ; above all, his pretty cellar and the ranging of his wine bottles.

7. To Court, where I subscribed to Sir Arthur Slingsby's lottery a desperate debt owing me long since in Paris.

14. I went to take leave of the two Mr. Howards, now going for Paris, and brought them as far as Bromley ; thence to Eltham, to see Sir John Shaw's new house now building ; the place is pleasant if not too wett, but the house not well contriv'd, especialy the rooffe and roomes too low pitch'd, and the kitchen where the cellars should be ; the orangerie and aviaries handsome, & a very large plantation about it.

19. To London to see the event of the lottery which his Majesty had permitted Sir Arthur Slingsby to set up for one day in the Banqueting House at White-hall. I gaining only a trifle, as well as did the King, Queene-consort and Queene-mother for neere 30 lotts ; which was thought to be contrived very unhandsomely by the master of it, who was, in truth, a meer shark.

21. I din'd with my L. Treasurer at Southampton House, where his Lordship used me with singular humanitie. I went in the afternoone to Chelsey to waite on the Duke of Ormond, and returned to London.

28. Came to see me old Monsieur Zulichem, Secretary to the Prince of Orange, an excellent Latin poet, now neere 80 yeares of age, a rare Latinist, with Monsieur Oudart.

3 Aug. To London ; a concert of excellent musitians, especialy one Mr. Berkenshaw, that rare artist who invented a mathematical way of composure very extraordinary, true as to the exact rules of art, but without much harmonie.

8. Came the sad and unexpected newes of the death of Lady Cotton, wife to my brother George, a most excellent lady.

<sup>1</sup> A Mr. Povey lived at Bellsizes House in Hampstead in 1718, who was a coal merchant, though not trained to the business ; he wrote many books, some discovering indirect practices in the coal trade, in government offices, &c.

9. Went with my brother Richard to Wotton, to visite & comforte my disconsolate brother ; and on the 13th saw my friend Mr. Charles Howard at Dipden neere Dorking.

16. I went to see Sir William Ducie's house at Charleton, which he purchas'd of my excellent friend Sir Henry Newton, now nobly furnish'd.

22. I went from London to Wotton to assist at the funeral of my sister-in-law, the Lady Cotton, buried in our dormitorie there, she being put up in lead. Dr. Owen made a profitable and pathetic discourse, concluding with an eulogie of that virtuous, pious, and deserving lady. It was a very solemn funerall, with about 50 mourners. I came back next day with my wife to London.

2 September. Came Sir Constantine Hugens, Dr. Zulichem, Sir Robert Morris, Mr. Oudart, Mr. Carew, and other friends, to spend the day with us.

5 Oct. To our Society. There was brought a new invented instrument of musiq, being a harpsichord with gut strings, sounding like a concert of viols with an organ, made vocal by a wheele, and a zone of parchment that rubb'd horizontally against the strings.

6. I heard the anniversary oration in praise of Dr. Harvey, in the Anatomie Theater in the Coll. of Physitians, after which I was invited by Dr. Alston the President to a magnificent feast.

7. I din'd at Sir Nicholas Strood's, one of the Masters of Chancery, in greate St. Bartholomews ; passing the evening at White-hall with the Queene, &c.

8. Sir William Curtius, his Majesty's Resident in Germany, came to visite me ; he was a wise and learned gentleman, and, as he told me, scholar to Henry Alstedius the Encyclopædist.

15. Din'd at the Lo. Chancellors, where was the Duke of Ormond, Earle of Cork, & Bp. of Winchester. After dinner my Lord Chancellor and his lady carried me in their coach to see their palace<sup>1</sup> (for he now liv'd at Worcester House in the Strand) building at the upper end of St. James's Streete, and to project the garden. In the evening I presented him with my booke of Architecture, as before I had don to his Majesty and the Queene Mother. His Lordship caus'd me to stay with him in his bed-chamber, discoursing of severall matters very late, even til he was going into his bed.

17. I went with my Lord Visct. Cornebury to Cornebury in Oxfordshire, to assist him in the planting of the park, and beare him company, with Mr. Belin and Mr. May, in a coach with 6 horses ; din'd at Uxbridge, lay at Wicckam (Wycombe).

18. At Oxford. Went thro' Woodstock, where we beheld the de-

<sup>1</sup> There is a large View of it engraved. The Chancellor in the Continuation of his Life laments the having built it, on account of the great cost, and the unpopularity which its magnificence created. He had little enjoyment of it, as will be seen hereafter.

struction of that royal seate and park by the late rebels, and arriv'd that evening at Cornebury, an house lately built by the Earle of Denbigh in the middle of a sweete park, wall'd with a dry wall. The house is of excellent freestone abounding in that part, a stone that is fine, but never sweats or casts any damp ; 'tis of ample dimensions, has goodly cellars, the paving of the hall admirable for its close laying. We design'd an handsome chapell that was yet wanting : as Mr. May had the stables, which indeede are very faire, having set out the walkes in the park and gardens. The lodge is a pretty solitude, and the ponds very convenient ; the parke well stor'd.

20. Hence we went to see the famous wells, natural and artificial grotts and fountaines, call'd Bushells Wells at Enstone.<sup>1</sup> This Bushell had ben secretary to my Lo. Verulam. It is an extraordinary solitude. There he had two mummies ; a grott where he lay in a hammock like an Indian. Hence we went to Dichley, an ancient seate of the Lees, now Sir Hen. Lee's ; it is a low ancient timber-house, with a pretty bowling greene. My Lady gave us an extraordinary dinner. This gentleman's mother was Countesse of Rochester, who was also there, and Sir Walter Saint John. There were some pictures of their ancestors not ill painted ; the great grand-father had been Knight of the Garter : there was the picture of a Pope and our Saviour's head. So we return'd to Cornbury.

24. We din'd at Sir Tim. Tyrill's at Shotover. This gentleman married the daughter and heyre of Dr. James Usher, Abp. of Armagh, that learned Prelate. There is here in the grove a fontaine of the coldest water I ever felt, and very cleere. His plantation of oakes, &c. is very commendable. We went in the evening to Oxford, lay at Dr. Hide's, Principal of Magdalen Hall (related to the Lo. Chancellor) brother to the Lord Ch. Justice, and that Sir Hen. Hide who lost his head for his loyalty. We were handsomly entertain'd two dayes. The Vice Chancellor, who with Dr. Fell, Deane of Christ Church, the learned Dr. Barlow, Warden of Queenes, and severall heads of houses, came to visite Lord Cornebury (his father being now Chancellor of the University), and next day invited us all to dinner. I went to visite Mr. Boyle (now here), whom I found with Dr. Wallis, and Dr. Christopher Wren in the Tower of the Scholes, with an inverted tube or telescope, observing the discus of the Sunn for the passing of Mercury that day before it, but the latitude was so great that nothing appeared ; so we went to see the rarities in the Library, where the keepers shewed me my name among the benefactors. They have a cabinet of some medails, and pictures of the muscular parts of a man's body. Thence to the new Theater, now building at an exceeding and royal expence by the Lo. Abp. of Canterbury [Sheldon], to keepe the Acts in for the

<sup>1</sup> Bushell published a pamphlet respecting his contrivances here ; and in Plott's Oxfordshire is an engraving of the rock, the fountains, &c. belonging to it.

future, till now being in St. Mary's church. The foundation had been newly laied and the whole design'd by that incomparable genius my worthy friend Dr. Christopher Wren, who shewed me the model, not disdaining my advice in some particulars. Thence to see the picture on the wall over the Altar at All Soules, being the largest piece of fresco painting (or rather in imitation of it, for it is in oil of turpentine) in England, not ill design'd by the hand of one Fuller; yet I feare it will not hold long. It seems too full of nakedes for a chapell.

Thence to New College, and the painting of Magdalen Chapel, which is on blew cloth in *chiaro oscuro*, by one Greenborow, being a *Cæna Domini*, and a *Last Judgment* on the wall by Fuller, as is the other, but somewhat varied.

Next to Wadham, and the Physick Garden, where were two large locust trees, and as many platana, and some rare plants under the culture of old Bobart.<sup>1</sup>

26. We came back to Beaconsfield; next day to London, where we din'd at the Lord Chancellor's with my Lord Bellasis.

27. Being casually in the privy gallery at White-hall, his Majesty gave me thanks before divers lords and noblemen for my book of Architecture, and againe for my 'Sylva,' saying they were the best design'd and usefull for the matter and subject, the best printed and design'd (meaning the *taille douces* of the Parallel of Architecture) that he had seene. He then caus'd me to follow him alone to one of the windows, and ask'd me if I had any paper about me unwritten, and a crayon; I presented him with both, and then laying it on the window-stool, he with his own hands design'd to me the plot for the future building of White-hall, together with the roomes of state, and other particulars. After this he talk'd with me of severall matters, and asking my advice of many particulars, in which I find his Majesty had an extraordinary talent becoming a magnificent prince.

The same day at Council, there being Commissioners to be made to take care of such Sick and Wounded and Prisoners of war as might be expected upon occasion of a succeeding war and action at sea, war being already declar'd against the Hollanders, his Majesty was pleas'd to nominate me to be one, with three other gentlemen, Parliament men, *viz.* Sir Wm. Doily Knt. and Bart. Sir Tho. Clifford,<sup>2</sup> and Bullein Rheymes Esq.; with a salary £.1200 a year amongst us, besides extra-

<sup>1</sup> Jacob Bobart, a German, was appointed the first keeper of the Physic Garden at Oxford. There is a fine print of him after Loggan by Burghers, dated 1675. Also a small whole length in the frontispiece of *Vertumnus*, a poem on that garden. In this he is dressed in a long vest, with a beard. One of this family was bred up at College in Oxford, but quitted his studies for the profession of the whip, driving one of the Oxford coaches (his own property) for many years with great credit. In 1813 he broke his leg by an accident: and in 1814, from the respect he had acquired by his good conduct, he was appointed by the University to the place of one of the Esquire Beadles.

<sup>2</sup> Since Lord Treasurer of England.

ordinaries for our care and attention in time of station, each of us being appointed to a particular district, mine falling out to be Kent and Sussex, with power to constitute officers, physicians, chirurgeons, provost marshals, and to dispose of halfe of the hospitals thro' England. After the Council we kiss'd his Majesty's hand. At this Council I heard Mr. Solicitor Finch<sup>1</sup> plead most elegantly for the Merchants trading to the Canaries, praying for a new Charter.

29. Was the most magnificent triumph by water and land of the Lord Maior<sup>2</sup>. I din'd at Guild-hall at the upper table, plac'd next to Sir H. Bennett, Secretary of State, opposite to my Lo. Chancellor and the Duke of Buckingham who sate betweene Monsieur Comminges the French Ambassador, Lord Treasurer, the Dukes of Ormond and Albemarle, Earl of Manchester Lord Chamberlaine, and the rest of the great Officers of State. My Lord Maior came twice up to us, first drinking in the golden goblett his Majesty's health, then the French King's as a compliment to the Ambassador; then we return'd my Lo. Maior's health, the trumpets and drums sounding. The cheere was not to be imagined for the plenty and raritie, with an infinite number of persons at the rest of the tables in that ample hall. The feast was said to cost £.1000. I slipt away in the crowd, and came home late.

31. I was this day 44 yeares of age, for which I returned thanks to Almighty God, begging his mercyfull protection for the yeare to come.

2 November. Her Majesty the Queene Mother came crosse the gallerie in White-hall to give me thanks for my book of Architecture which I had presented to her, with a compliment that I did by no means deserve.

16. We chose our Treasurer, Clearks, and Messengers, and appointed our seal which I order'd should be the good Samaritan, with this motto, *Fac similiter*. Painters Hall was lent us to meete in. In the greate roome were divers pictures, some reasonably good, that had ben given to the Company by several of the Wardens and Masters of the Company.

23. Our Statutes now finished, were read before a full assembly of the Royall Society.

24. His Majesty was pleas'd to tell me what the conference was with the Holland Ambassador, which, as after I found, was the heads of the speech he made at the re-convention of the Parliament, which now began to meet.

2 Dec. We deliver'd the Privy Council's letters to the Governors of St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark, that a moiety of the house should be reserv'd for such sick and wounded as should from time to time be sent from the Fleete during the war. This being deliver'd at their

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Earl of Nottingham, and Lord Chancellor.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Lawrence. The pageant for the day was called 'London's Triumph, prepared at the cost of the Haberdashers Company, and written by John Tatham, Gent.'

Court, the President and several Aldermen, Governors of that Hospital, invited us to a greate feaste in Fishmongers Hall.

20. To London our last sitting, taking order for our personal visiting our severall districts. I dined at Capt. Cock's (our Treasurer), which that most ingenious gent. Matthew Wren, sonn to the Bp. of Ely, and Mr. Joseph Williamson, since Secretary of State.

22. I went to the launching of a new ship of two bottomes, invented by Sir Wm. Petty, on which were various opinions ; his Majesty being present gave her the name of The Experiment ; so I returned home, where I found Sir Humphry Winch, who spent the day with me.

This yeare I planted the lower grove next the pond at Sayes Court. It was now exceeding cold and a hard long frosty season, and the Comet was very visible.

28. Some of my poore neighbours dined with me, and others of my tennants, according to my annual costome.

31. Set my affaires in order, gave God praise for his mercys the past yeare, and prepared for the reception of the Holy Sacrament, which I partook of the next day after hearing our Minister on the 4th Galatians 4. 5. of the Myserie of Our Blessed Saviours Incarnation.

1665. 2 Jan. This day was publish'd by me that part of<sup>1</sup> 'The

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Lord Cornbury 2 Jan. 1664, Mr. Evelyn says, 'I came to present your Lordship with your owne booke [in the margin is written, 'The other part of the Mystery of Jesuitism translated and publish'd by me']: I left it with my Lord your father, because I would not suffer it to be publiq till he had first scene it, who, on your Lordship's score, has so just a title to it. The particulars which you will find added after the 4th letter are extractet out of severall curious papers and passages lying by me, which for being very apposite to the controversy, I thought fit to annex, in danger otherwise to have never ben produced.'—In another letter to Lord Cornbury, 9 Feb. 1664, Mr. Evelyn says he undertook the Translation by command of his Lordship and of his father the Lord Chancellor.

The Authors of the 'Biographia Britannica' speak of "The Mystery of Jesuitisme" as one volume ; but in the library at Wotton there are three, in duodecimo, with the following titles and contents : the second in order is that translated by Mr. Evelyn.

1. *Les Provinciales*, or, The Mystery of Jesuitisme, discovered in certain Letters written upon occasion of the present difference at Sorbonne between the Jansenists and the Molinists, displaying the pernicious Maxims of the late Casuists. The second edition corrected, with large additional. *Sicut Serpentes*. London : Printed for Richard Royston, and are to be sold by Robert Clavell at the Stag's Head near St. Gregorie's Church in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1658.—pp. 360. Additional, pp. 147. At the end are the names of some of the most eminent Casuists.

2. *Μυστήριον τῆς Ἀνομίας*. That is, Another Part of the Mystery of Jesuitism ; or the new Heresie of the Jesuites, publickly maintained at Paris, in the College of Clermont, the xii of December MDCLXI. declared to all the Bishops of France. According to the copy printed at Paris. Together with the Imaginary Heresie, in three Letters, with divers other particulars relating to the abominable Myserie. Never before published in English. London : Printed by James Flesher, for Richard Royston, bookseller to his most sacred Majesty, 1664.—3 letters, pp. 206. Copy of a Letter from the reverend Father Valerian, a Capuchin, to Pope Alexander 7th, pp. 207—239. The sense of the French Church, pp. 240—254.

3. The Moral Practice of the Jesuits demonstrated by many remarkable histories of their actions in all parts of the world. Collected either from books of the greatest authority, or most certain and unquestionable records and memorials. By the Doctors of the Sorbonne. Faithfully translated into English (by Dr. Tongue ; see 1678, Oct. 1.) London : Printed for Simon Miller at the Star at the West end of St. Paul's, 1670.

*Mysterie of Jesuitism* translated and collected by me, tho' without my name, containing the Imaginarie Heresy, with 4 letters and other pieces.

4. I went in a coach, it being excessive sharp frost and snow, towards Dover and other parts of Kent, to settle physitians, chirurgeons, agents, marshals and other officers in all the Sea Ports, to take care of such as should be set on shore, wounded, sick, or prisoners, in pursuance of our Commission reaching from the North Foreland in Kent to Portsmouth in Hampshire. The rest of the Ports in England were allotted to the other Commissioners. That evening I came to Rochester, where I deliver'd the Privy Council's letter to the Maior to receive orders from me.

5. I arriv'd at Canterbury, and went to the Cathedral, exceedingly well repair'd since his Majesty's returne.

6. To Dover, where Col. Stroode Lieutenant of the Castle, having receiv'd the letter I brought him from the Duke of Albemarle, made me lodge in it, and I was splendidly treated, assisting me from place to place. Here I settled my first Deputy. The Maior and Officers of the Costomes were very civil to me.—9. To Deal.—10. To Sandwich, a pretty towne, about 2 miles from the sea. The Maior and Officers of the Costomes were very diligent to serve me. I visited the Forts in the way, and return'd that night to Canterbury.

11. To Rochester, when I tooke order to settle officers at Chatham.—12. To Gravesend, and return'd home. A cold, busy, but not an unpleasant journey.

25. This night being at White-hall, his Majesty came to me standing in the withdrawing roomé, and gave me thanks for publishing '*The Mysterie of Jesuitism*,' which he said he had carried two days in his pocket, read it, and encourag'd me ; at which I did not a little wonder ; I suppose Sir Robert Murray had given it to him.

27. Dined at the Lord Chancellor's, who caus'd me after dinner to sit 2 or 3 houres alone with him in his bed-chamber.

2 Feb. I saw a masq perform'd at Court by 6 gentlemen and 6 ladys, surprizing his Majesty, it being Candlemas-day.

8. Ash-Wednesday. I visited our prisoners at Chelsey Colledge, and to examine how the Martial and Suttlers behav'd. These were prisoners taken in the warr ; they only complain'd that their bread was too fine. I dined at Sir Henry Herbert's, Master of the Revells.

9. Din'd at my Lo. Treasurers the Earle of Southampton, in Blomesbury, where he was building a noble Square or Piazza,<sup>1</sup> a little Towne ; his owne house stands too low, some noble roomes, a pretty cedar chapell, a naked garden to the North, but good aire<sup>2</sup>. I had much

<sup>1</sup> The Italians do not mean what we do by Piazza : they only mean a Square.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards it was called Bedford House, being the town residence for many years of the Russell family, but was pulled down in 1800, and on the site and the adjoining fields were erected many handsome houses, now called Russell Square, Bedford Place, Russell Place, &c.

discourse with his Lordship, whom I found to be a person of extraordinary parts, but *valetudinariæ*.—I went to St. James's Parke, where I saw various animals, and examined the throate of the *Onocratylus* or Pelican, a fowle betweene a Stork and a Swan; a melancholy water-fowl brought from Astracan by the Russian Ambassador, it was diverting to see how he would toss up and turn a flat fish, plaice or flounder, to get it right into its gullet at its lower beak, which being filmy, stretches to a prodigious wideness when it devours a great fish. Here was also a small water-fowl not bigger than a more-hen, that went almost quite erect like the penguin of America; it would eate as much fish as its whole body weigh'd, I never saw so unsatiable a devourer, yet the body did not appear to swell the bigger. The Solan geese here also are greate devourers, and are said soon to exhaust all the fish in a pond. Here was a curious sort of poultry not much exceeding the size of a tame pidgeon, with legs so short as their crops seem'd to touch the earth; a milk-white raven; a stork which was a rarity at this season, seeing he was loose and could flie loftily; two Balerian cranes, one of which having had one of his leggs broken and cut off above the knee, had a wooden or boxen leg and thigh, with a joynt so accurately made that the creature could walke and use it as well as if it had ben natural; it was made by a souldier. The Parke was at this time stored with numerous flocks of severall sorts of ordinary and extraordinary wild fowle, breeding about the Decoy, which for being neere so greate a Citty, and among such a concourse of souldiers and people, is a singular and diverting thing. There were also deere of severall countries, white; spotted like leopards; antelopes; an elk; red deere; roebucks; staggs; Guinea goates; Arabian sheepe, &c. There were withy-potts or nests for the wild fowle to lay their eggs in, a little above the surface of the water.

23 Feb. I was invited to a greate feast at Mr. Rich's (a relation of my wife's, now Reader at Lincoln's Inn; where was the Duke of Monmouth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops of London and Winchester, the Speaker of the House of Commons, divers of the Judges, and severall other greate men.

24. Dr. Fell, Canon of Christ Church, preach'd before the King on 15 Romans 2, a very formal discourse, and in blank verse, according to his manner; however he is a good man.—Mr. Philips, preceptor to my sonn, went to be with the E. of Pembroke's sonn, my Lo. Herbert.

2 March. I went with his Majesty into the lobbie behind the House of Lords, where I saw the King and rest of the Lords robe themselves, and got into the Lords House in a corner neere the woolsack on which the Lord Chancellor sits next below the Throne; the King sate in all the regalia, the crown imperial on his head, the scepter and globe, &c. The D. of Albemarle bare the sword, the D. of Ormond the cap of dignity. The rest of the Lords robed and in their places :—a

most splendid and august convention. Then came the Speaker and the House of Commons, and at the barr made a speech, and afterwards presented severall bills, a nod onely passing them, the Cleark saying *Le Roy le veult*, as to public bills; as to private, *Soit faite comme il est desiré*. Then his Majesty made a handsome but short speech, commanding my Lord Privy Seale to prorogue the Parliament, which he did, the Chancellor being ill and absent. I had not before seene this ceremony.

9. I went to receive the poore creatures that were saved out of the London fregat, blowne up by accident with above 200 men.

29 Mar. Went to Goring House<sup>1</sup>, now Mr. Secretary Bennett's, ill built, but the place capable of being made a pretty villa. His Majestie was now finishing the Decoy in the Parke.

2 April. Took order about some prisoners sent from Capt. Allen's ship, taken in the Solomon, *viz.* the brave men who had defended her so gallantly.

5. Was a day of public humiliation and for successe of this terrible warr, begun doubtlesse at secret instigation of the French to weaken the States & Protestant interest. Prodigious preparations on both sides.

6. In the afternoone I saw acted 'Mustapha,' a tragedy written by the Earle of Orrery.

11. To London, being now left the onely Commissioner to take all necessary orders how to exchange, remove, and keepe prisoners, dispose of hospitalls, &c. the rest of the Commissioners being gone to their severall districts, in expectation of a suddaine engagement.

19. Invited to a greate dinner at the Trinity House, where I had businesse with the Commissioners of the Navy, and to receive the second £5,000 imprest for the service of the sick and wounded prisoners.

20. To White-hall to the King, who called me into his bed chamber as he was dressing, to whom I shew'd the letter written to me from the Duke of York from the fleete, giving me notice of Young Evertson, and some other considerable commanders newly taken in fight with the Dartmouth and Diamond frigats<sup>2</sup>, whom he had sent me as prisoners

<sup>1</sup> On the site whereof Arlington Street is now built. There is a small print of this house.

<sup>2</sup> In the publication of the Life of King James II. from his own papers (printed 1816), after describing the engagement with the Dutch fleet in 1665, he says, 'Soon after this three Dutch men of war, which had been seen for some time to the windward of us, and were looking out for their own fleet, bore down in order to join it. One of them was a great ship of above 80 guns, which for want of some repairs had been left by Cornelius Evertson to his son, with orders to follow; the other two were not of the same force. These being to windward, endeavoured to join the head of their fleet, and young Evertson being a mettled man, and having a mind to distinguish himself, resolved to run on board the Plymouth, hoping to bear her down; but Sir Tho. Allen, perceiving by Evertson's working what his design was, brought his ship to at once, so that Evertson miss'd his aim, tho' he came so near it that the yard-arms of both ships touch'd, and they gave each other a severe broadside in passing; after which Evertson and the other two made a shift to join their own fleet, and Sir Tho. Allen continued leading as before, till finding himself extreemly disabled, he was forc'd to ly by.' P. 410.—'After this engagement was over, and the Dutch had retired to their own ports, the Duke of York had

at war ; I went to know of his Majestie how he would have me treat them, when he commanded me to bring the young Captain to him, and to take the word of the Dutch Ambassador (who yet remained here) for the other, that he should render himself to me whenever I called on him, and not stir without leave. Upon which I desir'd more guards, the prison being Chelsey House. I went also to Lord Arlington (the Secretary Bennett lately made a Lord) about other businesse. Dined at my Lord Chancellor's, none with him but Sir Sackville Crowe, formerly the Ambassador at Constantinople ; we were very chearfull and merry.

24. I presented young Capt. Evertson (eldest son of Cornelius, Vice Admiral of Zealand, and nephew of John, now Admiral, a most valiant person) to his Majestie in his bed chamber ; the King gave him his hand to kisse, and restored him his liberty ; ask'd many questions concerning the fight (it being the first blood drawne), his Majestie remembering the many civilities he had formerly receiv'd from his relations abroad, who had now so much interest in that considerable Province. Then I was commanded to go with him to the Holland Ambassador, where he was to stay for his passport, and I was to give him 50 pieces in broad gold. Next day I had the Ambassador's parole for the other Captain, taken in Capt. Allen's fight before Cales. I gave the King an account of what I had don, and afterwards ask'd the same favour for another Captain, which his Majesty gave me.

28 April. I went to Tunbridge, to see a solemn exercise at the free schoole there<sup>1</sup>.

Having taken orders with my martial about my prisoners, and with the doctor and chirurgeon to attend the wounded, enemies and of our owne men, I went to London again and visited my charge, severall with legs and arms off ; miserable objects God knows !

16 May. To London to consider of the poore orphans and widows

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brought back the English fleet to the Nore, he took care to have his Scouts abroad, two of which, the Diamond, Capt. Golding, and the Yarmouth, Capt Ayliffe, being sent to observe the motions of the Dutch, they happened to meet with two of the Direction ships (as the Dutch call them) of 40 od guns each ; the biggest was commanded by one Masters, the other by young Cornelius Evertson, who, tho' ours were of somewhat better force, did not avoid engaging. At the first broadside Golding was slain ; but his Lieut. Davis managed the fight so well, as did the Capt. of the Yarmouth, that after some hours dispute, both the Dutch ships were taken, tho' bravely defended, for they lost many men and were very much disabled before they struck. The Duke gave young Evertson his liberty<sup>1</sup>, in consideration of his father Cornelius, who had performed severall services for the K. before his Restoration ; and his R. H. freed also the other Captain for having defended himself so well, and made Lieut. Davis Captain of those prizes.' P. 419.

<sup>1</sup> There is an annual visitation by the Skinners Company of London, who are the patrons, at which verses, themes, &c. are spoken before them by the senior scholars. The Rev. Vicesimus Knox (D.D.), author of many works, some of have gone through many editions, was master from about 1779 to 1812, when he resigned in favour of his son the Rev. Thomas Knox.

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<sup>1</sup> i. e. he recommended it to the King to do so, for we see he was sent to London and presented to the King by Mr. Evelyn.

made by this bloody beginning, and whose husbands and relations perished in the London fregat, of which there were 50 widows, and 45 of them with child.

26. To treat with the Holland Ambassador at Chelsey for release of divers prisoners of warr in Holland on exchange here. After dinner being call'd into the Council Chamber at White-hall, I gave his Majesty an account of what I had don, informing him of the vast charge upon us, now amounting to no less than £.1000 weekly.

29. I went with my little boy to visite my district in Kent, to make up accompts with my officers. Visited the Governor at Dover Castle, where were some of my prisoners.

3 June. In my return went to Graves-end ; the Fleets being just now engaged, gave special orders for my officers to be ready to receive the wounded and prisoners.

5. To London, to speak with his Majesty and the Duke of Albemarle for horse and foote guards for the prisoners at warr, committed more particularly to my charge by a Commission apart.

8. I went againe to his Grace, thence to the Council, and mov'd for another privy seale for £.20,000, and that I might have the disposal of the Savoy Hospital for the sick and wounded, all which was granted. Hence to the Royal Society to refreshe among the Philosophers.

Came newes of his Highness's victory, which indeede might have ben a compleate one, and at once ended the warr, had it ben pursued, but the cowardice of some, or treachery, or both, frustrated that. We had however bonfires, bells and rejoicing in the Citty. Next day the 9th I had instant orders to repaire to the Downes, so as I got to Rochester this evening. Next day I lay at Deale, where I found all in readinesse ; but the Fleete being hindred by contrary winds I come away on the 12th and went to Dover, and returned to Deale ; and on the 13th hearing the Fleete was at Solebay, I went homeward, and lay at Chatham, and the 14th I got home. On the 15th came the eldest son of the present Secretary of State to the French King, with much other companie, to dine with me. After dinner I went with him to London, to speake to my Lord Gen. for more guards, and gave his Majesty an account of my journey to the Coasts under my inspection. I also waited on his Royal Highnesse, now come triumphant from the Fleete, gotten in to repaire. See the whole history of this conflict in my History of the Dutch Warr.

20. To London, and represented the state of the sick and wounded to his Majesty in Council, for want of mony ; he order'd I should apply to my Lo. Treassurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon what funds to raise the mony promised. We also presented to his Majesty divers expedients for retrenchment of the charge.

This evening making my court to the Duke, I spake to Mons. Cominges the French Ambassador, and his Highness granted me six

prisoners, Emdeners, who were desirous to go to the Barbados with a merchant.

22. We waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and got an order of Council for our mony to be paid to the Treasurer of the Navy for our Receivers.

23. I din'd with Sir Robert Paston since Earle of Yarmouth, and saw the Duke of Verneville base brother to the Q. Mother, a handsom old man, a greate hunter.

The Duke of Yorke told us that when they were in fight, his dog sought out absolutely the very securest place in all the vessell.—In the afternoone I saw the pompous reception and audience of El Conde de Molino, the Spanish Ambassador, in the Banquetting-house, both their Majesties sitting together under the canopy of state.

30. To Chatham; and 1 July, to the Fleete with Lord Sandwich, now Admiral, with whom I went in a pinnace to the Buoy of the Nore, where the whole Fleete rod at anker; went on board the Prince of 90 brasse ordnance, happly the best ship in the world both for building and sailing; she had 700 men. They made a greate huzza or shout at our approach 3 times. Here we dined with many noblemen, gentlemen and volunteers, served in plate and excellent meate of all sorts. After dinner came his Majestie, the Duke, and Prince Rupert. Here I saw the King knight Capt. Custance for behaving so bravely in the late fight. It was surprizing to behold the good order, decency, and plenty of all things in a vessell so full of men. The ship received an hundred cannon shot in her body. Then I went on board the Charles, to which, after a gun was shot off, came all the Flag-officers to his Majesty, who there held a Generall Council, which determin'd that his R. Highnesse should adventure himselfe no more this Summer. I came away late, having seene the most glorious Fleete that ever spread sailes. We returned in his Majesty's yacht with my Lo. Sandwich and Mr. Vice-Chamberlaine, landing at Chatham on Sunday morning.

5 July. I tooke order for 150 men who had ben recovered of their wounds, to be carried on board the Clove Tree, Carolus Quintus, and Zeland, ships that had ben taken by us in the fight; and so return'd home.

7. To London, to Sir Wm. Coventrie; and so to Sion, where his Majesty sat at Council during the contagion; when buisines was over, I viewed that seate belonging to the Earle of Northumberland, built out of an old Nunnerie, of stone, and faire enough, but more celebrated for the garden than it deserves; yet there is excellent wall-fruit, and a pretty fountaine; nothing else extraordinarie.

9. I went to Hampton Court, where now the whole Court was, to sollicite for mony; to carry intercepted letters; confer again with Sir Wm. Coventrie, the Duke's secretary; and so home, having din'd with Mr. Secretary Morice.

16 July. There died of the plague in London this weeke 1100, and in the weeke following above 2000. Two houses were shut up in our parish.

2 Aug. A solemn fast thro' England to deprecate God's displeasure against the land by pestilence and war; our Dr. preaching on 26 Levit: 41, 42. that the meanes to obtaine remission of punishment was not to repine at it, but humbly submit to it.

3. Came his Grace the Duke of Albemarle, L. Generall of all his Majesties Forces, to visite me, and carried me to dine with him.

4. I went to Wotton to carry my sonn and his tutor Mr. Bohun, Fellow of New Coll. (recommended to me by Dr. Wilkins and the Pres. of New Coll. Oxford), for feare of the pestilence, still increasing in London and its environs. On my returne I call'd at Durdans, where I found Dr. Wilkins, Sir Wm. Petty, and Mr. Hooke, contriving chariots, new rigging for ships, a wheele for one to run races in, and other mechanical inventions; perhaps three such persons together were not to be found elsewhere in Europe, for parts and ingenuity.

8. I waited on the D. of Albemarle, who was resolved to stay at the Cock-pit in St. James's Parke. Died this week in London 4000.

15. There perished this week 5000.

28. The contagion still increasing and growing - now all about us, I sent my wife and whole family (two or three necessary servants excepted) to my brother's at Wotton; being resolved to stay at my house mysele and to looke after my charge, trusting in the providence and goodnesse of God.

5 Sept. To Chatham to inspect my charge, with 900*l.* in my coach.

7. Came home, there perishing neere 10,000 poore creatures weekly; however I went all along the Citty and suburbs from Kent Streete to St. James's, a dismal passage, and dangerous to see so many coffines expos'd in the streetes, now thin of people; the shops shut up, and all in mourneful silence, as not knowing whose turn might be next. I went to the Duke of Albemarle for a pest-ship, to wait on our infected men, who were not a few.

14. I went to Wotton; and on 16 Sept. to visite old Secretary Nicholas, being now at his new purchase of West Horsley, once mortgag'd to me by Lord Visct. Montagu: a pretty drie seate on the Downe. Return'd to Wotton.

17. Receiving a letter from Lord Sandwich of a defeate given to the Dutch, I was forc'd to travell all Sunday. I was exceedingly perplex'd to find that neere 3000 prisoners were sent to me to dispose of, being more than I had places fit to receive and guard.

25. My Lord Admiral being come from the fleete to Greenewich, I went thence with him to the Cock-pit to consult with the Duke of Albemarle. I was peremptory that unlesse we had 10,000*l.* immediately, the prisoners would starve, and 'twas proposed it should be

rais'd out of the E. India prizes now taken by Lord Sandwich. They being but two of the Commission, and so not empower'd to determine, sent an expresse to his Majesty and Council to know what they should do. In the meane time I had 5 vessells with competent guards to keepe the prisoners in for the present, to be placed as I should think best. After dinner (which was at the Generals) I went over to visite his Grace the A. Bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth.

28. To the Generall againe, to acquaint him of the deplorable state of our men for want of provisions; return'd with orders.

29. To Erith to quicken the sale of the prizes lying there, with order to the Commissioner who lay on board till they should be dispos'd of, 5000*l.* being proportion'd for my quarter. Then I deliver'd the Dutch Vice Admiral, who was my prisoner, to Mr. Lowman, of the Marshalsea, he giving me bond in 500*l.* to produce him at my call. I exceedingly pittied this brave unhappy person, who had lost with these prizes 40,000*l.* after 20 yeares negotiation [trading] in the East Indies. I din'd in one of these vessells, of 1200 tonns, full of riches.

1 October. This afternoone, whilst at evening prayers, tidings were brought me of the birth of a daughter at Wotton, after six sonns, in the same chamber I had first tooke breath in, and at the first day of that moneth, as I was on the last, 45 yeares before.—4. The monthly fast.

11. To London, and went thro' the whole Citty, having occasion to alight out of the coach in severall places about buisnesse of mony, when I was environ'd with multitudes of poore pestiferous creatures begging almes; the shops universaly shut up, a dreadful prospect! I din'd with my Lord General; was to receive 10,000*l.* and had guards to convey both myselfe and it, and so returned home, thro' God's infinite mercy.

17. I went to Gravesend, next day to Chatham, thence to Maidstone, in order to the march of 500 prisoners to Leeds Castle, which I had hired of Lord Culpeper. I was earnestly desir'd by the learned Sir Roger Twisden and Deputy Lieutenants to spare Maidstone from quartering any of my sick flock. Here Sir Edw. Brett sent me some horse to bring up the reare. This country from Rochester to Maidstone by the Medway and the Downs is very agreeable for the prospect.

21. I came from Gravesend, where Sir Jo. Griffith, the Governor of the Fort, entertain'd me very handsomely.

31. I was this day 45 yeares of age, wonderfully preserved, for which I blessed God for his infinite goodness towards me.

23 November. Went home, the contagion having now decreas'd considerably.

27. The Duke of Albemarle was going to Oxford, where both Court and Parliament had ben most part of the summer. There was no small suspicion of my Lord Sandwich having permitted divers commanders who were at the taking of the East India prizes, to break bulk and take

to themselves jewels, silkes, &c.: tho' I believe some whom I could name fill'd their pockets, my Lo. Sandwich himsele had the least share. However he underwent the blame, and it created him enemies, and prepossess'd the Lord Generall, for he spake to me of it with much zeale and concerne, and I believe laid load enough on Lord Sandwich at Oxford.

8 Dec. To my Lo. of Albemarle (now return'd from Oxon), who was declar'd Generall at Sea, to the no small mortification of that excellent person the Earle of Sandwich, whom the Duke of Albemarle not onely suspected faulty about the prizes, but less valiant; himsele imagining how easie a thing it were to confound the Hollanders, as well now as heretofore he fought against them upon a more disloyal interest.

25. Kept Christmas with my hospitable brother at Wotton.

30. To Woodcott, when I supp'd at my Lady Mordaunt's at Ashted, where was a roome hung with *Pintado*, full of figures greate and small, prettily representing sundry trades and occupations of the Indians, with their habits; here supp'd also Dr. Duke, a learned and facetious gentleman.

31. Now blessed be God for his extraordinary mercies and preservation of me this yeare, when thousands and ten thousands perish'd and were swept away on each side of me, there dying in our parish this yeare 406 of the pestilence!

1666. 3 Jan. I supp'd in None-such House,<sup>1</sup> whither the office of the Exchequer was transferr'd during the plague, at my good friend's Mr. Packer's, and tooke an exact view of the plaster statues and bass relievos inserted 'twixt the timbers and punchions of the outside walles of the Court; which must needs have ben the work of some celebrated Italian. I much admir'd how it had lasted so well and intire since the time of Hen. VIII. expos'd as they are to the aire; and pitty it is they are not taken out and preserv'd in some drie place; a gallerie would become them. There are some mezzo-relievos as big as the life, the storie is of the Heathen Gods, emblems, compartments, &c. The Palace consists of two courts, of which the first is of stone, castle-like, by the Lo. Lumlies (of whom 'twas purchas'd), the other of timber, a Gothic fabric, but these walls incomparably beautified. I observ'd that the appearing timber punchions, entrelices, &c. were all so cover'd with scales of slate, that it seem'd carv'd in the wood and painted, the slate fastened on the timber in pretty figures, that has, like a coate of armour, preserv'd it from rotting. There stand in the garden two handsome stone pyramids, and the avenue planted with rows of faire elmes, but the rest of these goodly trees, both of this and of Worcester Park adjoining, were fell'd by those destructive and avaricious rebels in the late warr, which defac'd one of the stateliest seates his Majesty had.

<sup>1</sup> There is a small print of it in Speed's Map of Surrey, but a larger one by Hoefnagle in a Collection of Views, some in England, but chiefly abroad. Mr. Lysons has copied this in his 'Environs of London,' edit. 1796, vol. I. p. 153.

12. After much, and indeede extraordinary mirth and cheere, all my brothers, our wives and children being together, and after much sorrow and trouble during this Contagion, which seperated our families as well as others, I returned to my house, but my wife went back to Wotton, I not as yet willing to adventure her, the Contagion, tho' exceedingly abated, not as yet wholly extinguished amongst us.

29. I went to waite on his Majesty, now return'd from Oxford to Hampton Court, where the Duke of Albemarle presented me to him; he ran towards me, and in a most gracious manner gave me his hand to kisse, with many thanks for my care and faithfullnesse in his service in a time of such greate danger, when every body fled their employments; he told me he was much oblig'd to me, and said he was severall times concern'd for me, and the peril I underwent, and did receive my service most acceptably (tho' in truth I did but my duty, and O that I had performed it as I ought!) After this his Majesty was pleas'd to talke with me alone, neere an houre, of severall particulars of my employment, and order'd me to attend him againe on the Thursday following at Whitehall. Then the Duke came towards me, and embrac'd me with much kindnesse, telling me if he had thought my danger would have ben so greate, he would not have suffer'd his Majesty to employ me in that station. Then came to salute me my Lo. of St. Albans, Lord Arlington, Sir William Coventrie, and severall greate persons; after which I got home, not being very well in health.

The Court was now in deepe mourning for the French Queene Mother.

2 Feb. To London, his Majesty now come to White-hall, where I heard and saw my Lo. Maior (and brethren) make his speech of well-come, and the two Sheriffs were knighted.

6. My wife and family return'd to me from the country, where they had ben since August, by reason of the contagion, now almost universally ceasing. Blessed be God for his infinite mercy in preserving us! I having gone thro' so much danger, and lost so many of my poore officers, escaping still myselfe, that I might live to recount and magnifie his goodnesse to me.

8. I had another gracious reception by his Majesty who call'd me into his'bed-chamber, to lay before and describe to him my project of an Infirmarie, which I read to him, who with greate approbation, recommended it to his R. Highnesse.

20 Feb. To the Commissioners of the Navy, who having seene the project of the Infirmary, encourag'd the work, and were very earnest it should be set about immediately; but I saw no mony, tho' a very moderate expense would have saved thousands to his Majesty, and ben much more commodious for the cure and quartering our sick and wounded, than the dispersing them into private houses, where many more chirurgeons and attendants were necessary, and the people tempted to debaucherie.

21. Went to my Lo. Treasurers for an assignment of £40,000 upon the two last quarters for support of the next yeares charge. Next day to Duke of Albemarle and Secretary of State, to desire them to propose it to the Council.

1 Mar. To London, and presented his Majesty my book intituled 'The pernicious Consequences of the new Heresy of the Jesuits against Kings and States.'

7. Dr. Sandcroft, since Abp. of Canterbury, preached before the King about the identity and immutability of God, on the 102 Psalm 27.

13. To Chatham, to view a place design'd for an Infirmarie.

15. My charge now amounted to neere £.7000 [weekly.]

22. The Royal Society re-assembled after the dispersion from the contagion.

24. Sent £.2000 to Chatham.

1 Aprill. To London, to consult about ordering the natural rarities belonging to the repositorie of the Royall Society; was referred to a Committee.

10. Visited Sir William D'Oylie, surprized with a fit of apoplexie, and in extreame danger.

11. Dr. Bathurst preached before the King, from 'I say unto you all, watch'—a seasonable and most excellent discourse. When his Majesty came from Chapell, he call'd to me in the Lobby, and told me he must now have me sworn for a Justice of Peace (having long since made me of the Commission), which I declin'd as inconsistent with the other service I was engag'd in, and humbly desired to be excused. After dinner, waiting on him, I gave him the first notice of the Spaniards referring the umpirage of the Peace 'twixt them and Portugal to the French King, which came to me in a letter from France before the Secretaries of State had any newes of it. After this his Majestie againe asked me if I had found out any able person about our parts that might supply my place of Justice of Peace (the office in the world I had most industriously avoided, in regard of the perpetual trouble thereof in these numerous parishes), on which I nominated one, whom the King commanded me to give immediate notice of to my Lord Chancellor, and I should be excus'd; for which I rendered his Majestie many thanks.—From thence I went to the Royal Society, where I was chosen by 27 voices to be one of their Council for the ensuing yeare; but upon my earnest suite, in respect of my other affaires, I got to be excused;—and so went home.

15. Our parish was now more infected with the plague than ever, and so was all the countrie about, tho' almost quite ceas'd at London.

24. To London about our Mint Commission, and sat in the inner Court of Wards.

8 May. To Queenboro', where finding the Richmond Fregate, I sail'd to the Buoy of the Nore to my Lo. General and Prince Rupert,

where was the rendezvous of the most glorious Fleet in the world, now preparing to meete the Hollander.—Went to visite my Co. Hales at a sweetly-water'd place at Chilston neere Bockton. The next morning to Leedes Castle, once a famous hold, now hired by me of my Lord Culpeper for a prison. Here I flow'd the drie moate, made a new drawbridge, brought spring water into the court of the castle to an old fountaine, and tooke order for the repaires.

22. Waited on my Lo. Chancellor at his new palace; and Lord Berkeley's built next to it.

24. Dined with Lord Cornbury, now made L. Chamberlaine to the Queene; who kept a very honorable table.

1 June. Being in my garden at 6 o'clock in the evening, and hearing the greate gunns go thick off, I tooke horse, and rode that night to Rochester; thence next day towards the Downes and sea-coast, but meeting the Lieutenant of the Hampshire Fregat, who told me what pass'd, or rather what had not pass'd, I return'd to London, there being no noise or appearance at Deale, or on that coast, of any engagement. Recounting this to his Majesty, whom I found at St. James's Park, impatiently expecting, and knowing that Prince Rupert was loose about 3 at St. Helen's Point at N. of the Isle of Wight, it greatly rejoic'd him; but he was astonish'd when I assur'd him they heard nothing of the guns in the Downs, nor did the Lieutenant, who landed there by 5 that morning.

3 June. Whitsunday. After sermon came newes that the Duke of Albemarle was still in fight, and had ben all Saturday, and that Capt. Harman's ship (the Henrie) was like to be burnt. Then a letter from Mr. Bertie that Pr. Rupert was come up with his squadron (according to my former advice of his being loose and in the way), and put new courage into our Fleete, now in a manner yielding ground, so that now we were chasing the chasers; that the Duke of Albemarle was slightly wounded, and the rest still in greate danger. So having ben much wearied with my journey, I slipp'd home, the gunns still roaring fiercely.

5. I went this morning to London, where came severall particulars of the fight.

6. Came Sir Dan. Harvey from the Generall, and related the dreadful encounter, on which his Majesty commanded me to dispatch an extraordinary physitian and more chirurgeons. 'Twas on the solemn fast day when the newes came; his Majesty being in the Chapell, made a suddaine stop to heare the relation, which being with much advantage on our side, his Majesty commanded that publiq thanks should immediately be given as for a victory. The Deane of the Chapell going down to give notice of it to the other Deane officiating; and notice was likewise sent to St. Paul's and Westminster Abby. But this was no sooner over, than newes came that our losse was very greate both in ships and men; that the Prince fregat was burnt, and as noble a vessell

of 90 brass guns lost, and the taking of Sir Geo. Ayscue, and exceeding shattering of both Fleetes, so as both being obstinate, both parted rather for want of ammunition and tackle than courage, our Generall retreating like a lyon; which exceedingly abated of our former joy. There was however order given for bonfires and bells; but God knows it was rather a deliverance than a triumph. So much it pleased God to humble our late over-confidence that nothing could withstand the Duke of Albemarle, who in good truth made too forward a reckoning of his successes now, because he had once beaten the Dutch in another quarrell, and being ambitious to outdo the Earle of Sandwich, whom he had prejudicated as deficient in courage.

7. I sent more chirurgeons, linnen, medicaments, &c. to the severall ports in my district.

8. Dined with me Sir Alexander Fraser, prime physitian to his Majestie; afterwards went on board his Majesty's pleasure-boate, when I saw the London Frigate launch'd, a most stately ship, built by the Citty to supply that which was burnt by accident some time since. The King, Lord Maior and Sheriffs, being there with a greate banquet.

11. Trinity Monday, after a sermon, applied to the re-meeting of the Corporation of the Trinity House after the late raging and wasting pestilence: I dined with them in their new roome in Deptford, the first time since it was rebuilt.

15. I went to Chatham.—16. In the Jemmy Yacht (an incomparable sailer) to sea, arriv'd by noone at the Fleete at the Buoy of the Nore, din'd with Prince Rupert and the Generall.

17. Came his Majesty, the Duke, and many Noblemen. After Council we went to prayers. My business being dispatch'd, I return'd to Chatham, having layne but one night in the Royal Charles; we had a tempestuous sea. I went on shore at Sheerness, where they were building an arsenal for the Fleete, and designing a royal fort with a receptacle for greate ships to ride at anker; but here I beheld the sad spectacle, more than halfe that gallant bulwark of the kingdom miserably shatter'd, hardly a vessell intire, but appearing rather so many wrecks and hulls, so cruelly had the Dutch mangl'd us. The losse of the Prince, that gallant vessell, had ben a loss to be universally deplor'd none knowing for what reason we first engag'd in this ungrateful warr; we lost besides 9 or 10 more, and neere 600 men slaine and 1100 wounded, 2000 prisoners; to ballance which perhaps we might destroy 18 or 20 of the enemies ships, and 7 or 800 poore men.

18. Weary of this sad sight I return'd home.

2 July. Came Sir Jo. Duncomb<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Thomas Chichley, both

<sup>1</sup> 'Duncomb was a judicious man, but very haughty, and apt to raise enemies against himself. He was an able Parliament man, but could not go into all the designs of the Court, for he had a sense of religion, and a zeal for the liberty of his country.' Bp, Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, fol., vol. I. p. 265.

Privy Councillors and Commissioners of his Majesty's Ordnance, to visite me and let me know that his Majesty had in Council nominated me to be one of the Commissioners for regulating the farming and making of Saltpetre thro' the whole kingdom, and that we were to sit in the Tower the next day. When they were gone, came to see me Sir John Cotton, heir to the famous Antiquary Sir Robert Cotton: who was a pretended greate Grecian, but had by no meanes the parts or genius of his grandfather.

3. I went to sit with the Commissioners at the Tower, where our Commission being read, we made some progresse in businesse, our Secretary being Sir Geo. Wharton, that famous mathematician who writ the yearly Almanac during his Majesty's troubles. Thence to Painters Hall, to our other Commission, and dined at my Lord Maior's.

4. The solemn Fast Day. Doctor Megot preach'd an excellent discourse before the King on the terrors of God's judgements. After sermon I waited on my Lord Abp. of Canterbury and Bp. of Winchester, where the Deane of Westminster spake to me about putting into my hands the disposal of £.50 which the charitable people at Oxford had sent to be distributed among the sick and wounded seamen since the battaile. Hence I went to the Lord Chancellor's, to joy him of his Royal Highnessess second sonne now born at St. James's, and to desire the use of the Star Chamber for our Commissioners to meete in, Painters Hall not being so convenient.

12. We sat the first time in the Star Chamber. There was now added to our Commission Sir Geo. Downing (one that had ben a great . . . . against his Majesty but now insinuated into his favour, and from a pedagogue and frantic preacher not worth a groate had become excessive rich) to inspect the hospitals and treat about prisons.

13. Sat at the Tower with Sir J. Duncomb and Lo. Berkeley to signe deputations for undertakers to furnish their proportions of saltpetre.

17. To London to prepare for the next engagement of the Fleetes, now gotten to sea againe.

22. Our parish still infected with the contagion.

25. The Fleetes engag'd. I dined at Lord Berkeley's at St. James's, where din'd my Lady Harrietta Hyde, Lord Arlington, and Sir John Duncomb.

29. The pestilence now afresh increasing in our parish, I forbore going to church. In the afternoone came tidings of our victorie over the Dutch, sinking some and driving others aground and into their ports.

1 Aug. I went to Dr. Keffler, who married the daughter of the famous chymist Drebbell, inventor of the boedied scarlet. I went to see his yron ovens, made portable (formerly) for the Pr. of Orange's army: supp'd at the Rhenish Wine House with divers Scots gentlemen.

6. Dined with Mr. Povey, and then went with him to see a country-house he had bought neere Brainford: returning by Kensington,

which house stands to a very graceful avenue of trees, but 'tis an ordinary building, especialy one part.

8. Dined at Sir Stephen Fox's with severall friends, and on the 10th with Mr. Odart, Secretary of the Lafine tongue.

17. Din'd with the Lo. Chancellor, whom I entreated to visite the Hospital of the Savoy, and reduce it (after the greate abuse that had ben continu'd) to its original institution for the benefit of the poore, which he promis'd to do.

25. Waited on Sir William D'Oylie, now recover'd as it were miraculously. In the afternoone visited the Savoy Hospital; where I staied to see the miserably dismember'd and wounded men dressed, and gave some necessary orders. Then to my Lo. Chancellor, who had, with the Bishop of London and others in the Commission, chosen me one of the three Surveyors of the repaires of Paules, and to consider of a model for the new building, or, if it might be, repairing of the steeple, which was most decay'd.

26 The Contagion still continuing, we had the Church service at home.

27. I went to St. Paule's Church, where with Dr. Wren, Mr. Prat, Mr. May, Mr. Thos. Chichley, Mr. Slingsby, the Bishop of London, the Deane<sup>1</sup> of St. Paule's and several expert workmen, we went about to survey the generall decays of that ancient and venerable church, and to set downe in writing the particulars of what was fit to be don, with the charge thereof, giving our opinion from article to article. Finding the maine building to recede outwards, it was the opinion of Mr. Chichley and Mr. Prat that it had ben so built *ab origine* for an effect in perspective, in regard of the height; but I was, with Dr. Wren, quite of another judgment, and so we entered it; we plumb'd the uprights in severall places. When we came to the steeple, it was deliberated whether it were not well enough to repaire it onely on its old foundation, with reservation to the 4 pillars; this Mr. Chichley and Mr. Prat were also for, but we totaly rejected it, and persisted that it requir'd a new foundation, not onely in reguard of the necessitie, but for that the shape of what stood was very meane, and we had a mind to build it with a noble cupola, a forme of church-building not as yet known in England, but of wonderfull grace: for this purpose we offer'd to bring in a plan and estimate, which, after much contest, was at last assented to, and that we should nominate a Committee of able workemen to examine the present foundation. This concluded, we drew all up in writing, and so went with my Lord Bishop to the Deanes.

28. Sate at the Star Chamber. Next day to the Royal Society, where one Mercator, an excellent mathematician, produced his rare clock and new motion to performe the equations, and Mr. Rooke his new pendulum.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

2 Sept. This fatal night about ten, began that deplorable fire neere Fish Streete in London.

3. I had public prayers at home. The fire continuing, after dinner I took coach with my wife and sonn and went to the Bank side in Southwark, where we beheld the dismal spectacle, the whole Citty in dreadfull flames neare the water side ; all the houses from the Bridge, all Thames-Street, and upwards towards Cheapeside, downe to the Three Cranes, were now consum'd : and so returned exceedinge astonished what would become of the rest.

The fire having continu'd all this night (if I may call that night which was light as day for ten miles round about, after a dreadfull manner) when conspiring with a fierce Eastern wind in a very drie season ; I went on foote to the same place, and saw the whole South part of the Citty burning from Cheapeside to the Thames, and all along Cornehill (for it likewise kindl'd back against the wind as well as forward), Tower Streete, Fen-church Streete, Gracious Streete, and so along to Bainard's Castle, and was now taking hold of St. Paule's Church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly. The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonish'd, that from the beginning, I know not by what despondency or fate, they hardly stirr'd to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seene but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods ; such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it burned both in breadth and length, the Churches, Public Halls, Exchange, Hospitals, Monuments, and ornaments, leaping after a prodigious manner from house to house and streete to streete, at greate distances one from the other ; for the heate with a long set of faire and warme weather had even ignited the aire and prepar'd the materials to conceive the fire, which devour'd after an incredible manner houses, furniture, and every thing. Here we saw the Thames cover'd with goods floating, all the barges and boates laden with what some had time and courage to save, as, on the other, the carts, &c. carrying out to the fields, which for many miles were strew'd with moveables of all sorts, and tents erecting to shelter both people and what goods they could get away. Oh the miserable and calamitous spectacle ! such as happly the world had not seene the like since the foundation of it, nor be outdon till the universal conflagration of it. All the skie was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seene above 40 miles round about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame ; the noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shreiking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of Towers, Houses and Churches, was like an hideous storme, and the aire all about so hot and inflam'd that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forc'd to stand still and let the flames

burn on, which they did for neere two miles in length and one in bredth. The clouds also of smoke were dismall and reach'd upon computation neer 56 miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoone burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. It forcibly call'd to my mind that passage—*non enim hic habemus stabilem civitatem*: the ruines resembling the picture of Troy. London was, but is no more! Thus I returned home.

Sept. 4. The burning still rages, and it was now gotten as far as the Inner Temple; all Fleet Streete, the Old Bailey, Ludgate Hill, Warwick Lane, Newgate, Paules Chaine, Watling Streete, now flaming, and most of it reduc'd to ashes; the stones of Paules flew like granados, the mealting lead running downe the streetes in a streame, and the very pavements glowing with fiery rednesse, so as no horse nor man was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopp'd all the passages, so that no help could be appli'd. The Eastern wind still more impetuously driving the flames forward. Nothing but the Almighty power of God was able to stop them, for vaine was the help of man.

5. It crossed towards Whitehall; but oh, the confusion there was then at that Court! It pleas'd his Majesty to command me among the rest to looke after the quenching of Fetter Lane end, to preserve if possible that part of Holborn whilst the rest of the gentlemen tooke their several posts, some at one part, some at another (for now they began to bestir themselves, and not till now, who hitherto had stood as men intoxicated, with their hands acrossed) and began to consider that nothing was likely to put a stop but the blowing up of so many houses as might make a wider gap than any had yet ben made by the ordinary method of pulling them downe with engines; this some stout seamen propos'd early enough to have sav'd nearly the whole Citty, but this some tenacious and avaritious men, aldermen, &c. would not permitt, because their houses must have ben of the first. It was therefore now commanded to be practic'd, and my concerne being particularly for the Hospital of St. Bartholomew neere Smithfield, where I had my wounded and sick men, made me the more diligent to promote it; nor was my care for the Savoy lesse. It now pleas'd God by abating the wind, and by the industrie of the people, when almost all was lost, infusing a new spirit into them, that the furie of it began sensibly to abate about noone, so as it came no farther than the Temple Westward, nor than the entrance of Smithfield North: but continu'd all this day and night so impetuous toward Cripple-gate and the Tower as made us all despaire; it also brake out againe in the Temple, but the courage of the multitude persisting, and many houses being blown up, such gaps and desolations were soone made, as with the former three days consumption, the back fire did not so vehemently urge upon the rest as formerly. There was yet no standing neere the burning and glowing ruines by neere a furlongs space.

The coale and wood wharfes and magazines of oyle, rosin, &c. did infinite mischeife, so as the invective which a little before I had dedicated to his Majesty and publish'd,<sup>1</sup> giving warning what might probably be the issue of suffering those shops to bē in the Citty, was look'd on as a prophecy.

The poore inhabitants were dispers'd about St. George's Fields, and Moorefields, as far as Highgate, and severall miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable hutts and hovells, many without a rag or any necessary utensills, bed or board, who from delicatenesse, riches, and easy accomodations in stately and well furnish'd houses, were now reduced to extreamest misery and poverty.

In this calamitous condition I return'd with a sad heart to my house, blessing and adoring the distinguishing mercy of God to me and mine, who in the midst of all this ruine was like Lot, in my little Zoar, were safe and sound.

Sept. 6, Thursday. I represented to his Majesty the case of the French prisoners at war in my custodie, and besought him that there might be still the same care of watching at all places contiguous to unseised houses. It is not indeede imaginable how extraordinary the vigilance and activity of the King and the Duke was, even labouring in person, and being present to command, order, reward, or encourage workmen, by which he shewed his affection to his people and gained theirs. Having then dispos'd of some under cure at the Savoy, I return'd to White-hall, where I din'd at Mr. Offley's,<sup>2</sup> the groome porter, who was my relation.

7. I went this morning on foote from White-hall as far as London Bridge, thro' the late Fleete Street, Ludgate Hill, by St. Paules, Cheapeside, Exchange, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, and out to Moorefields, thence thro' Cornehill, &c. with extraordinary difficulty, clambering over heaps of yet smoking rubbish, and frequently mistaking where I was. The ground under my feete so hot, that it even burnt the soles of my shoes. In the mean time his Majesty got to the Tower by water, to demolish the houses about the graff, which being built intirely about it, had they taken fire and attack'd the White Tower where the magazine of powder lay, would undoubtedly not only have beaten downe and destroyed all the bridge, but sunke and torne the vessells in the river, and render'd the demolition beyond all expression for several miles about the countrey.

At my returne I was infinitely concern'd to find that goodly Church St. Paules now a sad ruine, and that beautifull portico (for structure comparable to any in Europe, as not long before repair'd by the late King) now rent in pieces, flakes of vast stone split asunder, and nothing

<sup>1</sup> The Fumifugium.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Offley was rector of Abinger, and donor of farms to Okewood Chapel in the parish of Wotton, in the patronage of the Evelyn family.

remaining intire but the inscription in the architrave, shewing by whom it was built, which had not one letter of it defac'd. It was astonishing to see what immense stones the heate had in a manner calcin'd, so that all the ornaments, columnes, freezes, capitals, and projectures of massie Portland stone flew off, even to the very roofe, where a sheet of lead covering a great space (no lesse than 6 akers by measure) was totally mealted; the ruines of the vaulted roofe falling broke into St. Faith's, which being fill'd with the magazines of bookes belonging to the Stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were all consum'd, burning for a weeke following. It is also observable that the lead over the altar at the East end was untouch'd, and among the divers monuments, the body of one Bishop remain'd intire. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable Church, one of the most antient pieces of early piety in the Christian world, besides neere 100 more. The lead, yron worke, bells, plate, &c. mealted; the exquisitely wrought Mercers Chapell, the sumptuous Exchange, the august fabriq of Christ Church, all the rest of the Companies Halls, splendid buildings, arches, enteries, all in dust; the fountaines dried up and ruin'd, whilst the very waters remain'd boiling; the voragos of subterranean cellars, wells, and dungeons, formerly warehouses, still burning in stench and dark clouds of smoke, so that in five or six miles traversing about, I did not see one loade of timber unconsum'd, nor many stones but what were calcin'd white as snow. The people who now walk'd about the ruines appear'd like men in some dismal desart, or rather in some greate Citty laid waste by a cruel enemy; to which was added the stench that came from some poore creatures bodies, beds, and other combustibile goods. Sir Tho. Gressham's statue, tho' fallen from its nitch in the Royal Exchange, remain'd intire, when all those of the Kings since the Conquest were broken to pieces; also the standard in Cornehill, and Q. Elizabeth's effigies, with some armes on Ludgate, continued with but little detriment, whilst the vast yron chaines of the Citty streetes, hinges, barrs and gates of prisons were many of them mealted and reduced to cinders by the vehement heate. Nor was I yet able to passe through any of the narrower streetes, but kept the widest; the ground and aire, smoake and fiery vapour, continu'd so intense that my haire was almost sing'd, and my feete unsufferably surbated. The bie lanes and narrower streetes were quite fill'd up with rubbish, nor could one have possibly knowne where he was, but by the ruines of some Church or Hall, that had some remarkable tower or pinnacle remaining. I then went towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seene 200,000 people of all ranks and degrees dispers'd and lying along by their heapes of what they could save from the fire, deploring their losse, and tho' ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one pennie for reliefe, which to me appear'd a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld. His Majesty and Council indeede tooke all imaginable care for their reliefe

by proclamation for the country to come in and refresh them with provisions. In the midst of all this calamity and confusion, there was, I know not how, an alarme begun that the French and Dutch, with whom we were now in hostility, were not onely landed, but even entering the City. There was in truth some days before greate suspicion of those two nations joyning; and now, that they had ben the occasion of firing the towne. This report did so terrifie, that on a suddaine there was such an uproare and tumult that they ran from their goods, and taking what weapons they could come at, they could not be stopp'd from falling on some of those nations whom they casually met, without sense or reason. The clamor and peril grew so excessive that it made the whole Court amaz'd, and they did with infinite paines and greate difficulty reduce and appease the people, sending troops of soldiers and guards to cause them to retire into the fields againe, where they were watch'd all this night. I left them pretty quiet, and came home sufficiently weary and broken. Their spirits thus a little calmed, and the affright abated, they now began to repaire into the suburbs about the City, where such as had friends or opportunity got shelter for the present, to which his Majesty's Proclamation also invited them.

Still the plague continuing in our parish, I could not without danger adventure to our church.

10. I went againe to the ruines, for it was now no longer a City.

13 Sept. I presented his Majesty with a survey of the ruines, and a plot for a new City,<sup>1</sup> with a discourse on it; whereupon after dinner

<sup>1</sup> Sir,

[TO SIR SAMUEL TUKE, KNT. & BART.]

It was some foure dayes before the most fatal Conflagration of the (quondam) City of London yet I addressed a few lines to you; little thinking I should so soone have had two such dissolutions to deplore: The burning of the best Towne in the World: and the discease of the best friend in the World, your excellent Lady. Sir, you know they are but small afflictions that are loquacious—greate ones are silent; & if ever greate ones there were, mine eyes have beheld, & mine eares heard them, with an heart so possess'd with sorrow, that it is not easily expressed; because the instances have ben altogether stupendous & unparallel'd. But it were in vaine to entertaine you with those formal topics, which are wont to be apply'd to persons of lesse fortitude & Christian resignation, though I cannot but exhort you to what, I know, you do—looke upon all things in this World as transitory & perishing; sent us upon condition of quitting them cherefully, when God pleases to take them from us. This consideration alone, (with the rest of those Graces which God has furnish'd you withall) will be able to alleviate your passion, & and to preserve you from succumbing under the pressures, which I confesse are weighty: but not insupportable: Live therefore, I conjure you, & helpe to restore your deare Country, & to console your friends: There is none alive wishes you more sincere happinesse than my poore family.

I suppose I should have heard ere this from you of all the concernments; but impute your silence to some possible miscarriage of your Letters; since the usual place of addresse is with the reste reduc'd to ashes & made an heape of ruines. I would give you a more particular relation of this calamitous accident; but I should oppresse you with sad stories, and I question not but they are come too soone amongst you at Paris with all minutenesse & (were it possible) hyperbolies: There is this yet of lesse deplorable in it: That, as it pleas'd God to order it, little effects of any greate consequence have been lost, besides the houses:—That our Merchants at the same instant in which it was permitted that the tidings should flie over Seas, had so settled all their affaires, as they complying with their forraine Correspondence as punctually as if no disaster at all had happen'd; nor do we heare of so much as one that has fail'd. The Exchange is now at Gressham Colledge. The rest of the City (which may consist of neere a

his Majesty sent for me into the Queen's bed-chamber, her Majesty and the Duke onely being present ; they examin'd each particular, and discours'd on them for neere an houre, seeming to be extreamely pleas'd with what I had so early thought on. The Queene was now in her cavalier riding habite, hat and feather, and horseman's coate, going out to take the aire.

16. I went to Greenewich Church, where Mr. Plume preached very well from this text : ' Seeing therefore all these things must be dissolved,' &c. taking occasion from the late unparalell'd conflagration to remind us how we ought to walke more holyly in all manner of conversation.

27. Dined at Sir Wm. D'Oylie's, with that worthy gent. Sir John Holland of Suffolke.

10 Oct. This day was order'd a generall fast thro' the Nation, to

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7th part) & suburbs peopl'd with new shoppes, the same noyse, buisnesse & com'erce, not to say vanity. Onely the poore Booke-sellers have ben indede ill treated by Vulcan ; so many noble impressions consum'd, by their trusting them to the Churches, as the losse is estimated neere two hundred thousand pounds : which will be an extraordinary detriment to the whole Republiq of Learning. In the meane time, the King & Parliament are infinitely zealous for the rebuilding of our ruines ; & I believe it will universally be the employment of the next Spring : They are now busied with adjusting the claimes of each proprietor, that so they may dispose things for the building after the noblest model : Every body brings in his idea, amongst the rest I presented his Majestie my owne conceptions, with a Discourse annex'd. It was the second that was scene, within 2 dayes after the Conflagration : But Dr. Wren had got the start of me.<sup>1</sup> Both of us did *coincide* so frequently, that his Majestie was not displeas'd with it, & it caus'd divers alterations ; and truly there was never a more glorious Phoenix upon Earth, if it do at last emerge out of these cinders, & and as the designe is layd, with the present fervour of the undertakers. But these things are as yet im'ature ; & I pray God we may enjoy peace to encourage those faire dispositions : The miracle is, I have never in my life observ'd a more universal resignation, lesse repining among sufferers ; which makes me hope, that God has yet thoughts of mercy towards us : Judgments do not alwayes end where they begin ; & therefore let none exult over our calamities ;—We know not whose turn it may be next. But Sir, I forbear to entertaine you longer on these sad reflections ; but persist to beg of you not to suffer any transportations unbecoming a man of virtue ; resolve to preserve your selfe, if it be possible, for better times, the good & restauration of your Country, & the comfort of your Friends & Relations, and amongst them of, Sir,

Sayes Court, 27th September 1666.

Yours, &c., J. E.

Above is Letter of Mr. Evelyn to Sir S. Tuke on the subject of the Fire, and his plan for rebuilding the City. Part of this plan was to lessen the declivities, and to employ the rubbish in filling up the shore of the Thames to low water mark, so as to keep the Basin always full.—In a letter to Mr. Oldenburg, Secretary to the Royal Society, 22 Dec. 1666, he says, after mentioning the presenting his reflections on re-building the City to his Majesty, that ' the want of a more exact plot, wherein I might have marked what the Fire had spared, and accommodated my designe to the remaining parts, made me take it as a *rasa tabula*, and to forme mine idea thereof accordingly : I have since lighted upon Mr. Hollar's late Plan, which looking upon as the most accurate hitherto extant, has caus'd me something to alter what I had so crudely don, though for the most part I still persist in my former discourse, and wiche I heare send you as compleate as an imperfect copy will give me leave, and the suppliment of an ill memory, for since that tyme I hardly euer look'd on it, and it was finish'd within two or three dayes after the Incendium.'

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<sup>1</sup> These Plans were afterwards printed by the Society of Antiquaries, and have been repeatedly engraved for the various histories of London ; that by Mr. Evelyn is erroneously inscribed Sir John Evelyn.

humble us on the late dreadfull conflagration, added to the plague and warr, the most dismall judgments that could be inflicted, but which indeede we highly deserv'd for our prodigious ingratitude, burning lusts, dissolute Court, profane and abominable lives, under such dispensations of God's continu'd favour in restoring Church, Prince, and People from our late intestine calamities, of which we were altogether unmindfull, even to astonishment. This made me resolve to go to our parish assemblie, where our Doctor preached on the 19 Luke 41, piously applying it to the occasion. After which was a collection for the distress'd losers in the late fire.

18. To Court. It being the first time his Majesty put himself solemnly into the Eastern fashion of vest, changeing doublet, stiff collar, bands and cloake, into a comely vest, after the Persian mode, with girdle or straps, and shoe strings and garters into bouckles, of which some were set with precious stones,<sup>1</sup> resolving never to alter it, and to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtain'd to our greate expence and reproch. Upon which divers courtiers and gentlemen gave his Majesty gold by way of wager that he would not persist in this resolution. I had sometime before presented an invective against that unconstancy, and our so much affecting the French fashion, to his Majesty, in which I tooke occasion to describe the comlinessse and usefulnessse of the Persian clothing, in the very same manner his Majesty now clad himselfe. This pamphlet I intitl'd 'Tyrannus, or the Mode,' and gave it to his Majesty to reade. I do not impute to this discourse the change which soon happen'd, but it was an identity that I could not but take notice of.

This night was acted my Lord Broghill's<sup>2</sup> tragedy call'd 'Mustapha' before their Majesties at Court, at which I was present, very seldom going to the publiq theaters for many reasons, now as they were abused to an atheistical liberty, fowle and undecient women now (and never till now) permitted to appeare and act, who inflaming severall young noblemen and gallants, became their misses, and to some their wives;<sup>3</sup> witness the Earle of Oxford, Sir R. Howard, P. Rupert, the Earle of Dorset, and another greater person than any of them, who fell into their snares, to the reproch of their noble families, and ruine of both body and soule. I was invited by my Lord Chamberlaine to see this tragedy, exceedingly well written, thogh in my mind I did not approve of any such pastime in a season of such judgments and calamities.

21. This season, after so long and extraordinarie a drowth in August

<sup>1</sup> It would be curious to see a portrait of the King in this costume, which was however shortly after abandoned and laid aside.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Lord Broghill, created shortly after this Earl of Orrery; he wrote several other plays besides that here noticed.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Margaret Hughes, Nell Gwynn, who left the Earl for his Majesty, to whom were added Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Knight.

and September, as if preparatory for the dreadfull fire, was so very wett and rainy as many feared an ensuing famine.

28. The pestilence, thro' God's mercy, began now to abate considerably in our towne.

30. To London to our office, and now had I on the vest and surcoat or tunic as 'twas call'd, after his Majesty had brought the whole Court to it. It was a comely and manly habit, too good to hold, it being impossible for us in good earnest to leave the Monsieurs vanities long.

31. I heard the signal cause of my Lord Cleaveland pleaded before the House of Lords, and was this day 46 yeares of age, wonderfully protected by the mercies of God, for which I render him immortal thanks.

14 Nov. I went my winter circle thro' my district, Rochester & other places, where I had men quarter'd and in custody.—15. To Leeds Castle.

16. I muster'd the prisoners being about 600 Dutch and French, order'd their proportion of bread to be augmented, and provided cloaths and fuell. Monsieur Colbert, Ambassador at the Court of England, this day sent mony from his master the French King to every prisoner of that nation under my guard.

17. I return'd to Chatham. My chariott overturning on the steepe of Bexley Hill, wounded me in two places on the head; my sonn Jack being with me was like to have ben worse cutt by the glasse; but I thanke God we both escaped without much hurt, tho' not without exceeding danger.—18. At Rochester.—19. Return'd home.

23. At London I heard an extraordinary case before a Committee of the whole House of Commons, in the Commons House of Parliament, between one Capt. Taylor and my Lo. Viscount Mordaunt, where after the lawyers had pleaded, and the witnesses ben examin'd, such foul and dishonourable things were produc'd against his Lordship, of tyranny during his government of Windsor Castle, of which he was Constable, incontinence, and suborning witnesses (of which last one Sir Richard Breames was most concerned), that I was exceedingly interested for his Lordship, who was my special friend, and husband of the most virtuous lady in the world. We sate till neere 10 at night, and yet but halfe the Council had don on behalfe of the Plaintiffe. The question then was put for bringing in of lights to sit longer; this lasted so long before it was determin'd, and rais'd such a confus'd noise among the Members, that a stranger would have ben astonish'd at it. I admire that there is not a rationale to regulate such trifling accidents, which consume a world of time, and is a reproch to the gravity of so greate an assembly of sober men.

27. Sir Hugh Pollard, Comptroller of the Household, died at White-hall, and his Majesty conferr'd the white staffe on my brother Commissioner for sick and wounded, Sir Tho. Clifford,<sup>1</sup> a bold young gentleman, of a small fortune in Devon, but advanc'd by Lo. Arlington,

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Lord Treasurer.

Secretary of State, to the greate astonishment of all the Court. This gentleman was somewhat related to me by the marriage of his mother to my neerest kinsman Gregory Coale,<sup>1</sup> and was ever my noble friend, a valiant and daring person, but by no means fit for a supple and flattering courtier.

28. Went to see Clarendon House,<sup>2</sup> now almost finish'd, a goodly pile to see to, but had many defects as to the architecture, yet plac'd most gracefully. After this I waited on the Lord Chancellor, who was now at Berkshire House,<sup>3</sup> since the burning of London.

2 Dec. Din'd with me Monsieur Kiviet, a Dutch gentleman pensioner of Rotterdam, who came over for protection, being of the Prince of Orange's party, now not wellcome in Holland. The King knighted him for some merit in the Prince's behalf. He should, if caught, have ben beheaded with Monsieur Buat, and was brother-in-law to Van Tromp, the Sea Generall. With him came Mr. Gabriel Sylvius, and Mr. Williamson Secretarie to Lord Arlington; Sir Kiviet came to examine whether the soile about the river of Thames would be proper to make clinker-bricks, and to treat with me about some accomodation in order to making such.

1667. 9 Jan. To the Royal Society, which since the sad conflagration were invited by Mr. Howard to sit at Arundel House in the Strand, who at my instigation likewise bestow'd on the Society that noble library which his grandfather especialy, and his ancestors had collected. This gentleman had so little inclination to bookes, that it was the preservation of them from imbezzlement.

24. Visited my Lo. Chancellor, and presented my son John to him, now preparing to go to Oxford, of which his Lordship was Chancellor. This evening I heard rare Italian voices, two eunuchs and one woman, in his Majesty's greene chamber next his cabinet.

29 Jan. To London in order to my son's Oxford journey, who being very early enter'd both in Latin and Greek, and prompt to learn beyond most of his age, I was persuaded to trust him under the tutorage of Mr. Bohun, fellow of New College, who had ben his preceptor in my house some years before; but at Oxford under the inspection of Dr. Bathurst, President of Trinity Coll., where I plac'd him, not as yet 13 years old. He was newly out of long coates<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Of this gentleman and his family, seated at Petersham in Surrey, see Hist. of that County.

<sup>2</sup> Since quite demolished. It was situated where Albemarle Street now is. After Lord Clarendon's exile, the Duke of Albemarle occupied this noble mansion, of which there are two engraved views at least, one a small one by John Dunstall, and another upon a very large scale by J. Spilbergh.

<sup>3</sup> Berkshire or Cleaveland House belonged to the Howards Earls of Berkshire, and stood very near the royal residence. It was afterwards purchased and presented by Charles II. to Barbara Dutchess of Cleveland. It was then of great extent; she however afterwards sold part, which was built into various houses.

<sup>4</sup> At the Swan Inn at Letherhead in Surrey is a picture of four children, dates of birth between 1640 and 1650; one of them is a boy about this age, in a coat or vest, reaching almost to his ancles.

15 Feb. My little booke in answer to Sir Geo. Mackenzie on Solitude, was now published, intituled, 'Public Employment and an active Life with its Appanages preferred to Solitude.'<sup>1</sup>

19. I saw a comedy acted at Court. In the afternoone I saw a wrestling-match for £.1000 in St. James's Park, before his Majesty, a world of lords and other spectators, 'twixt the Western and Northern men, Mr. Secretary Morice and Lo. Gerard being the judges. The Western men won. Many greate sums were betted.

18. I saw a magnificent ball or masque in the Theater at Court, where their Majesties and all the greate Lords and Ladies daunced, it was infinitely gallant, the men in their richly embrodred most becoming vests.

6 March. I proposed to my Lo. Chancellor Monsieur Kiviet's undertaking to warfe the whole river of Thames, or Key, from the Temple to the Tower, as far as the fire destroyed, with brick, without piles, both lasting and ornamental.—Great frosts, snow and winds, prodigious at the vernal equinox; indeede it had ben a yeare of prodigies in this nation, plague, warr, fire, rains, tempest, and comet.

14. Saw 'The Virgin Queene,' a play written by Mr. Dryden.

22. Din'd at Mr. Sec. Morice's, who shew'd me his library, which was a well-chosen collection. This afternoone I had audience of his Majesty concerning the proposal I had made of building the Key.

26. Sir John Kiviet din'd with me. We went to search for brick earth in order to a greate undertaking.

4 April. 'The cold so intense that there was hardly a leaf on a tree.

18. I went to make court to the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle at their house at Clerkenwell<sup>2</sup>, being newly come out of the North. They receiv'd me with great kindnesse, and I was much pleas'd with the extraordinary fanciful habit, garb, and discourse of the Dutchess.

22. Saw the sumptuous supper in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall on the eve of St. George's day, where were all the Companions of the Order of the Garter.

23. In the morning his Majesty went to Chapell with the Knights of the Garter all in their habits and robes, usher'd by the Heralds; after the first service they went in procession, the youngest first, the Sovereigne last, with the Prelate of the Order and Dean, who had about his neck the booke of the Statutes of the Order, and then the Chancellor of the Order (old Sir Hen. de Vic) who wore the purse about his neck; then the Heralds and Garter King at Arms, Clarencieux, Black Rod. But before the Prelate and Deane of Windsor went the

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Mr. Cowley 12 Mar. 1666 he apologizes for having written against that life, which he had joined with Mr. Cowley in so much admiring, assuring him he neither was, nor could be, serious.

<sup>2</sup> The Duke spent a princely fortune in the service of Charles I. and II. He wrote on Horsemanship a curious and splendid volume. Part of the old house is still standing in Clerkenwell Close (1816).

Gentlemen of the Chapell, and Choristers singing as they marched ; behind them two Doctors of Musick in damask robes ; this procession was about the Courts of White-hall. Then returning to their stalls and seates in the Chapell, plac'd under each Knights coate armour and titles, the second service began : then the King offer'd at the altar, an anthem was sung, then the rest of the Knights offer'd, and lastly proceeded to the Banquetting-house to a greate feast. The King sat on an elevated throne at the upper end at a table alone, the Knights at a table on the right hand, reaching all the length of the roome ; over against them a cupboard of rich gilded plate ; at the lower end the musick ; on the balusters above, wind musick, trumpets and kettle-drums. The King was serv'd by the Lords and Pensioners, who brought up the dishes. About the middle of the dinner the Knights drank the King's health, then the King theirs, when the trumpets and musick plaied and sounded, the guns going off at the Tower. At the banquet came in the Queene and stood by the King's left hand, but did not sit. Then was the banquetting stuff flung about the roome profusely. In truth the croud was so greate, that tho' I staid all the supper the day before, I now staid no longer than this sport began for feare of disorder. The cheere was extraordinary, each Knight having forty dishes to his messe, piled up five or six high. The roome hung with the richest tapessry.

25. Visited again the Duke of Newcastle, with whom I had ben acquainted long before in France, where the Dutchess had obligation to my wives mother, for her marriage there ; she was sister to Lord Lucas and maid of honor then to the Queene Mother ; married in our Chapel at Paris. My wife being with me, the Duke and Dutchess both would needs bring her to the very Court.

26. My Lo. Chancellor shewed me all his newly-finished and furnished palace and librarie ; then went to take the aire in Hide Park.

27. I had a greate deale of discourse with bis Majestie at dinner. In the afternoone I went againe with my wife to the Dutchess of Newcastle, who receiv'd her in a kind of transport, suitable to her extravagant humour and dresse, which was very singular.

May 8. Made up accounts with our Receiver, which amounted to £.33,936. 1s. 4d. Dined at Lord Cornbury's with Hon Francisco de Melos, Portugal Amdassador and kindred to the Queene : of the party were Mr. Henry Jermaine, and Sir Hen. Mapell. Afterwards I went to Arundel House to salute Mr. Howard's sons, who were newly return'd out of France.

11. To London, dined with the Duke of Newcastle, and sate discoursing with her Grace in her bed-chamber after dinner, untill my Lord Marquiss of Dorchester with other company came in, when I went away.

30. To London to wait on the Dutchess of Newcastle (who was a

mighty pretender to learning, poetrie, and philosophie, and had in both publish'd divers bookes) to the Royal Society<sup>1</sup>, whither she came in greate pomp, and being receiv'd by our Lord President at the dore of our meeting roome, the mace, &c. carried before him, had several experiments shewed to her. I conducted her Grace to her coach, and return'd home.

1 June. I went to Greenewich, where his Majesty was trying divers granado's shot out of cannon at the Castle-hill, from the house in the Park ; they brake not till they hit the mark, the forg'd ones brake not at all, but the cast ones very well. The inventor was a German, there present. At the same time a ring was shewed to his Majesty, pretended to be a projection of mercury, and malleable, and say'd by the gentlemen to be fix'd by the juice of a plant.

10. To London, alarm'd by the Dutch, who were fallen on our fleete at Chatham, by a most audacious enterprise entering the very river with part of their fleete, doing us not only disgrace, but incredible mischief in burning severall of our best men of warr lying at anker and moor'd there, and all this thro' our unaccountable negligence in not setting out our fleete in due time. This alarme caus'd me, fearing the enemy might venture up the Thames even to London, (which they might have don with ease, and fir'd all the vessells in the river too,) to send away my best goods, plate, &c. from my house to another place. The alarme was so greate that it put both Country and Citty into a panique feare and consternation, such as I hope as I shall never see more ; every body was flying, none knew why or whither. Now there were land forces dispatch'd with the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Middleton, Prince Rupert, and the Duke, to hinder the Dutch coming to Chatham, fortifying Upnor Castle, and laying chaines and booms ; but the resolute enemy brake thro' all, and set fire on our ships, and retreated in spight, stopping up the Thames, the rest of their fleet lying before the mouth of it.

14 June. I went to see the work at Woolwich, a battery to prevent them from coming up to London, which Pr. Rupert commanded, and sunk some ships in the river.

17. This night about 2 o'clock some chipps and combustible matter prepar'd for some fire-ships taking flame in Deptford Yard made such a blaze, and caus'd such an uproar in the Tower, it being given out that the Dutch fleete was come up and had landed their men and fir'd the Tower, as had like to have don more mischief before people would be persuaded to the contrary and believe the accident. Every body went to their armes. These were sad and troublesome times !

<sup>1</sup> This reminds us of the visit of another greater lady, Queen Christina, to the French Academy, at one of their sittings, recorded by Monsieur Pellisson in his History of that learned body. Queen Caroline, wife of King George II. also affected the company of deep Divines, Scholars, and Philosophers.

24. The Dutch fleet still continuing to stop up the river, so as nothing could stir out or come in, I was before the Council, and commanded by his Majesty to go with some others and search about the environs of the Citty, now exceedingly distress'd for want of fuell, whether there could be any peate or turfe found fit for use. The next day I went and discover'd enough, and made my report that there might be found a great deale ; but nothing further was don in it.

28. I went to Chatham, and thence to view not onely what mischeife the Dutch had don, but how triumphantly their whole fleete lay within the very mouth of the Thames, all from the North fore-land, Margate, even to the buoy of the Nore—a dreadfull spectacle as ever Englishmen saw, and a dishonour never to be wiped off! Those who advised his Majesty to prepare no fleete this spring deserv'd—I know what—but.<sup>1</sup>

Here in the river off Chatham, just before the towne, lay the carkass of the London (now the third time burnt), the Royal Oake, the James, &c. yet smoking ; and now, when the mischeife was don, we were making trifling forts on the brink of the river. Here were yet forces both of horse and foote, with Gen. Middleton continually expecting the motions of the enemy's fleete. I had much discourse with him, who was an experienc'd commander. I told him I wonder'd the King did not fortifie Sheernesse,<sup>2</sup> and the Ferry ; both abandoned.

2 July. Call'd upon my Lo. Arlington as from his Majesty about the new fuell. The occasion why I was mention'd was from what I had said in my Sylva three yeares before, about a sort of fuell, for a neede, which obstructed a patent of Lord Carlingford, who had ben seeking for it himselfe ; he was endeavouring to bring me into the project, and proffered me a share. I met my Lord ; and on the 9th by an order of council went to my Lord Maior to be assisting. In the mean time they had made an experiment of my receipt of *houllies*, which I mention in my booke to be made at Maestricht with a mixture of charcoal dust and loame, and which was tried with successe at Gresham Colledge (then being the exchange for meeting of the merchants since the Fire) for every body to see. This done, I went to the Treasury for £12,000 for the sick and wounded yet on my hands.

Next day we met againe about the fuell at Sir James Armorer's in the Mewes.

8. My Lord Brereton and others din'd at my house, where I shewed them prooffe of my new fuell, which was very glowing and without smoke or ill smell.

<sup>1</sup> The Parliament giving but weak supplies for the war, the King to save charges is persuaded by the Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer Southampton, the Duke of Albemarle, and the other Ministers, to lay up the first and second rate ships. and make only a defensive war in the next campaign. The Duke of York opposed this, but was over-ruled. *Life of James II.* vol I. p. 425.

<sup>2</sup> Since done.

10. I went to see Sir Sam. Morland's<sup>1</sup> inventions and machines, arithmetical wheeles, quench-fires, and new harp.

17. The Master of the Mint and his Lady, Mr. Williamson, Sir Nicholas Armorer, Sir Edw. Bowyer, Sir Anthony Auger, and other friends, dined with me.

29 July. I went to Gravesend, the Dutch fleete still at anker before the river, where I saw 5 of his Majesty's men of war encounter above 20 of the Dutch, in the bottome of the Hope, chaceing them with many broadsides given and return'd towards the buoy of the Nore, where the body of their fleete lay, which lasted till about midnight. One of their ships was fir'd, suppos'd by themselves, she being run on ground. Having seene this bold action, and their braving us so far up the river, I went home the next day, not without indignation at our negligence, and the Nation's reproch. 'Tis well known who of the Commissioners of the Treasury gave advice that the charge of setting forth a fleete this yeare might be spar'd, Sir W. C. (Will. Coventrie) by name.

1 August. I receiv'd the sad news of Abraham Cowley's death, that incomparable poet and virtuous man, my very deare friend, and was greatly deplored.

3. Went to Mr. Cowley's funerall, whose corps lay at Wallingford House, and was thence convey'd to Westminster Abby in a hearse with 6 horses and all funeral decency, neere an hundred coaches of noblemen and persons of qualitie following; among these all the witts of the towne, divers bishops and cleargymen. He was interr'd next Geoffry Chaucer and neere to Spenser. A goodly monument has been since erected to his memorie.

Now did his Majestie againe dine in the Presence, in ancient State, with musiq and all the Court ceremonies, which had ben interrupted since the late warr.

8. Visited Mr. Oldenburg, now close prisoner in the Tower, being suspected of writing intelligence. I had an order from Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, which caus'd me to be admitted. This gentleman was Secretary to our Society, and I am confident will prove an innocent person.

15. Finish'd my account, amounting to £.25,000.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Aubrey says: "Under the Equestrian Statue of Cha. 2. in the great Court at Windsor is an engine for raising water, contrived by Sir Sam. Morland, alias Morley. He was son of Sir Sam. Morland, of Sulhampsted, Barrister, Berks, created Bart. by Cha. 2. in consideration of services performed during his exile. The son was a great mechanic, & was presented with a gold medal & made *Magister Mechanicorum* by the King in 1681. He invented the drum capstands for weighing heavy anchors; the speaking trumpet, & other usefull engines. He died & was buried at Hammersmith, Middlesex, 1696. There is a monument for the 2 wives of Sir Sam. Morland in Westminster Abbey. There is a print of the son by Lombart after Lely. This Sir Sam. the son, built a large room in his garden at Vauxhall, which was much admired at that time. On the top was a punchinello holding a dial." Aubrey's Surrey, vol. I. p. 12. See more of him in Manning and Bray's History of Surrey. vol. III. 489, 490, 491, and Appendix, p. cv.—He is also noticed again several times in this Diary; see particularly under the year 1681. Sept.

17. To the funerall of Mr. Farrington, a relation of my wife's.

There was now a very gallant horse to be baited to death with doggs ; but he fought them all, so as the fiercest of them could not fasten on him, till they run him through with their swords. This wicked and barbarous sport deserv'd to have ben punish'd in the cruel contrivers to get mony, under pretence that the horse had kill'd a man, which was false. I would not be persuaded to be a spectator.

21. Saw the famous Italian puppet play, for 'twas no other.

24. I was appointed with the rest of my brother Commissioners to put in execution an order of Council for freeing the prisoners at war in my custody at Leedes Castle, and taking off his Majestys extraordinary charge, having call'd before us the French and Dutch agents. The peace was now proclaimed in the usual forme by the heraulds.

25. After evening service I went to visit Mr. Vaughan<sup>1</sup>, who lay at Greenwich, a very wise and learned person, he was onè of Mr. Selden's executors and intimate friends.

27. Visited the Lo. Chancellor, to whom his Majesty had sent for the seales a few days before ; I found him in his bed-chamber very sad. The Parliament had accus'd him, and he had enemies at Court, especialy the buffoones and ladys of pleasure, because he thwarted some of them and stood in their way ; I could name some of the cheife. The truth is, he made few friends during his grandeur among the royal sufferers, but advanc'd the old rebels. He was, however, tho' no considerable lawyer, one who kept up thē forme and substance of things in the Nation with more solemnity than some would have had. He was my particular kind friend on all occasions. The Cabal, however, prevail'd, and that party in Parliament. Greate division at Court concerning him, and divers greate persons interceding for him.

28. I din'd with my late Lord Chancellor, where also din'd Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. Will. Legg of the Bed-chamber ; his Lordship pretty well in heart, tho' now many of his friends aud sycophants abandon'd him.

In the afternoone I went to the Lords Commissioners for mony, and thence to the audience of a Russian Envoy in the Queene's presence-chamber, introduc'd with much state, the souldiers, pensioners, and guards in their order. His letters of credence brought by his secretary in a scarfe of satsenett, their vests sumptuous, much embroider'd with pearls. He deliver'd his speech in the Russe language aloud, but without the least action or motion of his body, which was immediately interpreted aloud by a German that spake good English ; half of it consisted in repetition of the Zarr's titles, which were very haughty and oriental, the substance of the rest was that he was only sent to see thē King and Queene, and know how they did, with much compliment and

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Lord Chief Justice.

frothy language. Then they kiss'd their Majesties hands, and went as they came ; but their real errand was to get money.

29. We met at the Star Chamber about the exchange and release of prisoners.

7 September. Came Sir John Kiviet to article with me about his brick-work speculation.

13. Twixt the houres of twelve & one was borne my second daughter, who was afterwards christned Elizabeth.

19. To London with Mr. Hen. Howard of Norfolk, of whom I obtain'd the gift of his Arundelian Marbles, those celebrated and famous inscriptions Greeke and Latine, gather'd with so much cost and industrie from Greece, by his illustrious grandfather the magnificent Earle of Arundel, my noble friend whilst he liv'd. When I saw these precious monuments miserably neglected and scatter'd up and downe about the garden, and other parts of Arundel House, and how exceedingly the corrosive aire of London impair'd them, I procur'd him to bestow them on the University of Oxford. This he was pleas'd to grant me, and now gave me the key of the gallery, with leave to mark all those stones, urns, altars, &c. and whatever I found had inscriptions on them, that were not statues. This I did, and getting them remov'd and pil'd together, with those which were incrusted in the garden-walls, I sent immediately letters to the Vice-Chancellor of what I had procur'd, and that if they esteem'd it a service to the University (of which I had ben a member) they should take order for their transportation.

This don, 21st I accompanied Mr. Howard to his villa at Albury, where I design'd for him the plot for his canall and garden, with a crypt thro' the hill.

24 Sept. Returned to London, where I had orders to deliver the possession of Chelsey Colledge (us'd as my prison during the warr with Holland for such as were sent from the Fleete to London) to our Society, as a gift of his Majesty our founder.

8 Oct. Came to dine with me Dr. Bathurst, Deane of Wells, President of Trinity Coll. sent by the Vice-Chancelor of Oxford, in the name both of him and the whole University, to thank me for procuring the Inscriptions, and to receive my directions what was to be don to shew their gratitude to Mr. Howard.

11. I went to see Lord Clarendon, late Lord Chancellor and greatest officer in England, in continual apprehension what the Parliament would determine concerning him. \*

17. Came Dr. Barlow, Provost of Queen's Colledge and Protobibliothecus of the Bodleian Library, to take order about the transportation of the Arundel Marbles.

25. There were deliver'd to me two letters from the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford with the Decree of the Convocation attested by the Publick Notary, ordering four Doctors of Divinity and Law to acknow-

ledge the obligation the University had to me for procuring the *Marmora Arundeliana*, which was solemnly don by Dr. Barlow, Dr. Jenkins,<sup>2</sup> Judge of the Admiralty, Dr. Lloyd, and Obadiah Walker<sup>3</sup> of University Coll. who having made me a large compliment from the University, deliver'd me the Decree fairly written:

Gesta venerabili domo Convocationis Universitatis Oxon; . . 17. 1667. Quo die retulit ad Senatum Academicum Dominus Vicecancellarius, quantum Universitas deberet singulari benevolentiae Johannis Evelini Armigeri, qui pro eâ pietate quâ Almam Matrem prosequitur non solum Suasu et Concilio apud inclytum Heroem Henricum Howard, Ducis Norfolciae hæredem, intercessit ut Universitati pretiosissimum eruditæ antiquitatis thesaurum Marmora Arundeliana largiretur; sed egregius insuper in ijs colligendis asservandisq; navavit operam: Quapropter unanimi suffragio Venerabilis Domus decretum est ut eidem publicæ gratiæ per delegatos ad Honoratissimum Dominum Henricum Howard propediem mittendos, solemniter reddantur.

Concordat superscripta cum originali collatione facta per me Ben.

Cooper Notarium Publicum et Regnarium Universitat. Oxon.

'SIR,

'We intend also a noble inscription, in which also honorable mention shall be made of yourself; but Mr. Vice Chancellor commands me to tell you that that was not sufficient for your merits, but that if your occasions would permit you to come down at the Act (when we intend a dedication of our new Theater), some other testimonie should be given both of your owne worth and affection to this your old Mother; for we are all very sensible of this greate addition of learning and reputation to the University is due as well to your industrious care for the Universitie, and interest with my Lord Howard, as to his greate noblenesse and generositie of spirit.

'I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

'OBADIAH WALKER, Univ. Coll.'

The Vice-Chancellor's letter to the same effect were too vaine glorious to insert, with divers copies of verses that were also sent me. Their mentioning me in the inscription I totally declin'd when I directed the titles of Mr. Howard, now made Lord upon his ambassage to Morocco.

These fower Doctors having made me this compliment, desir'd me to carry and introduce them to Mr Howard at Arundel House: which I did, Dr. Barlow (Provost of Queenes) after a short speech, delivering a larger letter of the University's thanks, which was written in Latine, expressing the greate sense they had of the honour don them. After this compliment handsomely perform'd, and as nobly receiv'd, Mr. Howard accompanied the Doctors to their coach. That evening I supp'd with them.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Lincoln.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Sir Leonline Jenkins, Secretary of State.

<sup>3</sup> Subsequently head of that College.

26. My late Lord Chancellor was accused by Mr. Seamour in the House of Commons ; and in the evening I returned home.

31 Oct. My birth-day—blessed be God for all his mercies ! I made the Royal Society a present of the Table of Veines, Arteries and Nerves, which great curiositie I had caus'd to be made in Italy, out of the natural human bodies by a learned physitian, and the help of Vestlingius (professor at Padua), from whence I brought them in 1646. For this I receiv'd the public thanks of the Society ; and they are hanging up in their Repository with an inscription.

9 Dec. To visit the late Lord Chancellor. I found him in his garden at his new-built palace, sitting in his gowt wheele-chayre, and seeing the gates setting up towards the North and the fields. He look'd and spake very disconsolately. After some while deploring his condition to me, I tooke my leave. Next morning I heard he was gon ; tho' I am persuaded that had he gon sooner, tho' but to Cornbury, and there lain quiet, it would have satisfied the Parliament. That which exasperated them was his presuming to stay and contest the accusation as long as 'twas possible ; and they were on the point of sending him to the Tower.

10. I went to the funerall of Mrs. Heath, wife to my worthy friend and schoolfellow.

21. I saw one Carr piloried at Charing-Crosse for a libel, which was burnt before him by the hangman.

1668. 8 January. I saw deepe and prodigious gaming at the Groome-Porters, vast heapes of gold squander'd away in a vaine and profuse manner. This I looked on as a horrid vice and unsuitable in a Christian Court.

9. Went to see the Revells at the Middle Temple, which is also an old but riotous costome, and has relation neither to virtue nor policy.

10. To visite Mr. Povey, where were divers greate Lords to see his well-contrived cellar and other elegancies.

24. We went to stake out ground for building a Colledge for the Royal Society at Arundel House, but did not finish it, which we shall soon repent of.

4 Feb. I saw the tragedy of 'Horace' (written by the *virtuous* Mrs. Phillips) acted before their Majesties. 'Twixt each act a masq and antiq daunce. The excessive gallantry of the ladies was infinite, those especialy on that . . . . Castlemaine esteem'd at £.40,000 and more, far outshining the Queene.

15. I saw the audience of the Swedish Ambassador Count Donna, in greate state in the Banquetting-house.

3 Mar. Was launch'd at Deptford that goodly vessell the Charles. I was neere his Majesty. She is longer than the Soveraine, and carries 110 brasse canon ; she was built by old Shish, a plaine honest carpenter, master builder of this dock, but one who can give very little account

of his art by discourse, and is hardly capable of reading, yet of greate abilitie in his calling. The family have been ship carpenters in this yard above 100 yeares.

12. Went to visit Sir John Cotton, who had me into his library, full of good MSS. Greek and Latine, but most famous for those of the Saxon and English Antiquities, collected by his grandfather.

2 April. To the Royall Societie, where I subscrib'd 50,000 bricks towards building a Colledge. Amongst other libertine libels there was one now printed and thrown about, a bold petition of the poore whores to Lady Castlemaine.

9. To London about finishing my grand account of the sick and wounded and prisoners at war, amounting to above £.34,000.

I heard Sir R. Howard impeach Sir Wm. Pen in the House of Lords, for breaking bulk and taking away rich goods out of the E. India prizes formerly taken by Lord Sandwich.

28. To London, about the purchase of Ravensbourn Mills and land around it, in Upper Deptford, of one Mr. Beecher.

30. We seal'd the deedes in Sir Edward Thurland's chambers in the Inner Temple. I pray God bless it to me, it being a deare pennyworth, but the passion Sir R. Browne had for it, and that it was contiguous to our other grounds, engag'd me.

13 May. Invited by that expert Commander Capt. Cox, master of the lately-built Charles the Second, now the best vessell of the Fleete, design'd for the Duke of York, I went to Erith, where we had a greate dinner.

16. Sir Richard Edgecome of Mount Edgecome by Plymouth, my relation, came to visite me; a very virtuous and worthy Gent.

19 Juue. To a new play with several of my relations, 'The Evening Lover,'<sup>1</sup> a foolish plot, and very profane; it afflicted me to see how the stage was degenerated and polluted by the licentious times.

July 2. Sir Sam. Tuke Bart. and the lady he had married this day came and bedded at night at my house, many friends accompanying the bride.

23. At the Royall Society were presented divers *glossa petra's* and other natural curiosities found in digging to build the Fort at Sheerensse; they were just the same as they bring from Malta, pretending them to be vipers teeth, whereas in truth they are of a shark, as we found by comparing them with one in our Repository.

3 Aug. Mr. Bramstone (son to Judge B.) my old fellow-traveller, now Reader at the Middle Temple, invited me to his feast, which was so very extravagant and greate as the like had not ben seene at any time. There were the Duke of Ormond Privy Seal, Bedford, Belasys, Halifax, and a world more of Earles and Lords.

14. His Majesty was pleas'd to grant me a lease of a slip of ground

<sup>1</sup> There is no play extant with this name: it may perhaps be a second title to one; Mr. Evelyn frequently mentions only one name of a play that has two. Or it may be Dryden's Comedy of 'An Evening's Love, or The Mock Astrologer,' which is indeed sufficiently licentious.

out of Brick Close to enlarge my fore court, for which I now gave him thanks; then entering into other discourse, he talk'd to me of a new vernish for ships instead of pitch, and of the gilding with which his new yacht was beautified. I shew'd his Majesty the perpetual motion sent to me by Dr. Stokes from Collen (Cologne); and then came in Mons. Colbert, the French Ambassador.

19. I saw the magnificent entrie of the French Ambassador Colbert, receiv'd in the Banqueting House. I had never seene a richer coach than that which he came in to White-hall. Standing by his Majesty at dinner in the Presence, there was of that rare fruit call'd the *King-pine*, growing in Barbados and the West Indies, the first of them I had ever seene. His Majesty having cut it up, was pleas'd to give me a piece off his owne plate to taste of, but in my opinion it falls short of those ravishing varieties of deliciousness describ'd in Capt. Ligon's History, and others; but possibly it might, or certainly was, much impair'd in coming so far. It has yet a gratefull acidity, but tastes more like the quince and melon than of any other fruite he mentions.

28 August. Publish'd my book of 'The perfection of Painting,' dedicated to Mr. Howard.

17 Sept. I entertain'd Signor Muccinigo the Venetian Ambassador, of one of the noblest families of the State, this being the day of making his publick entrie, setting forth from my house with severall gentlemen of Venice and others in a very glorious traine. He staid with me till the Earle of Anglesea and Sir Cha. Cotterell (Master of the Ceremonies) came with the King's barge to carry him to the Tower, where the gunns were fir'd at his landing; he then enter'd his Majesty's coach follow'd by many others of the nobility. I accompanied him to his house, where there was a most noble supper to all the companie of course. After the extraordinarie compliments to me and my wife for the civilities he receiv'd at my house, I took leave and return'd. He is a very accomplish'd person. He is since Ambassador at Rome.

29. I had much discourse with Signor Pietro Cisij, a Persian gent. about the affaires of Turkey, to my greate satisfaction. I went to see Sir Elias Leighton's project of a cart with iron axle-trees.

Nov. 8. Being at dinner, my sister Evelyn sent for me to come up to London to my continuing sick brother.

14. To London, invited to the consecration of that excellent person the Deane of Ripon, Dr. Wilkins, now made Bishop of Chester; it was at Ely House, the Archbp. of Canterbury, Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, the Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Rochester, and others officiating. Dr. Tillotson preach'd. Then we went to a sumptuous dinner in the Hall, where were the Duke of Buckingham, Judges, Secretaries of State, Lord Keeper, Council, Noblemen, and innumerable other company, who were honourers of this incomparable man, universally belov'd of all who knew him.

This being the Queene's birth-day, greate was the gallantry at Whitehall, and the night celebrated with very fine fire-works.

My poore brother continuing ill I went not from him till the 17th, when dining at the Groom Porters I heard Sir Edw. Sutton play excellently on the Irish harp; he plays genteelly, but not approaching my worthy friend Mr. Clark, a gent. of Northumberland, who makes it exceed lute, viol, and all the harmony an instrument is capable of; pity 'tis that it is not more in use; but indeede to play well takes up the whole man, as Mr. Clark has assur'd me who, tho' a gent of quality and parts, was yet brought up to that instrument from 5 yeares old, as I remember he told me.

25. I waited on Lo. Sandwich, who presented me with the Sembrador he brought out of Spaine, shewing me his two bookes of observations made during his ambassy and stay at Madrid, in which were several rare things he promis'd to impart to me.

27. I din'd at my Lord Ashley's (since Earle of Shaftesbury) when the match of my niece<sup>1</sup> was proposed for his onely sonn, in which my assistance was desir'd for my Lord.

28. Dr. Patrick preach'd at Covent Garden on 17 Acts, 31. the certainty of Christ's coming to judgment, it being Advent; a most suitable discourse.

19 Dec. I went to see the old play of 'Cataline' acted, having ben now forgotten almost 40 yeares.

20 Dec. I din'd with my Lord Cornbury at Clarendon House, now bravely furnish'd, especialy with the pictures of most of our ancient and modern witts, poets, philosophers, famous and learned Englishmen; which collection of the Chancellor's I much commended, and gave his Lordship a catalogue of more to be added.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably the daughter of his brother Richard of Epsom, but who married Mr. Mountagu.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to the Lord Chancellor dated 18 March 1666-7, Mr. Evelyn says;

"My Lord, your Lp. enquires of me what pictures might be added to the Assembly of the Learned and Heroic persons of England which your Lp. has already collected; the designe of which I do infinitely more magnifie than the most famous heads of Foreigners which do not concern the glory of our Country; and it is in my opinion the most honorable ornament, the most becoming and obliging, which your Lp. can thinke of to adorne your palace withall: such therefore as seem to be wanting I shall range under these three heads.

#### THE LEARNED.

Sir Hen. Savell.  
Abp. of Armagh.  
Dr. Harvey.  
Sir H. Wotton.  
Sir T. Bodley.  
G. Buchanan.  
Jo. Barclay.  
Ed. Spencer.  
Wm. Lilly.

Wm. Hooker.  
Dr. Sanderson.  
Wm. Oughtred.  
M. Philips.  
Rog. Bacon.  
Geo. Ripley.  
Wm. of Occam.  
Hadrian 4th.  
Alex. Ales.

Ven. Bede.  
Jo. Duns Scotus.  
Alcuinus.  
Ridley, } martyrs.  
Latimer, }  
Roger Ascham.  
Sir J. Cheke.  
Lady's { Eliz. Joan Weston,<sup>3</sup>  
          { Jane Grey.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of her see Ballard's Learned Ladies. There is a very scarce volume of Latin Poems by her printed at Prague, 1606. Mr. Evelyn mentions her in his Numismata. She is much celebrated by the writers of her time.

31. I entertained my kind neighbours according to costome, giving Almighty God thanks for his gracious mercys to me the past yeare.

1669. 1 Jan. Imploring His blessing for the yeare entring, I went to church, where our Doctor preached on 65 Psalm 12. apposite to the season and beginning a new yeare.

3. About this time one of Sir William Penn's sonns had publish'd a blasphemous book against the Deity of our blessed Lord.

29. I went to see a tall gigantic woman, who measur'd 6 feet 10 inches high, at 21 years old, born in the Low Countries.

13 Feb. I presented his Majesty with my 'Historie of the Foure Impostors;' he told me of other like cheates. I gave my booke to Lord Arlington, to whom I dedicated it. It was now that he began to tempt me about writing 'the Dutch War.'

15. Saw Mrs. Philips's 'Horace' acted againe.

18. To the Royal Society, when Signor Malpighi, an Italian physician and anatomist, sent the Societie the incomparable Historie of the Silkworme.

1 Mar. Din'd at Lord Arlington's at Goring House with the Bishop of Hereford.

4. To the Council of the R. Society, about disposing my Lord Howard's Librarie, now given to us.

16. To London, to place Mr. Christopher Wase about my Lord Arlington.

18. I went with Lord Howard of Norfolk to visit Sir William Ducie at Charlton, where we din'd; the servants made our coachmen so drunk that they both fell off their boxes on the heath, where we were fain to leave them, and were driven to London by two servants of my Lord's. This barbarous custom of making the masters welcome by intoxicating the servants had now the second time happen'd to my coachmen.

My sonn came finally from Oxon.

#### POLITITIANS.

Sir Fra. Walsingham.  
Earl of Leicester.

Sir W. Raleigh.  
Cardinal Wolsey.

Sir T. Smith.  
Card. Pole.

#### SOULDIERE.

Sir Fra. Drake.  
Sir J. Hawkins.  
Sir Martin Frobisher.

Tho. Cavendish.  
Sir Ph. Sidney.  
E. of Essex.

Talbot.  
Sir F. Grevill.  
Hor. E. of Oxford.

'Some of which, tho' difficult to procure originals of, yet happily copys might be found out upon diligent enquiry. The rest I thinke your Lp. has already in good proportion.'

Mr. Evelyn, in a letter to Mr. Pepys, dated 12 August, 1689, tells him that the Lord Chancellor Clarendon had collected Portraits of very many of our great men; and puts them down promiscuously as he recollected them. Mr. Evelyn also there gives a list of Portraits which he recommended to be added, a little different from the list contained in the preceding letter to the Lord Chancellor; and remarks that 'When Lord Clarendon's design of making this collection was known, every body who had any of the portraits, or could purchase them at any price, strove to make their court by presenting them. By this means he got many excellent pieces of Vandyke, and other originals by Lely and other the best of our modern masters.'

2 April. Din'd at Mr. Treasurer's where was (with many noble-men) Col. Titus of the bed-chamber, author of the famous piece against Cromwell, 'Killing no Murder.'

I now plac'd Mr. Wase with Mr. Williamson, Secretary to the Secretary of State, and Clerk of the Papers.

14. I din'd with the Abp. of Canterbury at Lambeth, and saw the Library, which was not very considerable.

19 May. At a Council of the R. Society our grant was finish'd, in which his Majesty gives us Chelsey Colledge and some land about it. It was order'd that 5 should be a quorum for a Council. The Vice-President was then sworn for the first time, and it was propos'd how we should receive the Prince of Tuscany, who desir'd to visit the Society.

20. This evening at 10 o'clock was borne my third daughter, who was baptized on the 25th by the name of Susanna.

3 June. Went to take leave of Lord Howard, going Ambassador to Morocco. Dined at Lord Arlington's where were the Earle of Berkshire, Lord St. John, Sir Robert Howard, & Sir R. Holmes.

10. Came my Lord Cornbury, Sir William Poultney, and others, to visite me. I went this evening to London, to carry Mr. Pepys to my brother Richard, now exceedingly afflicted with the stone, who had ben successfully cut, and carried the stone as big as a tennis-ball, to shew him and encourage his resolution to go thro' the operation.

30. My wife went a journey of pleasure down the river as far as the Sea, with Mrs. Howard, and her daughter the Maid of Honour, and others, amongst whom that excellent creature Mrs. Blagge.

7 July. I went towards Oxford; lay at Little Wycomb.—8. Arrived at Oxford.

9. In the morning was celebrated the Encenia of the New Theater, so magnificently built by the munificence of Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Abp. of Canterbury, in which was spent £.25,000, as Sir Christopher Wren, the architect, (as I remember) told me; and yet it was never seene by the benefactor, my Lord Abp. having told me that he never did nor ever would see it. It is in truth a fabrick comparable to any of this kind of former ages, and doubtless exceeding any of the present, as this University does for Colledges, Librairies, Scholes, Students, and order, all the Universities in the world. To the Theater is added the famous Sheldonian Printing-house. This being at the Act and the first time of opening the Theater (Acts being formerly kept in St. Mary's church, which might be thought indecent, that being a place set apart for the immediate worship of God, and was the inducement for building this noble pile) it was now resolv'd to keep the present Act in it, and celebrate its dedication with the greatest splendor and formalitie that might be, and therefore drew a world of strangers and other companie to the University from all parts of the nation.

The Vice Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Doctors, being seated

in magisterial seates, the Vice Chancellor's chaire and deske, Proctors, &c. cover'd with Brocatall (a kind of brocade) and cloth of gold; the Universitie Register read the founder's grant and gift of it to the Universitie for their scholastic exercises upon these solemn occasions. Then follow'd Dr. South, the Universitie's Orator, in an eloquent speech, which was very long, and not without some malicious and indecent reflections on the Royal Society, as underminers of the University, which was very foolish and untrue, as well as unseasonable. But, to let that pass from an ill natur'd man, the rest was in praise of the Archbishop and the ingenious architect. This ended, after loud musiq from the corridor above, where an organ was plac'd, there follow'd divers panegyric speeches both in prose and verse, interchangeably pronounc'd by the young students plac'd in the rostrums, in Pindarics, Eclogues, Heroics, &c. mingled with excellent musiq, vocal and instrumental, to entertain the ladies and the rest of the company. A speech was then made in praise of academical learning. This lasted from 11 in the morning till 7 at night, which was concluded with ringing of bells and universal joy and feasting.

10. The next day began the more solemn Lectures in all the Faculties, which were perform'd in their several scholes, where all the Inceptor Doctors did their exercises, the Professors having first ended their reading. The assembly now return'd to the Theater, where the *Terra filius* (the *Universitie Buffoone*) entertain'd the auditors with a tedious, abusive, sarcastical rhapsodie, most unbecoming the gravity of the Universitie, and that so grossly, that unlesse it be suppress'd, it will be of ill consequence, as I afterwards plainly express'd my sense of it both to the Vice Chancellor and severall heads of houses, who were perfectly asham'd of it, and resolv'd to take care of it in future. The old facetious way of raillying upon the questions was left off, falling wholly upon persons, so that 'twas rather licentious lyeing and railing than genuine and noble witt. In my life I was never witnesse of so shameful entertainment. After this ribauldry, the Proctors made their speeches. Then began the Musick Act, vocal and instrumental, above in the ballustrade corridore opposite to the Vice Chancellor's seate. Then Dr. Wallis, the Mathematical Professor, made his Oration, and created one Doctor of Musiq according to the usual ceremonies of gowne (which was of white damask), cap, ring, kisse, &c. Next follow'd the Disputations of the Inceptor Doctors in Medicine, the Speech of their Professor Dr. Hyde, and so in course their respective creations. Then disputed Inceptors of Law, the Speech of their Professor, and creation. Lastly, Inceptors in Theologie; Dr. Compton (brother to the Earle of Northampton) being junior, began with greate modesty and applause; so the rest. After which Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Sprat, &c. and then Dr. Allestree's speech, the King's Professor, and their respective creations. Last of all the Vice Chancellor, shutting up

the whole in a panegyric oration celebrating their benefactor and the rest, apposite to the occasion.

Thus was the Theater dedicated by the scholastic exercises in all the Faculties with greater solemnity ; and the night, as the former, entertaining the new Doctors friends in feasting and music. I was invited by Dr. Barlow, the worthy and learned Provost of Queene's Coll.

11. The Act Sermon was this forenoon preach'd by Dr. Hall in St. Maries in an honest practical discourse against Atheisme. In the afternoone the Church was so crowded, that not coming early I could not approach to heare.

12. Mon. Was held the Divinity Act in the Theater againe, when proceeded 17 Doctors, in all Faculties some.

13. I din'd at the Vice-Chancellor's, and spent the afternoone in seeing the rarities of the publick libraries, and visiting the noble marbles and inscriptions, now inserted in the walles that compasse the area of the Theater, which were 150 of the most ancient and worthy treasures of that kind in the learned world. Now observing that people approaching them too neere, some idle persons began to scratch and injure them, I advis'd that an hedge of holly should be planted at the foot of the wall, to be kept breast-high onely, to protect them, which the Vice-Chancellor promis'd to do the next season.

14. Dr. Fell,<sup>1</sup> Dean of Christ-church and Vice-Chancellor, with Dr. Allestree Professor, with Beadles and Maces before them, came to visite me at my lodging.—I went to visite Lord Howard's sons at Magdalen College.

15. Having two daies before had notice that the University intended me the honour of Doctor-ship, I was this morning attended by the Beadles belonging to the Law, who conducted me to the Theater, where I found the Duke of Ormond (now Chancellor of the Universitie) with the Earl of Chesterfield and Mr. Spencer (brother to the late Earl of Sunderland). Thence we march'd to the Convocation House, a Convocation having been call'd on purpose ; here, being all of us rob'd in the Porch in scarlett with caps and hoods, we were led in by the Professor of Laws and presented respectively by name, with a short eulogie, to the Vice-Chancellor, who sate in the chaire, with all the Doctors and Heads of Houses and Masters about the roome, which was exceeding full. Then began the Publiq Orator his speech, directed chiefly to the Duke of Ormond the Chancellor, but in which I had my compliment in course. This ended, we were call'd up and created Doctors according to the forme, and seated by the Vice-Chancellor amongst the Doctors on his right hand ; then the Vice-Chancellor made a short speech, and so saluting our brother Doctors, the pageantry concluded, and the Convocation was dissolved. So formal a creation of Honorarie Doctors had seldome ben seene, that a Convocation should be call'd on

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Oxford.

purpose and speeches made by the Orator ; but they could do no lesse, their Chancellor being to receive, or rather do them, this honour. I should have ben made Doctor with the rest at the Publiq Act, but their expectation of their Chancellor made them defer it. I was then led with my brother Doctors to an extraordinary entertainment at Dr. Mewes, Head of St. John's College, and after aboundance of feasting and compliments, having visited the Vice Chancellor and other Doctors, and given them thanks for the honour done me, I went towards home the sixteenth, and got as far as Windsor, and to my house the next day.

4 Aug. I was invited by Sir Hen. Peckham to his Reading feast in the Middle Temple, a pompous entertainment, where were the Abp. of Canterbury, all the greate Earles and Lords, &c. I had much discourse with my Lord Winchelsea, a prodigious talker; and the Venetian Ambassador.

17. To London, spending almost the intire day in surveying what progresse was made in rebuilding the ruinous Citty, which now began a little to revive after its sad calamitie.

20. I saw the splendid audience of the Danish Ambassador in the Banquetting House at White-hall.

23. I went to visite my most excellent and worthy neighbour the Lord Bishop of Rochester at Bromely, which he was now repairing after the dilapidations of the late rebellion.

2 Sept. I was this day very ill of a paine in my limbs, which continued most of this weeke & was increased by a visite I made to my old acquaintance the Earle of Norwich at his house in Epping Forest, where are many good pictures put into the wainscot of the roomes, which Mr. Baker, his Lordship's predecessor there, brought out of Spaine ; especialy the *Historie of Joseph*, a picture of the pious and learned Picus Mirandula, and an incomparable one of old Breugle. The gardens were well understood, I mean the *Potagere*. I return'd late in the evening, ferrying over the water at Greenewich.

26. To Church to give God thanks for my recovery.

Oct. 3. I received the Blessed Eucharist to my unspeakable joy.

21. To the R. Society, meeting for the first time after a long recesse, during Vacation, according to custome ; where was read a description of the prodigious Eruption of Mount Etna ; and our English Itinerant presented an account of his autumnal perigrination about England for which we hired him, bringing dried fowls, fish, plants, animals, &c.

26. My deare brother continued extreamely full of paine, the Lord be gracious to him !

Nov. 3. This being the day of meeting for the poore, we din'd neighbourly together.

25. I heard an excellent discourse by Dr. Patrick on the resurrection ; & afterwards visited the Countesse of Kent, my kindswoman.

8 Dec. To London, upon the second edition of my 'Sylva,' which I presented to the Royal Society.

1670. Feb 6. Dr. John Breton, Master of Emanuel Coll. in Cambridge, (unkle to our Viccar), preached on 1 John 27, "*whose shoe latchet I am not worthy to unloose, &c.*" describing the various fashions of shoes or sandals worn by the Jews & other nations : of the ornaments of the feete : how greate persons had servants that tooke them off when they came to their houses, & beare them after them : by which pointing the dignitie of our Saviour, when such a person as St. John Baptist acknowledges his unworthinesse even of that meane office. The lawfulnessse, decentnesse, and necessitie, of subordinate degrees and ranks of men and servants, as well in the Church as State : against the late levellers and others of that dangerous rabble who would have all alike.

3 Mar. Finding my brother [Richard] in such exceeding torture, and that he now began to fall into convulsion fits, I solemnly set the next day apart to beg of God to mitigate his sufferings and prosper the onely means which yet remained for his recovery, he being not only much wasted but exceedingly and all along averse from being cut (for the stone); but when he at last consented, and it came to the operation and all things prepar'd, his spirit and resolution failed.

6. Dr. Patrick preached in Covent Garden church. I participated of the blessed Sacrament, recommending to God the deplorable condition of my deare brother, who was almost in the last agonies of death. I watched late with him this night. It pleased God to deliver him out of this miserable life, towards five o'clock this Moneday morning, to my unspeakable grieve. He was a brother whom I most dearly lov'd for his many virtues; but two yeares younger than myself, a sober, prudent, worthy gentleman. He had married a greate fortune, and left one onely daughter, and a noble seate at Woodcote neere Epsom. His body was open'd, and a stone taken out of his bladder, not much bigger than a nutmeg. I returned home on the eighth, full of sadnesse, and to bemoane my losse.

20. A stranger preached at the Savoy French Church : the Liturgie of the Church of England being now used altogether, as, translated into French by Dr. Durell.

21. We all accompanied the corpse of my dear brother to Epsom church, where he was decently interr'd in the chapell belonging to Woodcote House. A greate number of friends and gentlemen of the country attended, about twenty coaches and six horses, and innumerable people.

22. I went to Westminster, where in the House of Lords I saw his Majesty sit on his throne, but without his robes, all the Peeres sitting with their hatts on; the business on the day being the divorce of my

Lord Rosse. Such an occasion and sight had not ben seene in England since the time of Hen. VIII.<sup>1</sup>

5 May. To London, concerning the office of Latine Secretary to his Majesty, a place of more honour and dignitie than profit, the reversion of which he had promis'd me.

21. Came to visite me Mr. Henry Savill, and Sir Charles Scarborough.

26. Receiving a letter from Mr. Philip Howard, Lord Almoner to the Queen,<sup>2</sup> that Monsieur Evelin, first physitian to Madame (who was now come to Dover to visit the King her brother), was come to towne, greatly desirous to see me, but his stay so short that he could not come to me, I went with my brother to meete him at the Tower, where he was seeing the magazines and other curiosities, having never before ben in England: we renew'd our alliance and friendship, with much regret on both sides that he being to returne towards Dover that evening, we could not enjoy one another any longer. How this French familie, Ivelin, of Evelin in Normandy, a very ancient and noble house, is grafted into our Pedigree, see in the collection brought by me from Paris in 1650.

16 June. I went with some friends to the Bear Garden, where was cock-fighting, dog-fighting, beare and bull baiting, it being a famous day for all these butcherly sports, or rather barbarous cruelties. The bulls did exceeding well, but the Irish wolfe-dog exceeded, which was a tall greyhound, a stately creature indeede, who beate a cruell mastiff. One of the bulls toss'd a dog full into a *lady's lap*, as she sate in one of the boxes at a considerable height from the arena. Two poore dogs were kill'd, and so all ended with the ape on horseback, and I most heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime, which I had not seene, I think, in twenty yeares before.

18. Dined at Goring House, whither my Lo. Arlington carried me from White-hall with the Marquis of Worcester; there we found Lo. Sandwich, Viscount Stafford [since beheaded], the lieutenant of the Tower, and others. After dinner my Lord communicated to me his Majesty's desire that I would undertake to write the History of our late War with the Hollanders, which I had hitherto declin'd; this I found was ill-taken, and that I should disoblige his Majesty, who had made choice of me to do him this service, and if I would undertake it I

<sup>1</sup> 'When there was a project, 1669, for getting a divorce for the King, to facilitate it, there was brought into the House of Lords a bill for dissolving the marriage of Lord Rosse, on account of adultery, and to give him leave to marry again. This bill, after great debates, passed by the plurality of only two votes, and that by the great industry of the Lord's friends, as well as the Duke's enemies, who carried it on chiefly in hopes it might be a precedent, and inducement for the King to enter the more easily into their late proposals; nor were they a little encouraged therein, when they saw the King countenance and drive on the bill in Lord Rosse's favour. Of 18 Bishops that were in the House, only two voted for the bill, of which one voted through age, and one was reputed a Socinian.'—These, in a note, are said to be Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, and Dr. Wilkins, Bishop of Chester,

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards created Cardinal.

should have all the assistance the Secretary's office and others could give me, with other encouragements, which I could not decently refuse.

Lord Stafford rose from table in some disorder because there were roses stuck about the fruite when the discent was set on the table; such an antipathie, it seems, he had to them as once Lady Selenger (St. Ledger) also had and to that degree, that as Sir Kenelm Digby tells us, laying but a rose upon her cheeke when she was asleepe, it rais'd a blister; but Sir Kenelm was a teller of strange things.

24. Came the Earle of Huntingdon and Countesse, with the Lord Sherrard, to visite us.

29. To London, in order to my niece's marriage, Mary, daughter to my late brother Richard, of Woodcot, with the eldest son of Mr. Attorney Mountague, which was celebrated at Southampton House Chapell, after which a magnificent entertainment, feast and dauncing, dinner and supper, in the great roome there, but the bride was bedded at my sister's lodging in Drurie lane.

6 July. Came to visite me Mr. Stanhope, Gent. Usher to her Majesty, and unkle to the Earle of Chesterfield, a very fine man, with my Lady Hutcheson.

19. I accompanied my worthy friend that excellent man Sir Robert Murray, with Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, to see the latter's seate and estate at Burrow Green in Cambridgeshire, he desirring our advice for placing a new house which he was resolv'd to build;<sup>1</sup> we set out in a coach and six horses with him and his lady, din'd about midway at one Mr. Turner's, where we found a very noble dinner, venison, musiq, and a circle of country ladies and their gallants. After dinner we proceeded and came to Burrow Green that night. This had ben the ancient seate of the Cheekes (whose daughter Mr. Slingsby married), formerly Tutor to K. Edw. VI. The old house large and ample, and built for ancient hospitalitie, ready to fall down with age, plac'd in a dirty hole, a stiffe clay, no water, next an adjoining church-yard, and with other inconveniencies. We pitch'd on a spot of rising ground, adorn'd with venerable woods, a dry and sweete prospect East and West, and fit for a parke, but no running water; at a mile distance from the old house.

20. We went to dine at Lord Arlington's,<sup>2</sup> who had newly built a house of greate cost, I believe little less than £20,000.<sup>3</sup> His archi-

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that he did not build, and that after his misfortunes, which will be mentioned hereafter, it was sold. Mr. Lysons, in his *Britannia*, under Cambridgeshire, says, that what remains of an old brick mansion, is now a farm-house.

<sup>2</sup> Since Constable of the Tower.

<sup>3</sup> At Horseheath. The Arlingtons seated here before 1239; William created an Irish Peer, by the title of Lord Arlington, in 1646. Mr. Lysons says the building cost £70,000, and with the estate was sold in 1687 to John Bromley, esq. for £42,000. He expended £30,000 more on the building. His grandson was created Lord Montford in 1741. In 1776 the second Lord Montford sold the estate, the house being sold in 1777 for the materials, to be pulled down. Lysons' *Cambridgeshire*, p. 216, 227.

fect was Mr. Pratt. It is seated in a parke, with a sweete prospect and stately avenue, but water still defective; the house has also its infirmities. Went back to Mr. Slingsby's.

22. We rod out to see the greate meere or levell of recover'd fen lande, not far off. In the way we met Lord Arlington going to his house in Suffolk, accompanied with Count Ognati the Spanish Minister, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne; he was very importunate with me to go with him to Euston, being but fifteen miles distant, but in regard of my companie I could not. So passing thro' Newmarket, we alighted to see his Majesty's house there, now new building; the arches of the cellars beneath are well turn'd by Mr. Samuel the architect, the rest meane enough and hardly fit for a hunting house. Many of the roomes above had the chimnies plac'd in the angles and corners, a mode now introduc'd by his Majesty which I do at no hand approve of. I predict it will spoile many noble houses and roomes if follow'd. It does onely well in very small and trifling roomes, but takes from the state of greater. Besides this house is place'd in a dirty streete, without any court or avenue, like a common one, whereas it might, and ought to have ben built at either end of the towne, upon the very carpet where the sports are celebrated; but it being the purchase of an old wretched house of my Lord Thomond's, his Majesty was persuaded to set it on that foundation, although the most improper imaginable for a house of sport and pleasure.

We went to see the stables and fine horses, of which many were here kept at a vast expense, with all the art and tendernes imaginale.

Being ariv'd at some meeres, we found Lord Wotton and Sir John Kiviet about their draining engines, having it seemes undertaken to do wonders on a vast piece of marsh ground they had hired of Sir Thomas Chichley (Master of the Ordnance.) They much pleas'd themselves with the hopes of a rich harvest of hemp and cole seed, which was the crop expected. Here we visited the engines and mills both for wind and water, draining it thro' two rivers or graffs cut by hand and capable of carrying considerable barges, which went thwart one the other, discharging the water into the sea. Such at this spot had ben the former winter, it was astonishing to see it now drie and so rich that weeds grew on the bankes almost as high as a man and horse. Here my Lord and his partner had built 2 or 3 roomes with Flanders white bricks, very hard. One of the greate engines was in the kitchen, where I saw the fish swim up, even to the very chimney hearth, by a small cut thro' the roome, and running within a foote of the very fire.

Having after dinner rid' about that vast levell, pester'd with heate and swarmes of gnatts, we return'd over New-market Heath, the way being mostly a sweet turfe and down, like Salisbury Plaine, the jockies breathing their fine barbs and racers, and giving them their heates.

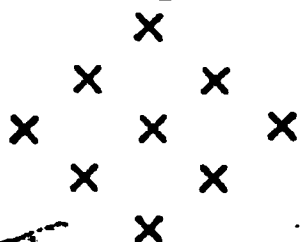
23 July. We return'd from Burrow Green to London, staying some

time at Audley End to see that fine palace. It is indeede a cheerfull piece of Gothic building, or rather *antico moderno*, but placed in an obscure bottome. The cellars and galleries are very stately. It has a river by it, a pretty avenue of limes, and in a parke.

This is in Saffron Walden parish, famous for that usefull plant, with which all the countrie is cover'd.

Dining at Bishop Stortford, we came late to London.

5 Aug. There were sent me by a neighbour a servant maid, who in the last moneth, as she was sitting before her mistress at work, felt a stroke on her arme a little above the wrist for some height, the smart of which, as if struck by another hand, caused her to hold her arme awhile till somewhat mitigated, but it put her into a kind of convulsion or rather hysteric fit. A gentleman coming casually in, looking on her arme, found that part poudred with red crosses, set in most exact and wonderfull order, neither swelled nor depressed, about this shape,



not seeming to be any way made by artifice, of a reddish colour, not so red as blood, the skin over them smooth, the rest of the arme livid and of a mortified hue, with certaine prints as it were of the stroke of fingers. This had happen'd three severall times in July, at about 10 days intervall, the crosses beginning to weare out, but the successive ones set in other different, yet uniforme order. The maide seemed very modest, and came from London to Deptford with her mistress to avoid the discourse and importunity of curious people. She made no gaine by it, pretended no religious fancies, but seemed to be a plaine, ordinary, silent, working wench, somewhat fat, short, and high colour'd. She told me divers divines and physitians had seene her, but were unsatisfied; that she had taken some remedies against her fits, but they did her no good; she had never before had any fits; once since she seem'd in her sleepe to hear one say to her that she should tamper no more with them, nor trouble herselfe with any thing that happen'd, but put her trust in the merits of Christ onely.

This is the substance of what she told me, and what I saw and curiously examin'd. I was formerly acquainted with the impostorious Nunns of Loudune in France, which made such noise amongst the Papists, I therefore thought this worth the notice. I remember Mons. Monconys (that curious traveller and a Roman Catholic) was by no means satisfied with the stigmata of those Nunns, because they were so shy of letting him scrape the letters, which were Jesus, Maria, Joseph (as I think) observing they began to scale off with it, whereas this poore wench was willing to submit to any trial; so that I profess

I know not what to think of it, nor dare I pronounce it any thing supernaturall.

26. At Windsor I supp'd with the Duke of Monmouth; and the next day, invited by Lord Arlington, din'd with the same Duke and divers Lords. After dinner my Lord and I had a conference of more than an houre alone in his bedchamber, to engage me in the Historie. I shew'd him something that I had drawn up, to his greate satisfaction, and he desir'd me to shew it to the Treasurer.

28. One of the Canons preach'd, then followed the offering of the Knights of the Order, according to custom; first the poore Knights in procession, then the Canons in their formalities, the Deane and Chancellor, then his Majesty (the Soveraine), then the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, lastly the Earle of Oxford, being all the Knights of the order that were then at Court.

I din'd with the Treasurer, and consulted with him what pieces I was to add; in the afternoone his Majesty tooke me aside into the balconie over the terrace, extreamely pleas'd with what had ben told him I had begun in order to his commands, and enjoyning me to proceede vigorously in it. He told me he had ordered the Secretaries of State to give me all necessary assistance of papers and particulars relating to it, and enjoyning me to make it a *little keene*, for that the Hollanders had very unhandsomely abus'd him in their pictures and libells.

Windsor was now going to be repaired, being exceedingly ragged and ruinous. Prince Rupert, the Constable, had begun to trim up the keepe or high round tower, and handsomely adorned his hall with furniture of armes, which was very singular, by so disposing the pikes, muskets, pistols, bandeliers, holsters, drums, back, breast, and head pieces, as was very extraordinary. Thus those huge steepe stayres ascending to it had the walls invested with this martial furniture all new and bright, so disposing the bandeliers, holsters, and drums, as to represent festoons, and that without any confusion, trophy like. From the hall we went into his bedchamber, and ample roomes hung with tapissrie, curious and effeminate pictures; so extreamely different from the other, which presented nothing but warr and horror.

The King pass'd most of his time in hunting the stag, and walking in the parke, which he was now planting with rows of trees.

13 Sept. To visite Sir Richard Lashford, my kinsman, and Mr. Charles Howard at his extraordinary garden at Dipden.

15. I went to visit Mr. Arthur Onslow at West Clandon, a pretty dry seate on the Downes, where we din'd in his greate roome.

17. To visit Mr. Hussey, who being neere Wotton, lives in a sweete vally deliciously watered.

23. To Alburie to see how that garden proceeded, which I found exactly don to the designe and plot I had made, with the crypta thro' the mountaine in the park, 30 perches in length. Such a Pausi-

lippe' is no where in England besides. The canall was now digging, and the vineyard planted.

14 Oct. I spent the whole afternoon in private with the Treasurer, who put into my hands those secret pieces and transactions concerning the Dutch war, and particularly the expedition of Bergen, in which he had himselfe the cheife part, and gave me instructions, till the King ariving from New-market we both went up into his bedchamber.

21. Din'd with the Treassurer, and after dinner we were shut up together. I receiv'd other [further] advises, and ten paper bookes of dispatches and treaties; to return which againe I gave a note under my hand to Mr. Jos. Williamson, Master of the Paper Office.

31. I was this morning fifty yeares of age: The Lord teach me to number my daies so as to apply them to his glory. Amen.

4 Nov. Saw the Prince of Orange newly come to see the King his uncle; he has a manly, courageous, wise countenance, resembling his mother and the Duke of Gloucester, both deceased.

I now also saw that famous beauty, but in my opinion of a childish, simple, and baby face, Mademoiselle de Querouaille,<sup>1</sup> lately Maide of Honor to Madame, and now to be so to the Queene.

23. Din'd with the Earle of Arlington, where was the Venetian Ambassador, of whom I now tooke solemne leave, now on his returne. There were also Lords Howard, Wharton, Windsor, and divers other greate persons.

24. I din'd with the Treasurer, where was the Earle of Rochester, a very prophane wit.

15 Dec. It was the thickest and darkest fogg on the Thames that was ever known in the memory of man, and I happened to be in the very midst of it. I supp'd with Monsieur Zulestein, late Governor to the late Prince of Orange.

1671. 10 Jan. Mr. Bohun, my son's tutor, had ben 5 yeares in my house, and now Batchelor of Laws and Fellow of New Colledge went from me to Oxford to reside there, having well and faithfully perform'd his charge.

18. This day I first acquainted his Majesty with that incomparable young man Gibbon,<sup>2</sup> whom I had lately met with in an obscure place

<sup>1</sup> A word adopted by Mr. Evelyn for a subterranean passage, from the famous grotto of Pausyllipo, at Naples.

<sup>2</sup> Henrietta, the King's sister, married to Philip Duke of Orleans, was then on a visit here. Mademoiselle Querouaille came over in her train, on purpose to entice Charles into union with Lewis XIV. which unhappily succeeded but too well. She became the King's mistress, was made Duchess of Portsmouth, and was his favourite till his death.

<sup>3</sup> Usually known by the name of Gibbons; celebrated for his exquisite carving. His principal performance is said to be at Petworth. The following account of him appears in Walpole's Catalogue of Painters, and incidental notes of other Artists, collected by Geo. Vertue.

<sup>4</sup> *Grinling Gibbon*.—An original genius, a citizen of nature. There is no instance before him of a man who gave to wood the loose and airy lightness of flowers, and chained together the various productions of the elements with the free disorder natural to each species. It is uncertain whether he was born in Holland or in England; it is said that he lived in Bell

by meere accident as I was walking neere a poore solitary thatched house, in a field in our parish, neere Sayes Court. I found him shut in ; but looking in at the window I perceiv'd him carving that large cartoon or crucifix of Tintoret, a copy of which I had myselfe brought from Venice, where the original painting remaines. I asked if I might enter ; he open'd the door civilly to me, and I saw him about such a work as for the curiosity of handling, drawing, and studious exactnesse, I never had before seene in all my travells. I questioned him why he worked in such an obscure and lonesome place ; he told me it was that he might apply himselfe to his profession without interruption, and wondred not a little how I had found him out. I asked if he was unwilling to be made knowne to some greate man, for that I believed it might turn to his profit ; he answer'd he was yet but a beginner, but would not be sorry to sell off that piece ; on demanding the price, he said 100/. In good earnest the very frame was worth the money, there being nothing in nature so tender and delicate as the flowers and festoons about it, and yet the worke was very strong ; in the piece were more than 100 figures of men, &c. I found he was likewise musical, and very civil, sober, and discreete in his discourse. There was onely an old woman in the house. So desiring leave to visite him sometimes, I went away.

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Savage Court, Ludgate hill, and was employed by Betterton in decorating the Theatre in Dorset Garden. He lived afterwards at Deptford, in the same house with a musician, where the beneficent and curious Mr. Evelyn found and patronised both. This gentleman, Sir P. Lely, and Bap. May, who was something of an Architect himself, recommended Gibbons to Cha. II. who was too indolent to search for genius, and too indiscriminate in his bounty to confine it to merit, but was always pleased when it was brought home to him. He gave the artist a place in the Board of Works, and employed his hand on ornaments of most taste in his palaces, particularly at Windsor. Gibbon, in gratitude, made a present of his own bust in wood to Mr. Evelyn, who kept it at his house in Dover street. The piece that had struck so good a judge was a large carving in wood of St. Stephen stoned, long preserved in the sculptor's own house, and afterwards purchased and placed by the Duke of Chandos at Cannons.'

Mr. Walpole is not quite correct in this account. Gibbon, when young, was found by Mr. Evelyn in a small house in Deptford, working on that famous piece from Tintoret, here said to represent the stoning of St. Stephen, and which seems from Mr. Evelyn's account, to have been his first performance of consequence. It must have been afterwards that he lived in Belle Sauvage Yard, and that he worked on the Theatre in Dorset Gardens. Mr. Evelyn does not mention a musician, and says there was only an old woman with him in the house at Deptford. It was Mr. Evelyn who recommended him to the King, to Mr. May the architect, and to Sir Christopher Wren. Of the bust nothing is known at Wotton.

Copy from an original Letter addressed by G. Gibbon to Mr. Evelyn, now at Wotton.

Honred

Sir I wold beg the faver wen you see Sir Joseff Williams (Williamson) again you wold be pleasd to speack to him that hee wold get me to Carve his Ladis sons hous my Lord Kildare for I onderstand it will (be) verry considerabell ar If you haen Acquaintans wich my Lord to speack to him his sealf and I shall for Ev're be obliaged to You I wold speack to Sir Josef my sealf but i knoww it wold do better from you

Sir youre Most umbell

Sarvant

Lond. 23 Mar. 1682.

G. GIBBON.

Mr. Evelyn wrote to Lord Kildare recommending Mr. Gibbon ; and to Mr. Gibbon with the letter.

1 Of this young artist, together with my manner of finding him out, I acquainted the King, and begg'd that he would give me leave to bring him and his worke to White-hall, for that I would adventure my reputation with his Majesty that he had never seene any thing approach it, and that he would be exceedingly pleased, and employ him. The King said he would himselfe go see him. This was the first notice his Majestie ever had of Mr. Gibbon.

20. The King came to me in the Queen's withdrawing roome from the circle of ladies, to talk with me as to what advance I had made in the Historie of the Dutch War. I din'd with the Treasurer, and afterwards we went to the Secretarie's Office, where we conferred about divers particulars.

21. I was directed to go to Sir Geo. Downing, who having ben a publick minister in Holland at the beginning of the war, was to give me light in some material passages.

This yeare the weather was so wet, stormy, and unseasonable, as had not ben knowne in many yeares.

9 Feb. I saw the greate ball danc'd by the Queene and distinguished ladies at White-hall Theater. Next day was acted there the famous play call'd 'The Siege of Granada,' (Dryden) two days acted successively ; there were indeede very glorious sceanes and perspectives, the worke of Mr. Streeter, who well understands it.

19. This day din'd with me Mr. Surveyor Dr. Christopher Wren, and Mr. Pepys, Cleark of the Acts, two extraordinary ingenious and knowing persons, and other friends. I carried them to see the piece of carving which I had recommended to the King.

25. Came to visit me one of the Lords Commissioners of Scotland for the Union.

28. The Treasurer acquainted me that his Majesty was graciously pleas'd to nominate me one of the Council of Forraine Plantations, and give me a salary of 500*l.* *per ann.* to encourage me.

29. I went to thank the Treasurer, who was my greate friend and loved me ; I dined with him and much company, and went thence to my Lo. Arlington, Secretary of State, in whose favour I likewise was upon many occasions, tho' I cultivated neither of their friendships by any meane submissions. I kiss'd his Majesty's hand on his making me one of that new establish'd Council.

1 Mar. I caused Mr. Gibbon to bring to White-hall his excellent piece of carving, where being come I advertis'd his Majestie, who ask'd me where it was ; I told him in Sir Richard Browne's (my father-in-law) chamber, and that if it pleas'd his Majesty to appoint whither it should be brought, being large and tho' of wood heavy, I would take care for it ; 'No,' says the King, 'shew me the way, I'll go to Sir Richard's chamber,' which he immediately did, walking along the entries after me ; as far as the ewrie, till he came up into the roome

where I also lay. No sooner was he enter'd and cast his eye on the work but he was astonish'd at the curiositie of it, and having consider'd it a long time and discours'd with Mr. Gibbon, whom I brought to kisse his hand, he commanded it should be immediately carried to the Queenes side to shew her. It was carried up into her bed chamber, where she and the King looked on and admired it againe; the King being call'd away left us with the Queene, believing she would have bought it, it being a crucifix; but when his Majesty was gon, a French pedling woman, one Mad. de Boord, who us'd to bring peticoates and fanns, and baubles out of France to the Ladys, began to find fault with severall things in the worke, which she understood no more than an asse or a monkey, so as in a kind of indignation, I caused the person who brought it to carry it back to the chamber, finding the Queene so much govern'd by an ignorant French woman, and this incomparable artist had his labour onely for his paines, which not a little displeas'd me, and he was faine to send it downe to his cottage againe; he not long after sold it for £.80. tho' well worth £.100. without the frame, to Sir George Viner.

His Majesty's Surveyor, Mr. Wren, faithfully promis'd me to employ him<sup>1</sup>. I having also bespoke his Majesty for his worke at Windsor, which my friend Mr. May the architect there was going to alter and repaire universally; for on the next day I had a fair opportunity of talking to his Majesty about it, in the lobby next the Queenes side, where I presented him with some sheetes of my Historie. I thence walk'd with him thro' St. James's Parke to the garden, where I both saw and heard a very familiar discourse between . . . . . and Mrs. Nellie<sup>2</sup> as they cal'd an impudent comedian, she looking out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and . . . . . standing on the greene walke under it. I was heartily sorry at this scene. Thence the King walked to the Dutchess of Cleaveland, another lady of pleasure, and curse of our nation.

5. I dined at Greenewich, to take leave of Sir Tho. Linch, going Governor of Jamaica.

10. To London about passing my patent as one of the standing Council for Plantations, a considerable honour, the others in the Council being chiefly Noblemen, and Officers of State.

2 April. To Sir Tho. Clifford the Treasurer, to condole with him on the losse of his eldest son, who died at Florence.

2 May. The French King being now with a greate army of 28,000 men about Dunkirk, divers of the grandees of that Court, and a vast number of gentlemen and cadets in fantastical habits came flocking over to see our Court, and compliment his Majesty. I was present when they first were conducted into the Queenes withdrawing roome,

<sup>1</sup> The carving in the Choir, &c. of St. Paul's Cathedral was executed by Gibbon.

<sup>2</sup> Nell Gwyn: there can be no doubt with what name to fill up these blanks.

where saluted their Majesties the Dukes of Guise, Longueville, and many others of the first sort.

10. Dined at Mr. Treasurer's, where dined Monsieur De Gramont and severall French noblemen, and one Blbod, that impudent bold fellow who had not long before attempted to steale the imperial crowne itselfe out of the Tower, pretending onely curiositie of seeing the regalia there, when stabbing the keeper, tho' not mortally, he boldly went away with it thro' all the guards, taken onely by the accident of his horse falling down. How he came to be pardoned, and even received into favour, not onely after this, but severall other exploits almost as daring both in Ireland and here, I could never come to understand. Some believed he became a spie of severall parties, being well with the Secretaries and Enthusiasts, and did his Majesty services that way, which none alive could do so well as he; but it was certainly as the boldest attempt, so the onely treason of this sort that was ever pardon'd. The man had not onely a daring but a villainous unmercifull looke, a false countenance, but very well spoken and dangerously insinuating.

11. I went to Eltham to sit as one of the Commissioners about the subsidie now given by Parliament to his Majesty.

17. Dined at Mr. Treasurer's [Sir Tho. Clifford] with the Earl of Arlington, Carlingford, Lord Arundel of Wardour, Lo. Almoner to the Queene, a French Count, and two abbots, with several more of French nobility; and now by something I had lately observed of Mr. Treasurer's conversation on occasion, I suspected him a little warping to Rome.

25. I dined at a feast made for me and my wife by the Trinity Company for our passing a fine of the land which Sir R. Browne my wife's father freely gave to found and build their Colledge or Almes houses on at Deptford, it being my wife's after her father's decease. It was a good and charitable worke and gift, but would have ben better bestow'd on the poore of that parish, than on the seamens widows, the Trinity Company being very rich, and the rest of the poore of the parish exceedingly indigent.

26. The Earle of Bristol's house in Queene Street [Lincoln's Inn Fields], was taken for the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and furnish'd with rich hangings of the King's. It consisted of seven roomes on a floore, with a long gallery, gardens, &c. This day we met: the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Colpeper, Sir Geo. Carteret Vice Chamberlaine, and myselfe, had the oathes given us by the Earle of Sandwich, our President. It was, to advise and counsel his Majesty to the best of our abilities for the well governing of his Forraine Plantations, &c. the forme very little differing from that given to the Privy Council. We then tooke our places at the Board in the Council Chamber, a very large roome furnished with atlases, mapps, charts, globes, &c. Then came the Lord Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State, Lord Ashley, Mr. Treasurer,

Sir John Trevor the other Secretary, Sir John Duncomb, Lord Ailing-ton, Mr. Grey, son to the Lord Grey, Mr. Henry Broncher, Sir Humfry Winch, Sir John Finch, Mr. Waller, and Coll. Titus of the Bedchamber, with Mr. Slingsby Secretary to the Council, and two Clearks of the Council, who had all ben sworne some dayes before. Being all set, our Patent was read, and then the additional Patent, in which was re-cited this new establishment ; then was delivered to each a copy of the Patent and of instructions : after which we proceeded to business. The first thing we did was to settle the forme of a circular letter to the Governors of all his Majesty's Plantations and Territories in the West Indies and Islands thereof, to give them notice to whom they should apply themselves on all occasions, and to render us an account of their present state and government ; but what we most insisted on was to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were, there were greate debates in what style to write to them, for the condition of that Colony was such that they were able to contest with all other Plantations about them, and there was feare of their breaking from all dependance on this Nation ; his Majesty therefore commended this affaire more expressly. We therefore thought fit in the first place to acquaint ourselves as well as we could of the state of that place, by some whom we heard of that were newly come from thence, and to be informed of their present posture and condition ; some of our Council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humor of that Colonie, were utterly against.

A letter was then read from Sir Tho. Modiford, Governor of Jamaica ; and then the Council brake up.

Having brought an action against one Cock for money which he had receiv'd for me, it had been referred to an arbitration by the recommendation of that excellent good man the Chief Justice Hales ; but this not succeeding, I went to advise with that famous lawyer Mr. Jones, of Gray's Inn, and 27 May had a trial before the Lo. Ch. Justice Hales, and after the lawyers had wrangled sufficiently, it was referred to a new arbitration. This was the very first suit at law that ever I had with any creature, and ô that it might be the last !

1 June. An installation at Windsor.

6. I went to Council, where was produc'd a most exact and ample information of the state of Jamaica, and of the best expedients as to New England, on which there was a long debate, but at length 'twas concluded that, if any, it should be only a conciliating paper at first, or civil letter, till we had better information of the present face of things, since we understood they were a people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependance on the Crowne.

19. To a splendid dinner at the greate roome in Deptford Trinity

House, Sir Thomas Allen chosen Master, and succeeding the Earle of Craven.

20. To carry Coll. Middleton to White-hall to my Lo. Sandwich, our President, for some information which he was able to give of the state of the Colonie in New England.

21. To Council againe, when one Coll. Cartwright, a Nottinghamshire man, (formerly in commission with Collonel Nicholls) gave us a considerable relation of that country, on which the Council concluded that in the first place a letter of amnestie should be dispatch'd.

24. Constantine Hugens, Signor of Zuylichem, that excellent learn'd man, poet, and musitian, now neere 80 yeares of age, a vigorous, brisk man, came to take leave of me before his returne into Holland with the Prince, whose Secretary he was.

26. To Council, where Lo. Arlington acquainted us that it was his Majesty's proposal we should every one of us contribute £20 towards building a Council-chamber and conveniences somewhere in White-hall, that his Majesty might come and sit amongst us and heare our debates; the mony we laid out to be reimbours'd out of the contingent monies already set apart for us, *viz.* £1000 yearly. To this we unanimously consented. There came an uncertaine bruit from Barbados of some disorder there. On my return home I stept in at the Theater to see the new machines for the intended scenes, which were indeede very costly and magnificent.

29. To Council, where were letters from Sir Tho. Modiford, of the expedition and exploit of Coll. Morgan and others of Jamaica on the Spanish Continent at Panama.

4 July. To Council, where we drew up and agreed to a letter to be sent to New England, and made some proposal to Mr. Gorges for his interest in a Plantation there.

24. To Council. Mr. Surveyor brought us a plot for the building of our Council-chamber, to be erected at the end of the Privy-garden in White-hall.

3 August. A full appearance at the Council. The matter in debate was, whether we should send a Deputy to New England, requiring them of the Massachusets to restore such to their limits and respective possessions as had petition'd the Council; this to be the open Commission onely, but in truth with seacret instructions to informe the Council of the condition of those Colonies, and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his Majesty and declare for themselves as independent of the Crowne, which we were told, and which of late yeares made them refractorie. Coll. Middleton being call'd in, assur'd us they might be curb'd by a few of his Majesty's first-rate fregats, to spoile their trade with the islands; but tho' my Lo. President was not satisfied, the rest were, and we did resolve to advise his Majesty to send

Commissioners with a formal Commission for adjusting boundaries, &c. with some other instructions.

19. To Council. The letters of Sir Tho. Modiford were read, giving relation of the exploit at Panama, which was very brave; they tooke, burnt and pillag'd the towne of vast treasures, but the best of the booty had ben shipp'd off and lay at anchor in the South Sea, so that after our men had rang'd the country 60 miles about, they went back to Nombre de Dios, and embarq'd for Jamaica. Such an action had not ben done since the famous Drake.

I din'd at the Hambrogh Residents, and after dinner went to the christening of Sir Sam. Tuke's son Charles, at Somerset House, by a Popish priest with many odd ceremonies. The godfathers were the King and Lord Arundel of Wardour, and the godmother the Countesse of Huntingdon.

29 Aug. To London with some more papers of my progresse in the Dutch Warr, delivered to the Treasurer.

1 Sept. Din'd with the Treasurer in company with my Lord Arlington, Halifax, & Sir Tho. Strickland; and next day went home, being the anniversarie of the late dreadfull fire of London.

13 Sept. This night fell a dreadful tempest.

15. In the afternoone at Council, where letters were read from Sir Charles Wheeler concerning his resigning his Government of St. Christopher's.

21. I din'd in the Citty at the fraternity feast in Yron-mongers Hall,<sup>1</sup> where the 4 stewards chose their successors for the next yeare, with a solemn procession, garlands about their heads and musiq playing before them, so coming up to the upper tables where the gentlemen sate, they drank to the new stewards, and so we parted.

22. I din'd at the Treasurer's, where I had discourse with Sir Hen. Jones (now come over to raise a regiment of horse), concerning the French conquests in Lorraine; he told me the King sold all things to the souldiers, even to an handfull of hay.

Lord Sunderland was now nominated Ambassador to Spaine.

After dinner the Treasurer carried me to Lincoln's Inn, to one of the Parliament Clearks, to obtaine of him that I might carry home and peruse some of the Journals, which were accordingly delivered to me to examine about the late Dutch war. Returning home I went on shore to see the Costome House, now newly rebuilt since the dreadfull conflagration.<sup>2</sup>

9 Oct. I went after evening service to London, in order to a journey of refreshment with Mr. Treasurer to Newmarket, where the King then

<sup>1</sup> One of the grand court-days of that opulent Company, which is one of *twelve*.

<sup>2</sup> This new edifice was again destroyed by fire in Feb. 1814, and has been rebuilt in a very magnificent manner by Mr. Henry Peto, who contracted for the work at a price much short of that proposed by any other builder.

was, in his coach with 6 brave horses, which we changed thrice, first at Bishops Stortford and last at Chesterford, so as by night we got to New-market, where Mr. Henry Jermain (nephew to the Earle of St. Alban's) lodged me very civilly. We went immediately to Court, the King and all the English gallants being there at their autumnal sports. Supp'd at the Lo. Chamberlaine's, and the next day after dinner I was on the heath, where I saw the greate match run between Woodcock and Flatfoot, belonging to the King and to Mr. Eliot of the Bedchamber, many thousands being spectators; and a more signal race had not ben run for many yeares.

This over, I went that night with Mr. Treasurer to Euston, a palace of Lord Arlington's, where we found Monsieur Colbert (the French Ambassador), and the famous new French Maid of Honor, M<sup>lle</sup> Querouaille, now coming to be in greate favour with the King. Here was also the Countesse of Sunderland, and severall Lords and Ladies, who lodg'd in the house.

During my stay here with Lord Arlington neere a fortnight, his Majesty came almost every second day with the Duke, who commonly return'd to New-market, but the King often lay here, during which time I had twice the honor to sit at dinner with him, with all freedom. It was universally reported that the faire Lady —— was bedded one of these nights, and the stocking flung, after the manner of a married bride; I acknowledge she was for the most part in her undresse all day, and that there was fondnesse and toying with that young wanton; nay, 'twas said I was at the former ceremony, but 'tis utterly false; I neither saw nor heard of any such thing whilst I was there, tho' I had ben in her chamber, and all over that apartment late enough, and was myselfe observing all passages with curiosity enough. However 'twas with confidence believed she was first made *a Misse*, as they call these unhappy creatures, with all solemnity at this time.

On Sunday a young Cambridge Divine préached an excellent sermon in the Chapell, the King and the Duke of York being present.

16. Came all the greate men from New-market, and other parts both of Suffolk and Norfolck, to make their court, the whole house fill'd from one end to the other with lords, ladys and gallants; there was such a furnished table as I had seldome seene, nor any thing more splendid and free, so that for fifteen days there were entertained at least 200 people and halfe as many horses, besides servants and guards at infinite expence.

In the morning we went hunting and hawking; in the afternoone, till almost morning, to cards and dice, yet I must say without noise, swearing, quarrell, or confusion of any sort. I, who was no gamester, had often discourse with the French Ambassador Colbert, and went sometimes abroad on horseback with the ladys to take the aire, and now and

then to hunting ; thus idly passing the time, but not without more often recesse to my pretty apartment, where I was quite out of all this hurry, and had leasure when I would, to converse with bookes, for there is no man more hospitably easy to be withall than my Lord Arlington, of whose particular friendship and kindness I had ever a more than ordinary share. His house is a very noble pile, consisting of 4 pavillions after the French, beside a body of a large house, and tho' not built altogether, but form'd of additions to an old house (purchas'd by his Lordship of one Sir T. Rookwood) yet with a vast expence made not onely capable and roomesome, but very magnificent and commodious, as well within as without, nor lesse splendidly furnish'd. The stayre-case is very elegant, the garden handsome, the canall beautifull, but the soile drie, barren and miserably sandy, which flies in drifts as the wind sits. Here my Lord was pleas'd to advise with me about ordering his plantations of firs, elmes, limes, &c. up his parke, and in all other places and avenues. I persuaded him to bring his park so neere as to comprehend his house within it, which he resolv'd upon, it being now neere a mile to it. The water furnishing the fountaines is raised by a pretty engine, on very slight plaine wheels, which likewise serve to grind his corne, from a small cascade of the canall, the invention of Sir Sam. Moreland. In my Lord's house and especialy above the stayre-case, in the greate hall and some of the chambers and roomes of state, are paintings in fresco by Signor Verrio, being the first worke which he did in England.

17. My Lord Hen. Howard coming this night to visit my Lord Chamberlaine, and staying a day, would needes have me go with him to Norwich, promising to convey me back after a day or two ; this, as I could not refuse, I was not hard to be persuaded to, having a desire to see that famous scholar and physitian Dr. T. Browne, author of the 'Religio Medici,' and 'Vulgar Errors' &c. now lately knighted. Thither then went my Lord and I alone in his flying chariot with 6 horses ; and by the way, discoursing with me of severall of his concernes, he acquainted me of his going to marry his eldest sonn, to one of the King's natural daughters by the Dutchesse of Cleaveland, by which he reckon'd he should come into mighty favour. He also told me that tho' he kept that idle creature Mrs. B——<sup>1</sup>, and would leave £200 a yeare to the sone he had by her, he would never marry her, and that the King himselfe had caution'd him against it. But all the world knows how he kept this promise.

Being come to the Ducal Palace, my Lord made very much of me, but I had little rest, so exceeding desirous he was to shew me the contrivance he had made for the entertainment of their Majesties and the whole Court not long before, and which, tho' much of it was but temporary, apparently fram'd of boards only, were yet standing. As to

<sup>1</sup> Bickerton, see afterwards, under 1678, Jan. and August.

the Palace, it is an old wretched building, and that part of it newly built of brick is very ill understood, so as I was of opinion it had ben much better to have demolish'd all, and set it up in a better place, than to proceede farther; for it stands in the very Market place, and tho neere a river, yet a very narrow muddy one, and without any extent.

Next morning I went to see Sir Tho. Browne (with whom I had some time corresponded by letter, tho' I had never seen him before). His whole house and garden being a paradise and cabinet of rarities, and that of the best collection, especialy medails, books, plants, and natural things. Amongst other curiosities Sir Thomas had a collection of the eggs of all the foule and birds he could procure, that country (especialy the promontary of Norfolck) being frequented, as he said, by severall kinds which seldome or never go farther into the land, as cranes, storkes, eagles, and variety of water-foule. He led me to see all the remarkable places of this ancient Citty, being one of the largest, and certainly, after London, one of the noblest of England, for its venerable Cathedrall, number of stately churches, cleannesse of the streetes, and buildings of flints so exquisitely headed and squared as I was much astonish'd at; but he told me they had lost the art of squaring the flints, in which they once so much excell'd, and of which the churches, best houses, and walls, are built. The Castle is an antique extent of ground, which now they call Marsfield, and would have ben a fitting area to have plac'd the Ducal palace in. The suburbs are large, the prospects sweete, with other amenities, not omitting the flower gardens, in which all the inhabitants excel. The fabric of stuffs brings a vast trade to this populous towne.

Being return'd to my Lord's, who had ben with me all this morning, he advis'd with me concerning a plot to rebuild his house, having already as he said erected a front next the streete, and a left wing, and now resolving to set up another wing and pavilion next the garden, and to convert the bowling-greene into stables. My advice was, to desist from all, and to meditate wholly on rebuilding an handsome palace at Arundell House in the Strand, before he proceeded farther here, and then to place this in the castle ground belonging to his Lordship.

I observed that most of the Church-yards (tho' some of them large enough) were filled up with earth, or rather the congestion of dead bodys one upon another, for want of earth, even to the very top of the walls, and some above the walls, so as the Churches seemed to be built in pitts.

. 18 Oct. I return'd to Euston in my Lord's coach, leaving him at Norwich, in company with a very ingenious gentleman, Mr. White, whose father and mother (daughter to the late Lord Treassurer Weston, Earl of Portland) I knew at Rome, where this gentleman was borne, and where his parents lived and died with much reputation, during their banishment in our civil broils.

21. Leaving Euston, I lodged this night at New-market, where I found the jolly blades raceing, dauncing, feasting, and revelling, more resembling a luxurious and abandon'd rout, than a Christian Court. The Duke of Buckingham was now in mighty favour, and had with him that impudent woman the Countess of Shrewsbury, with his band of fiddlers, &c.

Next morning, in company with Sir Bernard Gascoyne and Lord Hawly, I came in the Treasurers coach to Bishop Stortford, where he gave us a noble supper. Next day to London, and so home.

14 Nov. To Council, where Sir Cha. Wheeler, late Governor of the Leeward Islands, having ben complain'd of for many indiscreete managements, it was resolv'd, on scanning many of the particulars, to advise his Majesty to remove him, and consult what was to be don to prevent these inconveniences he had brought things to. This businesse staide me in London almost a weeke, being in Council or Committee every morning till the 25th.

27. We ordered that a Proclamation should be presented to his Majesty to signe, against what Sir Charles Wheeler had don in St. Christopher's, since the war, on the articles of peace at Breda. He was shortly afterwards recalled.

6 Dec. Came to visite me Sir William Haywood, a greate pretender to English antiquities.

14. Went to see the Duke of Buckingham's ridiculous farce and rhapsody, called 'The Recital,'<sup>1</sup> buffooning all formal plays, yet prophane enough.

23. The Councillors of the Board of Trade din'd together at the Cock in Suffolck streete.

1672, 12 Jan. His Majesty renewed us our lease of Sayes Court pastures for 99 yeares, but ought, according to his solemn promise<sup>2</sup> (as I hope he will still perform), have passed them to us in fee farme.

23. To London, in order to Sir Richard Browne, my father in law, resigning his place of Clerke of the Council to Joseph Williamson, Esq. who was admitted and was knighted. This place his Majesty had promis'd to give me many yeares before; but upon consideration of the renewal of our lease and other reasons, I chose to part with it to Sir Joseph, who gave us and the rest of his brother clearks a handsome supper at his house, and after supper a consort of music.

3 February. An extraordinary snow: part of the weeke was taken up in consulting about the commission of prisoners of war, and instructions to our officers, in order to a second war with the Hollanders; his Majesty having made choice of the former Commissioners and myselfe amongst them.

11. In the afternoone that famous proselyte, Monsieur Brevall,

<sup>1</sup> This must mean his play of 'The Rehearsal.'

<sup>2</sup> The King's engagement under his hand is now at Wotton.

preach'd at the Abby, in English, extreamly well and with much eloquence. He had ben a Capuchine, but was much better learned than most of that order.

12. At the Council we enter'd on enquiries about improving the Plantations by silks, galls, flax, senna, &c. and consider'd how nutmegs and cinnamon might be obtain'd and brought to Jamaica, that soile and climate promising successe. Dr. Worsley being call'd in, spake many considerable things to encourage it. We tooke order to send to the Plantations that none of their ships should adventure homeward single, but stay for company and convoys. We also deliberated on some fit person to go as Commissioner to inspect their actions in New England, and from time to time report how that people stood affected.—In future to meete at White-hall.

20. Dr. Parr of Camerwell preach'd a most pathetic funebral discourse and panegyric at the interment of our late pastor, Dr. Breton (who died on the 18th), on 'Happy is the servant whom when his Lord cometh, &c.' This good man, among other expressions profess'd that he had never ben so touch'd and concern'd at any losse as at this, unlesse at that of K. Charles our Martyr, and Archbishop Usher, whose chaplaine he had ben. Dr. Breton had preach'd on the 28th and 30th Jan. : on the Friday, having fasted all day, making his provisionalary sermon for the Sunday following, he went well to bed, but was taken suddenly ill, and expir'd before help could come to him.

Never had a parish a greater losse, not onely as he was an excellent preacher, and fitted for our greate and vulgar auditory, but for his excellent life and charity, his meeknesse and obliging nature, industrious helpfull, and full of good workes. He left neere £400 to the poore in his will, and that what children of his should die in their minority, their portion should be so employed. I lost in particular a special friend, and one that had an extraordinary love to me and mine.

25. To London, to speake with the Bishop and Sir John Cutler our patron, to present Mr. Frampton (afterwards Bishop of Gloucester.)

1 March. A full Council of Plantations, on the danger of the Leeward Islands, threaten'd by the French, who had taken some of our ships, and began to interrupt our trade. Also in debate, whether the new Governor of St. Christopher's should be subordinate to the Governor of Barbados. The debate was serious and long.

12. Now was the first blow given by us to the Dutch convoy of the Smyrna fleete, by Sir Robert Holmes and Lord Ossorie, in which we received little save blows, and a worthy reproch for attacking our neighbours ere any war was proclaim'd, and then pretending the occasion to be, that some time before, the Merlin yacht chanceing to saile thro' the whole Dutch fleete, their Admiral did not strike to that trifling vessel. Surely this was a quarrel slenderly grounded, and not becoming Christian neighbours. We are like to thrive accordingly. Lord Ossorie

several times deplor'd to me his being engaged in it ; he had more justice and honour than in the least to approve of it, tho' he had ben overpersuaded to the expedition. There is no doubt but we should have surpris'd this exceeding rich fleete, had not the avarice and ambition of Holmes and Sprag separated themselves and wilfully divided our fleete, on presumption that either of them was strong enough to deale with the Dutch convoy without joyning and mutual help ; but they so warmly plied our divided fleets, that whilst in conflict the merchants sail'd away, and got safe into Holland.

A few daies before this, the Treasurer of the Household, Sir Tho. Clifford,<sup>1</sup> hinted to me, as a confident, that his Majesty would *shut up the Exchequer* (and accordingly his Majesty made use of infinite treasure there, to prepare for an intended rupture) ; but, says he, it will soone be open againe and every body satisfied ; for this bold man, who had ben the sole adviser of the King to invade that sacred stock (tho' some pretend it was Lord Ashley's counsel, then Chancellor of the Exchequer), was so over confident of the successe of this unworthy designe against the Smyrna merchants, as to put his Majesty on an action which not onely lost the hearts of his subjects, and ruined many widdows and orphans whose stocks were lent him, but the reputation of his Exchequer for ever, it being before in such credit, that he might have commanded halfe the wealth of the Nation.

The credit of this bank being thus broken did exceedingly discontent the people, and never did his Majestys affairs prosper to any purpose after it, for as it did not supply the expence of the meditated war, so it mealted away, I know not how.

To this succeeded the King's declaration for an universal tolleration ;

<sup>1</sup> The following is taken from King James's Life by himself: 'On the King's intention to have a Lord Treasurer (1672) instead of putting the Seals into Commission, the Duke of York desired Lord Arlington to join with him in proposing to the King the Lord Clifford for that considerable employment ; but he found Lord Arlington very cold in it, and endeavouring to persuade the Duke that the King did not intend the alteration, and the next day he employed a friend to press the Duke to endeavour to get Sir Robert Car to be Commissioner in the room of Lord Shaftesbury (then appointed Lord Chancellor).

'Some few days after, the Duke proposed to his Majesty the Lord Clifford as Treasurer which was well received, and he said he would do it, as thinking no body fitter ; he also told the Duke that Lord Arlington had a mind to have that Staff : but he answered him that he had too much kindness for him to let him have it, for he knew he was not fit for the office ; and should he give it him, it would be his ruin. A little after the King told the Duke that he found Lord Arlington was angry with Lord Clifford, on knowing that he was to have the place ; and desired the Duke to persuade Lord Arlington not to let the world see his discontent, and to endeavour to make them continue friends. They promised the Duke to live friendly together, but Lord Arlington kept not his word, and was ever after cold, if not worse, towards him.

'Christmas coming on, the King spake to Lord Clifford and Lord Arundel of Wardour, to persuade the Duke to receive the Sacrament with him at that time (which the Duke had forborne for several months before). They urged the King not to press it, and he then seemed satisfied ; but the day before Christmas Eve, the King spoke again to Lord Clifford to represent to the Duke what he had before said, which the Lord Clifford did, but found the Duke was not to be moved in his resolution of not going against his conscience.'

Papists and swarms of Sectaries now boldly shewing themselves in their publiq meetings. This was imputed to the same council, Clifford warping to Rome as was believ'd, nor was Lord Arlington cleare of suspicion, to gratifie that party, but as since it has prov'd, and was then evidently foreseen, to the extreame weakening the Church of England and its Episcopal Government, as 'twas projected. I speake not this as my owne sense, but what was the discourse and thoughts of others who were lookers on; for I think there might be some relaxations without the least prejudice to the present establishment, discreetly limited, but to let go the reines in this manner, and then to imagine they could take them up againe as easily, was a false politiq and greatly destructive. The truth is, our Bishops slip'd the occasion, for had they held a steady hand upon his Majesty's restauration, as they might easily have don, the Church of England had emerg'd and flourish'd without interruption; but they were then remisse, and covetous after advantages of another kind, whilst his Majesty suffer'd them to come into an harvest, with which, without any injustice, he might have remunerated innumerable gallant gentlemen for their services, who had ruin'd themselves in the late Rebellion.<sup>1</sup>

21 Mar. I visited the coasts in my district of Kent, and divers wounded and languishing poore men that had ben in the Smyrna conflict. I went over to see the new-begun fort of Tilbury; a royal work indeede, and such as will one day bridle a greate Citty to the purpose, before they are aware.

23. Capt. Cox, one of the Commissioners of the Navy, furnishing me with a yatcht, I sail'd to Sheere-nesse to see that Fort also, now newly finished; severall places on both sides the Swale and Medway to Gillingham and Upnore, being also provided with redouts and batteries, to secure the station of our men of war at Chatham, and shut the doore when the steedes were stolen.

24. I saw the chirurgeon cut off the leg of a wounded sailor, the stout and gallant man enduring it with incredible patience, without being bound to his chaire as usual on such painfull occasions. I had hardly courage enough to be present. Not being cut off high enough, the gangreen prevail'd, and the second operation cost the poore creature his life.

Lord! what miseries are mortal men subject to, and what confusion and mischeif do the avarice, anger and ambition of Princes cause in the world!

25. I proceeded to Canterbury, Dover, Deal, the Isle of Thanet, by Sandwich, and so to Margate. Here we had abundance of miserably wounded men, his Majesty sending his cheife chirurgeon, Serjeant

<sup>1</sup> This means the fines for renewals of leases not filled up during the Interregnum, and now to be immediately applied for. Bishop Burnet says they were much misapplied. Hist. of his own Time, I. 304.

Knight, to meete me, and Dr. Waldron had attended me all the journey. Having taken order for the accomodation of the wounded, I came back thro' a country the best cultivated of any that in my life I had any where seene, every field lying as even as a bowling-greene, and the fences, plantations, and husbandry in such admirable order as infinitely delighted me after the sad and afflicting spectacles and objects I was come from. Observing almost every tall tree to have a weather-cock on the top bough, and some trees half a dozen, I learn'd that on a certaine holyday the farmers feast their servants, at which solemnity they set up these cocks in a kind of triumph.

Being come back towards Rochester, I went to take order about building a strong and high wall about a house I had hired of a gentleman at a place call'd Hartlip, for a prison, paying 50*l.* yearly rent. Here I settled a Provost Martial and other Officers, returning by Faversham. On the 30th heard a Sermon in Rochester Cathedrall, & so got to Sayes Court on the first of Aprill.

4 April. I went to see the fopperies of the Papists at Somerset House and York House, where now the French Ambassador had caus'd to be represented our Blessed Saviour at the Paschal Supper with his Disciples, in figures and puppets made as big as the life, of wax-work, curiously clad and sitting round a large table, the roome nobly hung, and shining with innumerable lamps and candles : this was expos'd to all the world, all the Citty came to see it : such liberty had the Roman Catholics at this time obtain'd.

16. Sat in Council, preparing Lord Willoughby's commission and instructions as Governor of Barbados and the Caribbé Islands.

17. Sat on business in the Star Chamber.

19. At Council, preparing instructions for Col. Stapleton, now to go Governor of St. Christopher's ; and heard the complaints of the Jamaica merchants against the Spaniards for hindering them from cutting Logwood on the maine land, where they have no pretence.

21. To my Lord of Canterbury, to entreate him to engage Sir John Cutler, the patron, to provide us a grave and learned man, in opposition to a novice.

30. Congratulated Mr. Treassurer Clifford's new honour, being made a Baron.

2 May. My sonn John was specially admitted of the Middle Temple by Sir Fra. North, his Majesties Solicitor General, and since Chancellor. I pray God bless this beginning, my intention being that he should seriously apply himself to the study of the Law.

10. I was order'd by letter from the Council to repair forthwith to his Majesty, whom I found in the Pal-Mal in St. James's Park, where his Majesty coming to me from the company, commanded me to go immediately to the sea coast, and to observe the motion of the Dutch fleet and ours, the Duke and so many of the flower of our Nation being

now under saile, coming from Portsmouth thro' the Downes, where 'twas believ'd there might be an encounter.

11. Went to Chatham.—12. Heard a Sermon in Rochester Cathedrall

13. To Canterbury; visited Dr. Bargrave,<sup>1</sup> my old fellow-traveller in Italy, & great virtuoso.

14. To Dover, but the fleet did not appear till the 16th, when the Duke of York with his and the French squadron, in all 170 ships (of which above 100 were men of war) sail'd by, after the Dutch, who were newly withdrawn. Such a gallant and formidable navy never, I think, spread saile upon the seas. It was a goodly yet terrible sight, to behold them as I did, passing Eastward by the straights 'twixt Dover and Calais in a glorious day. The wind was yet so high that I could not wel go aboard, and they were soon got out of sight. The next day having visited our prisoners at the Castle, and saluted the Governor, I tooke horse for Margate. Here, from the North Foreland Light-house-top (which is a Pharos, built of bricq and having on the top a cradle of iron in which a man attends a greate sea-coal fire all the year long, when the nights are darke, for the safeguard of sailors) we could see our fleete as they lay at anker. The next morning they weighed, and sailed out of sight to the N. E.

19. Went to Margate; and the following day was carried to see a gallant widow, brought up a farmoresse, and I think of gigantic race, rich, comely, and exceedingly industrious. She put me in mind of Debora and Abigail, her house was so plentifully stored with all manner of countrie provisions, all of her owne growth, and all her conveniencies so substantiall, neate, and well understood; she herselfe so jolly and hospitable; and her land so trim and rarely husbanded that it struck me with admiration at her œconomie.

This towne much consists of Brewers of a certaine heady ale, and they deale much in mault, &c. For the rest, 'tis raggedly built, and has an ill haven, with a small fort of little concernment, nor is the island well disciplin'd; but as to the husbandry and rural part, far exceeding any part of England, for the accurate culture of their ground, in which they exceed, even to curiositie and emulation.

We passed by Richborow, and in sight of Reculver, and so thro' a sweete garden as it were, to Canterbury.

24. To London, and gave his Majesty an account of my journey, and that I had put all things in readinesse upon all events, and so return'd home sufficiently wearied.

31. I receiv'd another command to repaire to the Sea-side; so I went to Rochester, where I found many wounded, sick, and prisoners newly put on shore after the engagement on the 28th, in which the

<sup>1</sup> Dean of Canterbury a great benefactor to the Cathedral Library there. See in Todd's "Life of Milton" some curious particulars concerning him.

Earle of Sandwich, that incomparable person and my particular friend, and divers more whom I loved, were lost. My Lord (who was Admiral of the Blew) was in the Prince, which was burnt, one of the best men of war that ever spread canvass on the sea. There were lost with this brave man, a son of Sir Cha. Cotterell (Master of the Ceremonies), and a son of Sir Cha. Harbord (his Majesty's Surveyor-general), two valiant and most accomplish'd youths, full of virtue and courage, who might have saved themselves, but chose to perish with my Lord, whom they honour'd and loved above their own lives.

Here I cannot but make some reflections on things past. It was not above a day or two that going to White-hall to take leave of his Lordship, who had his lodgings in the Privy Garden, shaking me by the hand to bid me God-by'e, and said he thought he should see me no more, and I saw to my thinking something boading in his countenance ; ' No,' says he, ' they will not have me live. Had I lost a fleete (meaning on his returne from Bergen when he tooke the East India prize) I should have fared better ; but be it as it pleases God—I must do something I know not what to save my reputation.' Something to this effect he had hinted to me ; thus I tooke my leave. I well remember that the Duke of Albemarle, and my now Lord Clifford, had, I know not why, no greate opinion of his courage, because in former conflicts, being an able and experienc'd seaman (which neither of them were), he always brought off his Majesty's ships without losse, tho' not without as many markes of true courage as the stoutest of them ; and I am a witnesse that in the late war his owne ship was pierc'd like a cullendar. But the buisnesse was, he was utterly against this war from the beginning, and abhorr'd the attacquing of the Smyrna fleete ; he did not favor the heady expedition of Clifford at Bergen, nor was he so furious and confident as was the Duke of Albemarle, who believed he could vanquish the Hollanders with one squadron. My Lord Sandwich was prudent as well as valiant, and allways govern'd his affairs with successe and little losse ; he was for deliberation and reason, they for action and slaughter without either, and for this, whisper'd as if my Lord Sandwich was not so gallant because he was not so rash, and knew how fatal it was to loose a fleete, such as was that under his conduct, and for which these very persons would have censur'd him on the other side. This it was, I am confident, griev'd him and made him enter like a lion, and fight like one too, in the midst of the hottest service, where the stoutest of the rest seeing him engag'd and so many ships upon him, durst not, or would not, come to his succour, as some of them, whom I know, might have don. Thus this gallant person perish'd to gratifie the pride and envy of some I nam'd.

Deplorable was the losse of one of the best accomplish'd persons, not onely of this Nation but of any other. He was learned in sea affaires, in politics, in mathematics, and in musiq ; he had been on

divers embassies, was of a sweete and obliging temper, sober, chaste, very ingenious, a true Nobleman, an ornament to the Court and loyal to his Prince, nor has he left any behind him who approach his many virtues.

He had, I confesse, serv'd the tyrant Cromwell when a young man, but 'twas without malice, as a souldier of fortune ; and he readily submitted, and that with joy, bringing an entire fleete with him from the Sound, at the first tidings of his Majestie's Restauration. I verily believe him as faithfull a subject as any that were not his friends. I am yet heartily griev'd at this mighty losse, nor do I call it to my thoughts without emotion.

2 June. Trinity Sonday I pass'd at Rochester ; and on the 5th there was buried in the Cathedral Mons. Rabiniere, reare Admiral of the French squadron, a gallant person, who died of the wounds he received in the fight. This ceremonie lay on me, which I perform'd with all the decency I could, inviting the Mayor and Aldermen to come in their formalities ; Sir Jonas Atkins was there with his guards ; and the Deane and Prebendaries : one of his countrymen pronouncing a funeral oration at the brink of his grave, which I caus'd to be dug in the Quire. This is more at large describ'd in the Gazette of that day. Col. Reymes, my colleague in Commission, assisting, who was so kind as to accompany me from London, tho' it was not his district, for indeede the stresse of both these warrs lay more on me by far than on any of my brethren, who had little to do in theirs.—I went to see Upnore Castle, which I found pretty well defended, but it was of no greate moment.

Next day I sailed to the Fleete, now riding at the Buoy of the Nore, where I met his Majesty, the Duke, Lord Arlington, and all the greate men, in the Charles, lying miserably shatter'd ; but the misse of Lord Sandwich redoubl'd the losse to me, and shew'd the folly of hazarding so brave a fleete, and loosing so many good men for no provocation but that the Hollanders exceeded us in commerce and industrie, and in all things but envy.

At Sheernesse I gave his Majesty and his Royal Highness an account of my charge, and return'd to Queenborow ; next day dined at Major Dorels, Governor of Shere-nesse ; thence to Rochester, and the following day home.

12. To London to his Majesty, to sollicite for mony for the sick and wounded, which he promised me.

19. To London againe, to solicit the same.

21. At a Council of Plantations. Most of this weeke busied with the sick and wounded.

3 July. To Lord Sandwich's funeral, which was by water to Westminster in solemn pomp.

31. I entertain'd the Maids of Honour (among whom there was

one I infinitely esteem'd for her many and extraordinary virtues) at a comedy this afternoone, and so went home.<sup>1</sup>

1 Aug. I was at the marriage of Lord Arlington's onely daughter (a sweete child if ever there was any<sup>2</sup>) to the Duke of Grafton, the King's natural son by the Dutchesse of Cleaveland. The Abp. of Canterbury officiating, the King and all the grandees being present. I had a favour given me by my Lady, but tooke no greate joy at the thing for many reasons.

18. Sir James Hayes, Secretary to Prince Rupert, dined with me : after dinner I was sent for to Gravesend, to dispose of no fewer than 800 sick men. That night I got to the Fleete at the Buoy of the Nore, where I spake with the King and the Duke ; and after dinner next day return'd to Gravesend.

1 Sept. I spent this weeke in soliciting for monies, and in reading to my Lord Clifford my papers relating to the first Holland war.—Now our Council of Plantations met at Lord Shaftesbury's (Chancellor of the Exchequer) to reade and reforme the Draught of our new Patent, joyning the Council of Trade to our political capacities. After this I returned home in order to another excursion to the Sea-side, to get as many as possible of the men who were recovered on board the Fleete.

8. I lay at Gravesend, thence to Rochester, returning on the 11th.

15. Dr. Duport, Greek Professor of Cambridge, preached before the King on 1 Timothy 6. 6. No greate preacher, but a very worthy and learned man.

25. I din'd at Lord John Berkley's (of Stratton), newly arriv'd out of Ireland, where he had ben Deputy ; it was in his new house<sup>3</sup>, or rather palace, for I am assur'd it stood him in neere £30,000. It is very well built, and has many noble roomes, but they are not very convenient, consisting but of one Corps de Logis ; they are all roomes of state, without clossets. The staire-case is of cedar, the furniture is princely : the kitchen and stables are ill-placed, and the corridore worse, having no report to the wings they joyne to. For the rest, the fore court is noble, so are the stables, and above all, the gardens, which are incomparable by reason of the inequality of the ground, and a pretty piscina. The holly hedges on the terrace I advised the planting of. The porticos are in imitation of an house described by Palladio, but it happens to be the worst in his booke, tho' my good friend Mr. Hugh May, his Lordship's architect, effected it.

26. I carried with me to dinner my Lord H. Howard (now to be

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Blagg, whom he afterwards characterizes as a rare example of piety and virtue in so rare a witt, beauty, and perfection, in a licentious court and depraved age. She was afterwards married to Mr. Godolphin.

<sup>2</sup> She was then only 5 years old.

<sup>3</sup> Berkley House was burnt to the ground by accident. The site was on a farm called Hay-hill Farm, the names of which are preserved in Hay-street, Hill-street, Farm-street. Devonshire House, Lansdown House, Berkeley Square, &c. are built on part of the ground.

made Earl of Norwich and Earl Marshall of England) to Sir Robert Clayton's, now Sheriff of London, at his new house<sup>1</sup>, where we had a greate feast; it is built indeede for a greate Magistrate, at excessive cost. The cedar dining-roome is painted with the historie of the Gyants War, incomparably don by Mr. Streeter, but the figures are too neere the eye.

6 Oct. Dr. Thistlethwait preached at White-hall on 2 Apoc. 5. a young but good preacher. I received the blessed Communion, Dr. Blandford, Bp. of Worcester, and Deane of the Chapel, officiating. Dined at my Lord Cliffords with Lord Mulgrave, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and Sir Robert Holmes.

8. I tooke leave of my Lady Sunderland, who was going to Paris to my Lord, now Ambassador there. She made me stay dinner at Leicester House, and afterwards sent for Richardson the famous Fire-eater. He devour'd brimston on glowing coales before us, chewing and swallowing them; he mealted a beere-glasse and eate it quite up; then taking a live coale on his tongue, he put on it a raw oyster, the coal was blown on with bellows till it flam'd and sparkl'd in his mouth, and so remain'd till the oyster gaped and was quite boil'd; then he mealted pitch and wax with sulphur, which he drank downe as it flamed; I saw it flaming in his mouth a good while; he also tooke up a thick piece of yron, such as laundresses use to put in their smoothing-boxes, when it was fiery hot, held it betweene his teeth, then in his hand, and threw it about like a stone, but this I observ'd he car'd not to hold very long; then he stood on a small pot, and bending his body tooke a glowing yron with his mouth from betweene his feete, without touching the pot or ground with his hands; with divers other prodigious feates.

13. After sermon (being summon'd before) I went to my Lord Keeper's Sir Orlando Bridgeman at Essex House, where our new Patent was opened and read, constituting us that were of the Council of Plantations to be now of the Council of Trade also, both united. After the Patent was read, we all tooke our oathes and departed.

24. Met in Council, the Earle of Shaftesbury, now our President, swearing our Secretary and his Clearks, which was Mr. Lock, an excellent learned gentleman and student of Christ Church, Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Frowde. We dispatch'd a letter to Sir Tho. Linch, Governor of Jamaica, giving him notice of a design of the Dutch on that island.

<sup>1</sup> Situate in the Old Jewry. Sir Robert built it to keep his shrievalty, which he did with great magnificence. It was for some years the residence of Mr. Samuel Sharp, an eminent surgeon, and was afterwards occupied (*vis.* from 1806 to the close of the year 1811) by the London Institution for their library and reading rooms, previous to their temporary removal to King's Arms Yard, Coleman Street. This Literary Institution, established by Charter, is now finally settled in a new and splendid mansion, purposely erected by the proprietors, from a design by Mr. W. Brooks, on the North side of Moorfields (1818).—Streeter's paintings have been long placed in the family seat of the Claytons at Marden, near Godstone, Surrey.

27. I went to heare that famous preacher Dr. Frampton at St. Giles's, on 39 Psalm 6. This Divine had been twice at Jerusalem, and was not onely a very pious and holy man, but excellent in the pulpit for the moving affections.

8 Nov. At Council we debated the buisnesse of the Consulage of Leghorne. I was of the Committee with Sir Humphrey Winch the Chaireman to examine the Lawes of his Majestys severall Plantations and Colonies in the West Indies, &c.

15. Many Merchants were summon'd about the Consulage of Venice; which caused greate disputes; the most considerable thought it useless. This being the Queen Consort's birth-day, there was an extraordinarie appearance of gallantrie, and a ball daunced at Court.

30. I was chosen Secretary to the Royall Society.

21 Dec. Settl'd the Consulage of Venice.

1673. 1 Jan. After publiq prayers in the Chapell at White-hall, when I gave God solempne thanks for all his mercies to me the yeare past, &c., and my humble supplications to him for his blessing the yeare now entering, I returned home, having my poore deceased servant (Adams) to bury, who died of pleurisie.

3. My sonn now publish'd his Version of 'Rapinus Hortorum.'<sup>1</sup>

28. Visited Don Francisco de Melos, the Portugal Ambassador, who shew'd me his curious Collection of Books and Pictures. He was a person of good parts, and a vertuous man.

6 Feb. To Council about reforming an abuse of the Diers with *Saundus* and other false drougs; examin'd divers of that trade.

23. The Bishop of Chichester<sup>2</sup> preach'd before the King on 2 Coloss. 14, 15. admirably well, as he can do nothing but what is well.

5 Mar. Our new Vicar Mr. Holden preach'd in White-hall Chapel on 4 Psalm 6, 7. This gentleman is a very excellent and universal scholar, a good and wise man, but he had not a popular way of preaching, nor is in any measure fit for our plaine and vulgar auditorie, as his predecessor was. There was, however, no comparison betwixt their parts for profound learning; but time and experience may forme him to a more practical way than that he is in of University lectures and erudition, which is now universally left off for what is much more profitable.

15. I heard the speech made to the Lords in their House by Sir Sam. Tuke in behalfe of the Papists, to take off the Penal Laws; and then din'd with Col. Norwood.

16. Dr. Pearson, Bishop of Chester,<sup>3</sup> preach'd on 9th Hebrews 14;

<sup>1</sup> Of Gardens. Four Books. First written in Latin verse, by Renatus Rapinus, and now made English. By I. E. London, 1673. Dedicated to Henry Earle of Arlington, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Peter Gunning, formerly Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, afterwards Bishop of Ely. Burnet says of him that he was a man of great reading, a very honest, sincere man, but of no sound judgment. Hist. of his own Times, I. 297.

<sup>3</sup> Well known by his valuable Exposition of the Creed.

a most incomparable sermon from one of the most learned Divines of our Nation. I din'd at my Lord Arlington's with the Duke and Dutchesse of Monmouth ; she is one of the wisest and craftiest of her sex, and has much witt. Here was also the learned Isaac Vossius.

During Lent there is constantly the most excellent preaching by the most eminent Bishops and Divines of the Nation.

26 Mar. I was sworn a younger brother of the Trinity House, with my most worthy and long acquainted noble friend Lord Ossorie (eldest son to the Duke of Ormond), Sir Richard Browne my father-in-law being now Master of that Society ; after which there was a greate collation.

29. I carried my sonn to the Bishop of Chichester, that learned and pious man, Dr. Peter Gunning,<sup>1</sup> to be instructed by him before he receiv'd the holy sacrament, when he gave him most excellent advice, which I pray God may influence and remain with him as long as he lives ; and O that I had been so blessed and instructed when first I was admitted to that sacred ordinance !

30. Easter Day : myself and sonn receiv'd the blessed communion, it being his first time, and with that whole week's more extraordinary preparation. I beseech God make him a sincere good Christian, whilst I endeavour to instill into him the feare and love of God, and discharge the duty of a father.

At the sermon *coram Rege*, preached by Dr. Sparrow, Bp. of Exceter, to a most crowded auditorie, I staid to see whether according to costome the Duke of York receiv'd the communion with the King ; but he did not, to the amazement of every body. This being the second yeare he had forborne and put it off, and within a day of the Parliament sitting, who had lately made so severe an Act against the increase of Poperie, gave exceeding grieve and scandal to the whole Nation, that the heyre of it, and the sonn of a Martyr for the Protestant religion, should apostatize. What the consequence of this will be, God onely knows, and wise men dread.

11 April. I dined with the Plenipotentiaries designed for the Treaty of Nimeguen.

17. I carried Lady Tuke to thank the Countesse of Arlington for speaking to his Majesty in her behalfe, for being one of the Queene Consort's women. She carried us up into her new dressing-roome at Goring House, where was a bed, 2 glasses, silver jars and vases, cabinets, and other so rich furniture as I had seldom seene ; to this excesse of superfluity were we now ariv'd, and that not onely at Court, but almost universally, even to wantonnesse and profusion.

Dr. Compton, brother to the Earle of Northampton, preached on 1 Corinth: 11—16. shewing the Churches power in ordaining things

<sup>1</sup> See Note in preceding page.

indifferent ; this worthy person's talent is not preaching, but he is like to make a grave and serious good man.<sup>1</sup>

I saw her Majesty's rich toylet in her dressing roome, being all of massie gold, presented to her by the King, valued at 4000*l*.

26. Dr. Lamplugh preached at St. Martine's, the holy Sacrament following which I partook of, upon obligation of the late Act of Parliament, enjoyning every body in office, civil or militarie, under penalty of 500*l*. to receive it within one moneth before two authentiq witnesses ; being engrossed on parchment, to be afterwards produced in the Court of Chancery, or some other Court of Record ; which I did at the Chancery Barr, as being one of the Council of Plantations and Trade ; taking then also the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, signing the clause in the said Act against Transubstantiation.

25 May. My sonn was made a younger Brother of the Trinity House. The new Master was Sir Jer. Smith, one of the Commissioners of the Navy, a stout seaman who had interpos'd and saved the Duke from perishing by a fire-ship in the late warr.

28. I carried one Withers, an ingenious shipwright, to the King, to shew him some new method of building.

29. I saw the Italian Comedie at the Court this afternoone.

10 June. Came to visite and dine with me, my Lord Viscount Cornbury and his Lady ; Lady Frances Hyde, sister to the Dutchesse of York ; and Mrs. Dorothy Howard, Mayd of Honour. We went after dinner to see the formal and formidable camp on Blackheath, raised to invade Holland, or, as others suspected, for another designe. Thence to the Italian Glass-house at Greenewich, where glasse was blown of finer mettall than that of Murano at Venice.

13. Came to visit us, with other ladies of rank, Mrs. Sedley,<sup>2</sup> daughter to Sir Charles, who was none of the most virtuous, but a witt.

19. Congratulated the new Lord Treasurer, Sir Tho. Osborne, a gentleman with whom I had ben intimately acquainted at Paris, and who was every day at my father-in-law's house and table there, on which account I was too confident of succeeding in his favour, as I had don in his predecessor's ; but such a friend shall I never find, and I neglected my time, far from believing that my Lord Clifford would have so rashly laide down his staffe as he did, to the amazement of all the world, when it came to the test of his receiving the communion, which I am confident he forbore more from some promise he had enter'd into to gratifie the Duke, than for any prejudice to the Protestant religion, tho' I found him wavering a pretty while.

23. To London, to accompanie our Council, who went in a body

<sup>1</sup> Henry, sixth son of the second Earl of Northampton, educated at Oxford, was a cornet in Lord Oxford's regiment of guards, took orders, and was successively Bishop of Oxford and London, in which last See he died, 1713, aged 81.

<sup>2</sup> The Duke of York's mistress, and afterwards created by him Countess of Dorchester.

to congratulate the new Lord Treasurer, no friend to it, because promoted by my L. Arlington, whom he hated.

26. Came visitors from Court to dine with me, and see the army still remaining encamped on Black-heath.

6 July. This evening I went to the funerall of my deare and excellent friend, that good man and accomplish'd gentleman, Sir Robert Murray,<sup>1</sup> Secretary of Scotland. He was buried by order of his Majesty in Westminster Abbey.

25. I went to Tunbridge Wells to visite my Lord Clifford, late Lord Treasurer, who was there to divert his mind more than his body; it was believ'd that he had so engag'd himselfe to the Duke, that rather than take the test, without which he was not capable of holding any office, he would resigne that greate and honourable station. This I am confident griev'd him to the heart, and at last broke it; for tho' he carried with him musiq and people to divert him, and when I came to see him, lodged me in his own apartment, and would not let me go from him, I found he was struggling in his mind, and being of a rough and ambitious nature, he could not long brooke the necessitie he had brought on himselfe, of submission to this conjuncture. Besides he saw the Dutch warr, which was made much by his advise, as well as the shutting up of the Exchequer,<sup>2</sup> very unprosperous. These things his high spirit could not support. Having staid here two or three daies, I obtain'd leave of my Lord to returne.

In my way I saw my Lord of Dorset's house at Knowle, near Seven-oaks, a greate old-fashion'd house.

30. To Council, where the business of transporting wool was brought before us.

31. I went to see the pictures of all the Judges and eminent men of the long robe, newly painted by Mr. Wright, and set up in Guildhall, costing the Citty 1000*l*. Most of them are very like the persons they represent, tho' I never took Wright to be any considerable artist.

13 Aug. I rid to Durdans, where I din'd at my Lord Berkley's of Berkeley Castle, my old and noble friend, it being his wedding anniversary, where I found the Dutchesse of Albemarle and much companie, and return'd home that evening late.

15. Came to visit me my Lord Chancellor, the Earle of Shaftesbury.

18. My Lord Clifford being about this time return'd from Tunbridge, and preparing for Devonshire, I went to take my leave of him at Wallingford House; he was packing up pictures, most of which were of hunting wild beasts, and vast pieces of bull-baiting, beare-

<sup>1</sup> He was universally beloved and esteemed by men of all sides and sorts. The life and soul of the Royal Society. He delighted in every occasion of doing good. He had a superiority of genius and comprehension. Burnet, vol. I. p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet says the Earl of Shaftesbury was the chief man in this advice. There is a story, though I do not recollect the author, that Shaftesbury formed the plan, that Clifford got at it over a bottle of wine, and carried it to the King as his own.

baiting, &c. I found him in his study, and restored to him several papers of state and others of importance, which he had furnished me with, on engaging me to write the Historie of the Holland War, with other private letters of his acknowledgments to my Lord Arlington, who from a private gentleman of a very noble family, but inconsiderable fortune, had advanc'd him from almost nothing. The first thing was his being in Parliament, then knighted, then made one of the Commissioners of the sick and wounded, on which occasion we sate long together; then on the death of Hugh Pollard, he was made Comptroller of the Household and Privy Counselor, yet still my brother Commissioner; after the death of Lord Fitz-Harding, Treasurer of the Household, he by letters to Lord Arlington, which that Lord shew'd me, begg'd of his Lordship to obtaine it for him as the very height of his ambition; these were written with such submissions and professions of his patronage, as I had never seen any more acknowledging. The Earle of Southampton then dying, he was made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. His Majestie inclining to put it into one hand, my Lord Clifford, under pretence of making all his interest for his patron my Ld. Arlington, cutt the grasse under his feet, and procur'd it for himself, assuring the King that Lord Arlington did not desire it. Indeede my Lord Arlington protested to me that his confidence in Lord Clifford made him so remisse, and his affection to him was so particular, that he was absolutely minded to devolve it on Lord Clifford, all the world knowing how he himselfe affected ease and quiet, now growing into yeares, yet little thinking of this go-by. This was the onely greate ingratitude Lord Clifford shew'd, keeping my Lord Arlington in ignorance, continually assuring him he was pursuing his interest, which was the Duke's, into whose greate favour Lord Clifford was now gotten, but which certainly cost him the losse of all, namely, his going so irrevocably far in his interest. For the rest, my Lord Clifford was a valiant uncorrupt gentleman, ambitious, not covetous; generous, passionate, a most constant sincere friend, to me in particular, so as when he layd downe his office, I was at the end of all my hopes and endeavours; these were not for high matters, but to obtain what his Majesty was really indebted to my father-in-law, which was the utmost of my ambition, and which I had undoubtedly obtain'd if this friend had stood. Sir Tho. Osborn, who succeeded him, tho' much more oblig'd to my father-in-law and his family, and my long and old acquaintance, being of a more haughty and far lesse obliging nature, I could hope for little; a man of excellent natural parts, but nothing of generous or grateful.

Taking leave of my Lord Clifford, he wrung me by the hand, and looking earnestly on me, bid me God-b'ye, adding, 'Mr. E. I shall never see thee more;' 'No!' said I, 'my Lord, what's the meaning of this? I hope I shall see you often, and as greate a person againe.'

‘No, Mr. E. do not expect it, I will never see this place, this Citty or Court againe,’ or words of this sound. In this manner, not without almost mutual tears, I parted from him : nor was it long after, but the newes was that he was dead, and I have heard from some who I believe knew, he made himself away, after an extraordinary melancholy. This is not confidently affirm’d, but a servant who lived in the house, and afterwards with Sir Robt. Clayton, Lord Mayor, did, as well as others, report it ; and when I hinted some such thing to Mr. Prideaux, one of his trustees, he was not willing to enter into that discourse. It was reported with these particulars ; that causing his servant to leave him unusually one morning, locking himselfe in, he strangled himselfe with his cravat upon the bed-tester ; his servant not liking the manner of dismissing him, and looking thro’ the key-hole (as I remember), and seeing his master hanging, brake in before he was quite dead, and taking him downe, vomiting a greate deale of blood, he was heard to utter these words, ‘Well, let men say what they will, there is a God, a just God above,’ after which he spake no more. This, if true, is dismal. Really he was the cheife occasion of the Dutch warr, and of all that blood which was lost at Bergen in attacking the Smyrna fleete, and that whole quarrell. This leads me to call to mind what my Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury affirm’d, not to me onely, but to all my brethren the Councel of forraine plantations, when not long after this accident being mention’d as we were one day sitting in Councel, his Lordship told us this remarkeable passage ; that being one day discoursing with him when he was only Sir Tho. Clifford, speaking of men’s advancement to greate charges in the Nation, ‘Well,’ says he, ‘my Lord, I shall be one of the greatest men in England. Don’t impute what I say either to fancy or vanity ; I am certaine that I shall be a mighty man, but it will not last long ; I shall not hold it, but dye a bloody death.’ ‘What,’ says my Lord, ‘your horoscope tells you so?’ ‘No matter for that, it will be as I tell you.’ ‘Well,’ says my Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury, ‘if I were of that opinion, I either would not be a greate man, but decline preferment, or prevent my danger.’ This my Lord affirmed in my hearing before severall gentlemen and noblemen sitting in Council at Whitehall. And I the rather am confident of it, remembering what Sir Edw. Walker (Garter King at Armes) had likewise affirm’d to me a long time before, even when he was first made a Lord ; that carrying his pedigree to Lord Clifford on his being created a Peer, and finding him busy, he bid him go into his study and divert himself there till he was at leisure to discourse with him about some things relating to his family ; there lay, said Sir Edward, on his table, his horoscope and nativity calculated, with some writing under it, where he read that he should be advanc’d to the highest degree in the State that could be conferr’d upon him, but that he should not long enjoy it, but should die,

or expressions to that sense : and I think (but cannot confidently say) a bloody death. This Sir Edward affirm'd both to me and Sir Rich. Browne, nor could I forbear to note this extraordinary passage in these memoirs.

14 Sept. Dr. Creighton, son to the late eloquent Bishop of Bath and Wells, preached to the Household on 57 Isaiah 8.

15. I procured 4000*l.* of the Lords of the Treasury, and rectified divers matters about the sick and wounded.

16. To Council, about choosing a new Secretary.

17. I went with some friends to visit Mr. Bernard Grenville at Abs Court in Surrey ; an old house in a pretty parke.

23. I went to see Paradise, a roome in Hatton Garden furnished with the representations of all sorts of animals handsomely painted on boards or cloth, and so cut out and made to stand, move, fly, crawl, roare, and make their severall cries. The man who shewed it made us laugh heartily at his formal poetrie.

15 Oct. To Council, and swore in Mr. Locke, secretary, Dr. Worsley being dead.

27. To Council, about sending succours to recover New York ; and then we read the Commission and Instructions to Sir Jonathan Atkins, the New Governor of Barbados.

5 Nov. This night the youths of the Citty burnt the Pope in effigie, after they had made procession with it in greate triumph, they being displeas'd at the Duke for altering his religion and marrying an Italian lady.<sup>1</sup>

On St. Andrew's Day I first saw the new Dutchesse of York, and the Dutchesse of Modena her mother.

1 Dec. To Gressham College, whither the Citty had invited the Royal Society by many of their cheife Alderman and Magistrates, who gave us a collation, to welcome us to our first place of assembly, from whence we had ben driven to give place to the Citty, on their making it their Exchange, on the dreadfull conflagration, till their new Exchange was finish'd, which it now was. The Society having till now ben entertain'd and met at Arundel House.

2. I dined with some friends, and visited the sick : thence to an almes-house where was prayers and reliefe, some very ill and miserable. It was one of the best daies I ever spent in my life.

3. There was dinner at my Lord Lockart, design'd Ambassador for France, a gallant and a sober person.

9. I saw againe the Italian Dutchesse and her brother the Prince Reynaldo.

20. I had some discourse with certaine strangers, not unlearned, who had ben born not far from old Nineveh ; they assur'd me of the ruines being still extant, and vast and wonderfull were the buildings,

<sup>1</sup> The Princess Mary Beatrice D'Este, daughter of the Duke of Modena.

vaults, pillars, and magnificent fragments ; but they could say little of the Toure of Babel that satisfied me : but the description of the amœnitie and fragrancy of the country for health and cherefulness delighted me, so sensibly they spake of the excellent aire and climate in respect of our cloudy and splenetic country.

24. Visited some prisoners at Ludgate, taking orders about the releasing of some.

30. I gave Almighty God thanks for his infinite goodnesse to me the yeare past, and begged his mercie and protection the yeare following : afterwards invited my neighbours to spend the day with me.

1674, 5 Jan. I saw an Italian Opera in musiq, the first that had ben in England of this kind.

9. Sent for by his Majesty to write something against the Hollanders about the duty of the Flag and Fisherie. Return'd with some papers.

25 March. I dined at Knightsbridge with the Bishops of Salisbury, Chester, and Lincoln, my old friends.

29 May. His Majestie's birth-day and Restauration. Mr. Demal-hoy, Roger L'Estrange, and severall of my friends, came to dine with me on the happy occasion.

27 June. Mr. Dryden, the famous Poet and now Laureat, came to give me a visite. It was the anniversarie of my marriage, and the first day I went into my new little cell and cabinet, which I built below towards the South court, at the East end of the parlor.

9 July. Paid £.360 for purchase of Dr. Jacomb's son share in the mill and land at Deptford, which I bought of the Beechers.

22. I went to Windsor with my wife and sonn to see my daughter Mary, who was there with my Lady Tuke, and to do my duty to his Majesty. Next day to a greate entertainment at Sir Robert Holmes's at Cranburn Lodge in the Forest ; there were his Majesty, the Queene, Duke, Dutchesse, and all the Court. I return'd in the evening with Sir Joseph Williamson, now declar'd Secretary of State. He was sonn of a poore clergyman somewhere in Cumberland, brought up at Queen's Coll. Oxford, of which he came to be a fellow ; then travell'd with . . . . and returning when the King was restor'd, was receiv'd as a Cleark under Mr. Secretary Nicholas ; Sir Henry Bennett (now Lord Arlington) succeeding, Williamson is transferr'd to him, who loving his ease more than businesse (tho' sufficiently able had he applied himselfe to it) remitted all to his man Williamson, and in a short time let him so into the seacret of affaires, that (as his Lordship himselfe told me) there was a kind of necessity to advance him ; and so by his subtlety, dexterity, and insinuation, he got now to be principal Secretary ; absolutely Lord Arlington's creature, and ungratefull enough. It has ben the fate of this obliging favorite to advance those who soone forgot their original. Sir Joseph was a musitian, could play

at *Jeu de Gobelets*, exceeding formal, a severe master to his servants, but so inward with my Lord Obrien, that after a few moneths of that gentleman's death, he married his widow,<sup>1</sup> who, being sister and heire of the Duke of Richmond, brought him a noble fortune. 'Twas thought they liv'd not so kindly after marriage as they did before. She was much censur'd for marrying so meanly, being herselfe allied to the Royal family.

6 Aug. I went to Groombridge to see my old friend Mr. Packer, the house built within a moate, in a woody valley. The old house had ben the place of confinement of the Duke of Orleans, taken by one Waller (whose house it then was) at the Battle of Agincourt, now demolish'd, and a new one built in its place, tho' a far better situation had ben on the South of the wood, on a graceful ascent. At some small distance is a large chapell, not long since built by Mr. Packer's father, on a vow he made to do it on the return of King Charles I. out of Spaine, 1625, and dedicated to St. Charles, but what saint there was then of that name I am to seeke, for, being a Protestant, I conceive it was not Borromeo.

I went to see my farme at Ripe neere Lewes.

19. His Majesty told me how exceedingly the Dutch were displeas'd at my treatise of the 'Historie of Commerce'<sup>2</sup>; that the Holland Ambassador had complain'd to him of what I had touch'd of the Flags and Fishery, &c. and desired the booke might be call'd in; whilst on the other side he assur'd me he was exceedingly pleas'd with what I had done, and gave me many thanks. However, it being just upon conclusion of the treaty of Breda (indeed it was design'd to have ben publish'd some moneths before, and when we were at defiance), his Majesty told me he must recall it formally, but gave order that what copies should be publiqly seiz'd to pacifie the Ambassador, should immediately be restor'd to the Printer, and that neither he nor the vendor should be molested. The truth is, that which touch'd the Hollander was much lesse than what the King himselfe furnish'd me with, and oblig'd me to publish, having caus'd it to be read to him before it went to the presse; but the error was, it should have ben publish'd before the peace was proclaim'd. The noise of this book's suppression made it presently be bought up, and turn'd much to the stationer's advantage. It was no other than the Preface prepar'd to be prefix'd to my History of the whole Warr; which I now pursued no further.

<sup>1</sup> Lady Catherine Stuart, sister and heir to Charles Stuart Duke of Richmond and Lennox, the husband of that admird beauty Mrs. Frances Stuart, with whom Charles the Second was so deeply in love, that he never forgave the Duke for marrying her, which, it is thought, he had formed some intention of doing himself. He took the first opportunity of sending him into an honourable exile, as Ambassador to Denmark, where he shortly after died, leaving no issue by the Duchess.

<sup>2</sup> Entitled, 'Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress, &c. By I. Evelyn, Esq. S. R. S.' 8vo. 1674. Dedicated to the King.

21. In one of the meadows at the foote of the long Terrace below the Castle [Windsor], works were thrown up to shew the King a representation of the Citty of Maestricht, newly taken by the French. Bas-tions, bulwarks, ramparts, palisadoes, graffs, hornworks, counterscarps, &c. were constructed. It was attack'd by the Duke of Monmouth (newly come from that real siege) and the Duke of York, with a little army, to shew their skill in tactics. On Saturday night they made their approaches, open'd trenches, rais'd batteries, tooke the counter-scarp, and ravelin after a stout defence ; greate gunns fir'd on both sides, granados shot, mines sprung, parties sent out, attempts of raising the siege, prisoners taken, parleys, and in short all the circumstances of a formal siege to appearance, and, what is most strange, all without disorder or ill accident, to the greate satisfaction of a thousand spectators. Being night, it made a formidable shew. The siege being over, I went with Mr. Pepys back to London, where we ariv'd about three in the morning.

15 Sept. To Council, about fetching away the English left at Surinam, &c. since our reconciliation with Holland.

21. I went to see the greate losse that Lord Arlington had sustain'd by fire at Goring house, this night consum'd to the ground, with exceeding losse of hangings, plate, rare pictures, and cabinets ; hardly any thing was sav'd of the best and most princely furniture that any subject had in England. My lord and lady were at the time both absent at the Bathe.

6 Oct. The Lord Chief Baron Turner, and Serjeant Wild, Recorder of London, came to visite me.

20. At Lord Berkeley's I discours'd with Sir Thomas Modiford, late Governor of Jamaica, and with Col. Morgan, who undertooke that gallant exploit from Nombre de Dios to Panama, on the Continent of America ; he told me 10,000 men would easily conquer all the Spanish Indies, they were so secure. They tooke greate booty, and much greater had ben taken, had they not been betraied and so discover'd before their approach, by which the Spaniards had time to carry their vast treasure on board ships that put off to sea in sight of our men, who had no boates to follow. They set fire to Panama, and ravaged the country 60 miles about. The Spaniards were so supine and unexercis'd, that they were afraid to fire a greate gun.

31. My birth-day, 54th yeare of my life. Blessed be God. It was also preparation-day for the holy Sacrament, in which I participated the next day, imploring God's protection for the yeare following, and confirming my resolutions of a more holy life, even upon the Holy Booke. The Lord assist and be gracious unto me. Amen.

15 Nov. The Anniversarie of my baptisme : I first heard that famous and excellent preacher Dr. Burnet (author of the History of the Reformation) on 3 Coloss. 10, with such a flow of eloquence and fullness of matter, as shew'd him to be a person of extraordinary parts.

The night being her Majesty's birth-day, the Court was exceeding splendid in clothes and jewells, to the height of excesse.

17. To Council, on the business of Surinam, where the Dutch had detain'd some English in prison ever since the first war 1665.

19. I heard that stupendous violin, Signor Nicholao (with other rare musitians), whom I never heard mortal man exceed on that instrument. He had a stroak so sweete, and made it speake like the voice of a man, and, when he pleas'd, like a consort of severall instruments. He did wonders upon a note, and was an excellent composer. Here was also that rare lutenist Dr. Wallgrave ; but nothing approach'd the violin in Nicholao's hand. He plaied such ravishing things as astonish'd us all.

2 Dec. At Mr. Slingsby's, Master of the Mint, my worthy friend, a greate lover of musiq. Heard Signor Francisco on the harpsichord, esteem'd one of the most excellent masters in Europe on that instrument; then came Nicholao with his violin, and struck all mute but Mrs. Knight, who sung incomparably, and doubtlesse has the greatest reach of any English woman ; she had lately ben roaming in Italy, and was of York much improv'd in that quality.

15. Saw a comedie<sup>1</sup> at night at Court, acted by the ladies onely, amongst them Lady Mary and Ann, his Royal Highnesses two daughters, and my dear friend Mrs. Blagg, who having the principal part, perform'd it to admiration. They were all cover'd with jewells.

22. Was at the repetition of the Pastoral, on which occasion Mrs. Blagg had about her neere £.20,000 worth of jewells, of which she lost one worth about £.80, borrow'd of the Countess of Suffolk. The press was so greate, that 'tis a wonder she lost no more. The Duke of York made it good.

1675. 20 Jan. Went to see Mr. Streeter, that excellent painter of perspective and landskip, to comfort and encourage him to be cut for the stone, with which that honest man was exceedingly afflicted.<sup>2</sup>

22 Mar. Supp'd at Sir William Petty's with the Bp. of Salisbury and divers honorable persons. We had a noble entertainment in a house gloriously furnish'd ; the master and mistress of it were extraordinary persons. Sir William was the sonn of a meane man some where in Sussex, and sent from Schole to Oxon, where he studied Philosophy, but was most eminent in Mathematics and Mechanics: proceeded Dr. of Physick, and was grown famous, as for his learning

<sup>1</sup> This was the Masque of 'Calisto, or the Chaste Nymph,' by John Crowne. The performers in the piece were, the two daughters of the Duke of York, Lady Henrietta Wentworth (afterwards mistress to the Duke of Monmouth), Countess of Sussex, Lady Mary Mordaunt, Mrs. Blagg, who had been Maid of Honour to the Queen, and Mrs. Jennings, then Maid of Honour to the Duchess of York, and who was afterwards the celebrated Duchess of Marlborough. The Duke of Monmouth, Lord Dumblaine, Lord Daincourt, and others, were the dancers ; and Mrs. Davis, Mrs. Knight, Mrs. Butler, and others, likewise acted and sung in the performance. Printed, London 1675, in 4to.

<sup>2</sup> The King, it is said, who had a great regard for this artist, sent for a famous surgeon from Paris, on purpose to perform the operation.

so for his recovering a poor wench that had ben hanged for felony ; and her body having ben begged (as the custom is) for the anatomie lecture, he bled her, put her to bed to a warm woman, and with spirits and other meanes restored her to life.<sup>1</sup> The young scholars joyn'd and made her a little portion, and married her to a man who had severall children by her, she living 15 yeares after, as I have ben assur'd. Sir William came from Oxon, to be tutor to a neighbour of mine ; thence, when the rebells were dividing their conquests in Ireland, he was employ'd by them to measure and set out the land, which he did on an easy contract, so much per acre. This he effected so exactly, that it not only furnish'd him with a greate sum of money, but enabled him to purchase an estate worth £.4000 a yeare. He afterwards married the daughter of Sir Hardresse Waller ; she was an extraordinary witt as well as beauty, and a prudent woman.

Sir William, amongst other inventions, was author of the double-bottom'd ship, which tho' it perish'd, and he was censur'd for rashnesse, being lost in the Bay of Biscay in a storme when, I think, 15 other vessells miscarried. The vessell was flat-bottom'd, of exceeding use to put into shallow ports, and ride over small depths of water. It consisted of 2 distinct keeles crampt together with huge timbers, &c. so as that a violent streame ran betweene ; it bare a monstrous broad saile, and he still persists that it is practicable and of exceeding use ; and he has often told me he would adventure himselfe in such another, could he procure sailors, and his Majestys permission to make a second Experiment, which name the King gave it at the launching.

The Map of Ireland made by Sir William Petty is believ'd to be the most exact that ever yet was made of any country. He did promise to publish it ; and I am told it has cost him neare £.1000 to have it engrav'd at Amsterdam. There is not a better Latine poet living when he gives himselfe that diversion ; nor is his excellence less in Council and prudent matters of state ; but he is so exceeding nice in sifting and examining all possible contingencies, that he adventures at nothing which is not demonstration. There were not in the whole world his equal for a superintendant of manufacture and improvement of trade, or to govern a Plantation. If I were a Prince, I should make him my second Counsellor at least. There is nothing difficult to him. He is besides courageous, on which account I cannot but note a true storie of

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of this very remarkable event, see a pamphlet, entitled, 'Newes from the Dead, or a true and exact narration of the miraculous Deliverance of Anne Greene, who being executed at Oxford Dec. 14, 1650, afterwards revived ; and by the care of certain Physicians there is now perfectly recovered. Oxford, the second Impression, with Additions, 4to, 1651.' Added to the Narrative are several Copies of Verses in Latin, English, and French, by Gentlemen of the University, commemorative of the story ; amongst others, one by Joseph Williamson, afterwards Secretary of State, another by Christopher Wren, the famous architect, then of Wadham College, Walter Pope, Dr. Ralph Bathurst (the last under other names), and many more. This was reprinted, but very negligently, from the first and worst edition, in Morgan's 'Phoenix Britannicus,' 4to.

him, that when Sir Aleyn Brodrick sent him a challenge upon a difference 'twixt them in Ireland, Sir William, tho' exceedingly purblind, accepted the challenge, and it being his part to propound the weapon, desir'd his antagonist to meete him with a hatchet or axe in a dark cellar, which the other of course refused. Sir William was, with all this, facetious and of easy conversation, friendly and courteous, and had such a faculty of imitating others, that he would take a text and preach, now like a brave orthodox divine, then falling into the Presbyterian way, then to the phanatical, the quaker, the monk and friar, the Popish priest, with such admirable action, and alteration of voice and tone, as it was not possible to abstain from wonder, and one would sweare to heare severall persons, or forbear to think he was not in good earnest an enthusiast and almost beside himselfe ; then he would fall out of it into a serious discourse ; but it was very rarely he would be prevail'd on to oblige the company with this faculty, and that only amongst most intimate friends. My Lord Duke of Ormond once obtain'd it of him, and was almost ravish'd with admiration ; but by and by he fell upon a serious reprimand of the faults and miscarriages of some Princes and Governors, which tho' he nam'd none, did so sensibly touch the Duke, who was then Lieutenant of Ireland, that he began to be very uneasy, and wish'd the spirit lay'd which he had rais'd, for he was neither able to endure such truthes, nor could he but be delighted. At last he mealted his discourse to a ridiculous subject, and came down from the joynt stoole on which he had stood ; but my lord would not have him preach any more. He never could get favour at Court, because he outwitted all the projectors that came neere him. Having never known such another genius, I cannot but mention these particulars amongst a multitude of others which I could produce. When I who knew him in mean circumstances have ben in his splendid palace, he would himselfe be in admiration how he ariv'd at it ; nor was it his value or inclination for splendid furniture and the curiosities of the age, but his elegant lady could endure nothing meane, or that was not magnificent. He was very negligent himselfe, and rather so of his person, and of a philosophic temper. 'What a to-do is here !' would he say, 'I can lie in straw with as much satisfaction.'

He is author of the ingenious deductions from the bills of mortality, which go under the name of Mr. Graunt ; also of that useful discourse of the manufacture of wool, and several others in the register of the Royal Society. He was also author of that paraphrase on the 104th Psalm in Latin verse, which goes about in MS. and is inimitable. In a word, there is nothing impenetrable to him.

26 March. Dr. Brideoake was elected Bishop of Chichester on the translation of Dr. Gunning to Ely.

30. Dr. Allestree preached on 6 Romans 3, the necessitie of those who are baptized to die to sinn ; a very excellent discourse from an excellent preacher.

25 April. Dr. Barrow,<sup>1</sup> that excellent, pious, and most learned man, divine, mathematician, poet, traveller, and most humble person, preach'd at White-hall to the household, on 20 Luke 27, of love and charitie to our neighbours.

29. I read my first discourse 'Of Earth and Vegetation,' before the Royall Society, as a lecture in course after Sir Rob. Southwell had read his the weeke before On Water. I was commanded by our President and the suffrage of the Society to print it.

16 May. This day was my deare friend Mrs. Blagg married at the Temple Church to my friend Mr. Sidney Godolphin, Groome of the Bed-Chamber to his Majesty.

18. I went to visite one Mr. Bathurst, a Spanish merchant, who was my neighbour.

31. I went with Lord Ossorie to Deptford, where we chose him Master of the Trinity Company.

2 June. I was at a conference of the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, on a difference about imprisoning some of their members: and on the 3d, at another conference, when the Lords accused the Commons for their transcendent misbehaviour, breach of privilege, Magna Charta, subversion of government, aad other high, provoking, and diminishing expressions, shewing what duties and subjection they owed to the Lords in Parliament by record of Hen. IV. This was likely to create a notable disturbance.

15. This afternoone came Monsieur Querouaille and his lady, parents to the famous beauty and \* \* \* \* \* favorite at Court, to see Sir R. Browne, with whom they were intimately acquainted in Bretagne, at the time Sir Richard was sent to Brest to supervise his Majestys sea affaires, during the later part of the King's banishment. This gentleman's house was not a mile from Brest; Sir Richard made an acquaintance there, and being used very civilly, was obliged to returne it here, which we did. He seem'd a souldierly person and a good fellow, as the Bretons generally are; his lady had ben very handsome, and seem'd a shrewd understanding woman. Conversing with him in our garden, I found severall words of the Breton language the same with our Welch. His daughter was now made Dutchess of Portsmouth and in the height of favour, but he never made any use of it.

27. At Ely House, I went to the consecration of my worthy friend the learned Dr. Barlow, Warden of Queenes Coll. Oxon, now made Bishop of Lincoln. After it, succeeded a magnificent feast, where were the D. of Ormond, E. of Lauderdale, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Keeper, &c.

8 July. I went with Mrs. Howard and her two daughters towards Northampton Assizes, about a tryal at law, in which I was concerned

<sup>1</sup> Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; succeeded Dr. John Pearson, when he was Bishop of Chester.

for them as Trustee. We lay this night at Henley on the Thames at our attorney Mr. Stephens's, who entertain'd us very handsomely.—Next day, dining at Shotover, at Sir Tim. Tyrill's, a sweete place, we lay at Oxford, where it was the time of the Act. Mr. Robert Spencer, unkle to the Earle of Sunderland, and my old acquaintance in France, entertain'd us at his apartment in Christ Church, with exceeding generosity.—The 10th, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Bathurst (who had formerly taken particular care of my sonn), President of Trinity Colledge, invited me to dinner, and did me greate honour all the time of my stay. The next day he invited me and all my company, tho' strangers to him, to a very noble feast. I was at all the academic exercises.—Sunday, at St. Maries, preach'd a Fellow of Brazen-nose, not a little magnifying the dignity of Church-men.—The 11th, we heard the speeches, and saw the ceremonie of creating Doctors in Divinity, Law, and Physic. I had early in the morning heard Dr. Morison, Botanic Professor, reade on divers plants in the Physic Garden; and saw that rare collection of natural curiosities of Dr. Plot's, of Magdalen Hall, author of 'The Natural History of Oxfordshire,' all of them collected in that Shire, and indeede extraordinary, that in one County there should be found such varietie of plants, shells, stones, minerals, marcasites, foulds, insects, models of works, chrystals, achates, and marbles. He was now intending to visite Staffordshire, and as he had of Oxfordshire, to give us the natural, topical, political, and mechanical history. Pitty it is that more of this industrious man's genius were not employ'd so to describe every County of England; it would have been one of the most usefull and illustrious workes that was ever produced in any age or nation.

I visited also the Bodleian Library, and my old friend the learned Obadiah Walker, head of University Coll. which he had now almost rebuilt or repair'd. We then proceeded to Northampton, where we arived the next day.

In this journey went part of the way Mr. Ja. Graham (since Privy Purse to the Duke), a young gentleman exceedingly in love with Mrs. Dorothy Howard, one of the Mayds of Honour in our company. I could not but pitty them both, the mother not much favouring it. This lady was not onely a greate beauty, but a most virtuous and excellent creature, and worthy to have ben wife to the best of men. My advice was required, and I spake to the advantage of the young gentleman, more out of pitty than that she deserved no better match, for tho' he was a gentleman of a good family, yet there was greate inequality.

14. I went to see my Lord Sunderland's seat at Althorp, 4 miles from the ragged towne of Northampton (since burned, and well rebuilt). 'Tis placed in a pretty open bottome, very finely watred and flanked with stately woods and groves in a parke, with a canall, but the water is not running, which is a defect. The house a kind of modern

building of freestone, within most nobly furnished. The apartments very commodious, a gallerie and noble hall, but the kitchen being in the body of the house and chapell too small, were defects. There is an old yet honourable gate-house standing awry, and out-housing meane, but design'd to be taken away. It was moated round after the old manner, but it is now dry, and turfed with a beautifull carpet. Above all are admirable and magnificent the severall ample gardens furnish'd with the choicest fruite, and exquisitely kept. Greate plenty of oranges and other curiosities. The parke full of foule, especially hernes, and from it a prospect to Holmby House, which being demolish'd in the late civil warrs, shews like a Roman ruine, shaded by the trees about it, a stately, solemn, and pleasing view.

15. Our cause was pleaded in behalfe of the mother, Mrs. Howard<sup>1</sup> and her daughters, before Baron Thurland, who had formerly ben steward of Courts for me; we carried our cause, as there was reason, for here was an imprudent as well as disobedient sonn against his mother, by instigation doubtlesse of his wife, one Mrs. Ogle (an ancient maid), whom he had clandestinely married, and who brought him no fortune, he being heire apparent of the Earle of Berkshire. We lay at Brickhill in Bedfordshire, and came home late next day.

This was a journey of adventures and knight errantry. One of the lady's servants being as desperately in love with Mrs. Howard's woman as Mr. Graham was with her daughter, and she riding on horseback behind his rival, the amorous and jealous youth having a little drink in his pate, had here killed himselfe had he not ben prevented; for, alighting from his horse, and drawing his sword, he endeavoured twice or thrice to fall on it, but was interrupted by our coachman and a stranger passing by. After this, running to his rival and snatching his sword from his side (for we had beaten his owne out of his hand), and on the suddaine pulling downe his mistresse, would have run both of them thro'; we parted them, but not without some blood. This miserable creature poyson'd himselfe for her not many daies after they came to London.

July 19. The Lord Tressurers Chaplaine preached at Wallingford House.

9 Aug. Dr. Sprat, prebend of Westminster and Chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham, preached on the 3rd Epistle of Jude, shewing

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Howard was widow of William fourth son of the first Earl of Berkeshire, being the daughter of Lord Dundass of the kingdom of Scotland. They had one son Craven Howard, and two daughters, Dorothy, who married Col. James Grehme of Levens in Westmoreland; and Anne, who married Sir Gabriel Sylvius, Knt. Craven married two wives, the first of which was Anne, daughter of Tho. Ogle of Pinchbeck, co. Linc. Esq.; then maid of honour to Queen Catherine. Collins's Peerage.

These two daughters are the ladies here mentioned by Mr. Evelyn; but he is not correct in calling Craven heir apparent of the Earl of Berks, as besides the uncle then in possession of the title, there was another uncle before him, who in fact inherited it, and did not die till many years after.

what the primitive faith was, how neere it and how excellent that of the Church of England, also the danger of departing from it.

27. I visited the Bishop of Rochester at Bromely, and dined at Sir Philip Warwick's at Frogpoole [Frognall].

2 Sept. I went to see Dulwich Colledge, being the pious foundation of one Allen, a famous Comedian in King James's time. The Chapell is pretty, the rest of the Hospital very ill contriv'd; it yet maintaines divers poore of both sexes. 'Tis in a melancholy part of Camerwell parish. I came back by certaine medicinal Spa waters, at a place called Sydnam Wells in Lewisham parish, much frequented in Summer.

10. I was casually shewed the Dutchesse of Portsmouth's splendid appartment at White-hall, luxuriously furnished, and with ten times the richnesse and glory beyond the Queenes; such massy pieces of plate, whole tables, & stands, of incredible value.

29. I saw the Italian Scaramucchio act before the King at White-hall, people giving money to come in, which was very scandalous, and never so before at Court diversions. Having seene him act before in Italy, many yeares past, I was not averse from seeing the most excellent of that kind of folly.

14 Oct. Din'd at Kensington with my old acquaintance Mr. Henshaw, newly return'd from Denmark, where he had ben left resident after the death of the Duke of Richmond, who died there Ambassador.

15. I got an extreme cold, such as was afterwards so epidemical, as not only to afflict us in this island, but was rife over all Europe, like a plague. It was after an exceeding dry summer and autumn.

I settled affaires, my sonn being to go into France with my Lord Berkeley, design'd Ambassador extraordinary for France and Plenipotentiary for the general treaty of peace at Nimeguen.

24. Din'd at Lord Chamberlain's with the Holland Ambassador L. Duras, a valiant gentleman whom his Majesty made an English Baron, of a cadet, and gave him his seate of Holmby in Northamptonshire [since Earle of Feversham].

27. Lord Berkeley coming into Council, fell downe in the gallerie at White-hall in a fit of apoplexie, and being carried into my Lord Chamberlaines lodgings, severall famous doctors were employed all that night, and with much ado he was at last recover'd to some sense, by applying hot fire-pans and spirit of amber to his head, but nothing was found so effectual as cupping him on the shoulders. It was an almost miraculous restauration. The next day he was carried to Berkeley House. This stopp'd his journey for the present, and caused my stay in towne. He had put all his affaires and his whole estate in England into my hands during his intended absence, which tho' I was very unfit to undertake, in regard of many businesses which then took me up, yet upon the greate importunity of my lady and Mr. Godolphin (to whom I could refuse nothing) I did take it on me. It seemes when he

was Deputy in Ireland, not long before, he had ben much wronged by one he left in trust with his affaires, and therefore wished for some unmercenary friend who would take that trouble on him ; this was to receive his rents, look after his houses and tenants, sollicite supplies from the Lord Treasurer, and correspond weekly with him, more than enough to employ any drudge in England ; but what will not friendship and love make one do ?

31. Din'd at my Lord Chamberlain's with my sonn. There were the learned Isaac Vossius and Spanhemius, son of the famous man of Heidelberg, nor was this gentleman less learned, being a generall scholar. Amongst other pieces he was author of an excellent treatise on Medails.

10 Nov. Being the day appointed for my Lord Ambassador to set out, I met them with my coach at New Crosse. There were with him my Lady his wife and my deare friend Mrs. Godolphin, who out of an extraordinary friendship would needes accompany my lady to Paris, and stay with her sometime, which was the chiefe inducement for permitting my sonn to travel, but I knew him safe under her inspection, and in regard my Lord himselfe had promis'd to take him into his special favour, he having intrusted all he had to my care.

Thus we set out, 3 coaches (besides mine), 3 waggons, and about forty horse. It being late, and my lord as yet but valetudinarie, we got but to Dartford the first day ; the next to Sittingbourne.

At Rochester, the major, Mr. Cony, then an officer of mine for the sick and wounded of that place, gave the ladies a handsome refreshment as we came by his house.

12. We came to Canterbury, and next morning to Dover.

There was in my Lady Ambassadors company my Lady Hamilton, a sprightly young lady, much in the good graces of the family, wife of that valiant and worthy gentleman Geo. Hamilton, not long after slaine in the warrs. She had ben a maid of honour to the Dutchesse, and now turn'd Papist.

14. Being Sondag, my Lord having before deliver'd to me his letter of attorney, keyes, seale, and his will, we took solemn leave of one another upon the beach, the coaches carrying them into the sea to the boats, which deliver'd them to Capt. Gunman's yacht the Mary. Being under saile, the castle gave them 17 gunns, which Capt. Gunman answered with 11. Hence I went to Church, to beg a blessing on their voyage.

2 Dec. Being returned home, I visited Lady Mordaunt at Parsons Greene, my Lord her sonn being sick. This pious woman deliver'd to me £100. to bestow as I thought fit for the release of poore prisoners and other charitable uses.

21. Visited her Ladyship againe, where I found the Bp. of Winchester, whom I had long known in France : he invited me to his house at Chelsey.

23 Dec. Lady Sunderland gave me ten guineas to bestow in charities.

1676, 20 Feb. Dr. Gunning, Bishop of Ely, preached before the King from 20 St. John 21, 22, 23, chiefly against an anonymous booke called 'Naked Truth,' a famous and popular treatise against the corruption in the Cleargie, but not sound as to its quotations, supposed to have ben the Bishop of Hereford's [Dr. Herbert Croft], and was answered by Dr. Turner, it endeavoring to prove an equality of order of Bishop and Presbyter.

27. Dr. Pritchard, Bp. of Gloucester, preached at White-hall on 5 Isaiah 5. very allegorically according to his manner, yet very gravely and wittily.

29 February. I din'd with Mr. Povey, one of the Masters of Requests, a nice contriver of all elegancies, and exceedingly formall. Supped with Sir J. Williamson, where were of our Society, Mr. Robert Boyle, Sir Christ: Wren, Sir Wm. Petty, Dr. Holden, sub-dean of his Majesty's Chapell, Sir James Shaen, Dr. Whistler, and our Secretary Mr. Oldenburg.

4 March. Sir Thomas Linch was returned from his government of Jamaica.

16. The Countesse of Sunderland and I went by water to Parsons Greene to visite my Lady Mordaunt, and to consult with her about my Lord's monument. We return'd by coach.

19. Dr. Lloyd, late Curate at Deptford, but now Bishop of Llandaff, preached before the King on 1 Cor. 15. 57. that tho' sin subjects us to Death, yet thro' Christ we become his conquerors.

24. Dr. Brideoak<sup>1</sup>, Bp. of Chichester, preach'd; a mean discourse for a Bishop. I also heard Dr. Fleetwood, Bp. of Worcester, on 26 Matt. 38. of the sorrows of Christ, a deadly sorrow caused by our sinns; he was no great preacher.

23. To Twickenham Park, Lord Berkeley's country seate, to examine how the bailiffs and servants ordered matters.

30. Dining with my La. Sunderland, I saw a fellow swallow a knife, and divers great pebble stones, which would make a plaine rattling one against another. The knife was in the sheath of horne.

Dr. North, sonn to my Lord North, preach'd before the King on 53 Isaiah 57. a very young but learned and excellent person. Note. This was the first time the Duke appeared no more in Chapell, to the infinite grieffe and threatned ruine of this poore Nation.

2 April. I had now notice that my deare friend Mrs. Godolphin was returning from Paris. On the 6th she arived to my greate joy, whom I most heartily welcomed.

28 April. My wife entertain'd her Majesty at Deptford, for which the Queene gave me thanks in the withdrawing-roome at White-hall.

<sup>1</sup> Ralph Brideoake, Dean of Salisbury, succeeded Bp. Gunning in the See.

The University of Oxford presented me with the 'Marmora Oxoniensia Arundelliana;' the Bp. of Oxford writing to desire that I would introduce Mr. Prideaux the Editor (a young man most learned in Antiquities) to the Duke of Norfolk, to present another dedicated to his Grace, which I did, and we din'd with the Duke at Arundel House, and supp'd at the Bp. of Rochester's with Isaac Vossius.

7 May. I spoke to the Duke of York about my Lo. Berkeley's going to Nimeguen. Thence to the Queene's Council at Somerset House, about Mrs. Godolphin's lease of Spalding in Lincolnshire.

11. I dined with Mr. Charleton, and went to see Mr. Mountague's new palace, now the Brit. Museum, neere Bloomsbury, built by Mr. Hooke of our Society after the French manner.

13 May. Return'd home and found my son come from France, praised be God.

22. Trinity Monday. A chaplain of my Lord Ossorie's preach'd, after which we took barge to Trinity House in London. Mr. Pepys (Secy. of the Admiralty) succeeded my Lord as Master.

2 June. I went with my Lord Chamberlaine to see a garden at Enfield towne; thence to Mr. Sec. Coventry's lodge in the Chace. It is a very pretty place, the house commodious, the gardens handsome, and our entertainment very free, there being none but my Lord and myselfe. That which I most wondered at was, that in the compass of 25 miles, yet within 14 of London, there is not an house, barne, church, or building, besides three lodges. To this Lodge are three greate ponds and some few inclosures, the rest a solitarie desert, yet stor'd with not lesse than 3000 deere. These are pretty retreats for gentlemen, especialy for those who are studious and lovers of privacy.

We return'd in the evening by Hamsted, to see Lord Wotton's house and garden, Belsize, built with vast expense by Mr. O'Neale, an Irish gentleman who married Lord Wotton's mother Lady Stanhope. The furniture is very particular for Indian cabinets, porcelain, and other solid and noble moveables. The gallery very fine, the gardens very large, but ill kept, yet woody and chargeable. The soil a cold weeping clay, not answering the expence.

12 June. I went to Sir Tho. Bond's new and fine house by Peckham; it is on a flat, but has a fine garden and prospect thro' the meadows to London.

2 July. Dr. Castillion, Prebend of Canterbury, preached before the King on 15 John 22. at White-hall.

19. Went to the funeral of Sir William Sanderson, husband to the mother of the Maids,<sup>1</sup> and author of two large but meane histories of King James and King Charles the First. He was buried at Westminster.

1 Aug. In the afternoone, after prayers at St. James's Chapell, was

<sup>1</sup> The Queen's Maids of Honour; there is or lately was a place with that title. (1876.)

christned a daughter of Dr. Leakes, the Duke's Chaplaine; Godmothers were Lady Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, and the Dutchesse of Monmouth: Godfather, the Earle of Bathe.

15. Came to dine with me my Lord Halifax, Sir Thomas Meres, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, Sir John Clayton, Mr. Slingsby, Mr. Henshaw, and Mr. Bridgeman.

25. Din'd with Sir John Banks at his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on recommending Mr. Upman to be tutor to his sonn going into France. This Sir John Banks was a merchant of small beginning, but had amass'd 100,000*l*.

26. I din'd at the Admiralty with Secretary Pepys, and supp'd at the Lord Chamberlaines. Here was Capt. Baker, who had ben lately on the attempt of the North West Passage. He reported prodigious depth of ice, blew as a sapphire, and as transparent. The thick mists were their cheife impediment and cause of their returne.

2 Sept. I paid 1700*l*. to the Marquiss de Sissac, which he had lent to my Lord Berkeley, and which I heard the Marquiss lost at play in a night or two.

The Dean of Chichester preach'd before the King on 24 Acts 16; and Dr. Crighton preach'd the second sermon before him on 90 Psalm 17. of wisely numbering our daies and well employing our time.

3. Dined at Capt. Graham's, where I became acquainted with Dr. Compton, brother to the Earle of Northampton, now Bishop of London, and Mr. North, sonn to the Lord North, brother to the Ld. Cheife Justice and Clerke of the Closet, a most hopefull young man. The Bishop had once ben a souldier, had also travel'd Italy, and became a most sober, grave, and excellent prelate.

6. Supped at the Lord Chamberlaine's, where also supped the famous beauty and errant lady the Dutchesse of Mazarine (all the world knows her storie), the Duke of Monmouth, Countesse of Sussex both natural children of the King by the Dutchess of Cleaveland),<sup>1</sup> and the Countesse of Derby, a virtuous lady, daughter to my best friend the Earle of Ossorie.

10 Sept. Din'd with me Mr. Flamsted, the learned astrologer and mathematician, whom his Majesty had establish'd in the new Observatorie in Greenewich Park furnish'd with the choicest instruments. An honest, sincere man.

12. To London, to take order about the building of an house, or rather an apartment which had all the conveniences of an house, for

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Evelyn forgot himself here. The Duke of Monmouth's mother was, it is well known, Mrs. Lucy Walters, who was sometimes called Mrs. Barlow (mentioned before). Lady Anne Fitzroy, as she is called in the books of Peerage, was married to Lennard Dacre, Earl of Sussex, by whom she left a daughter only, who succeeded on her father's death to the Barony of Dacre. Mr. Evelyn probably meant to speak of either the Duke of Southampton, the Duke of Grafton, or the Duke of Northumberland, all of whom Charles the Second had by the Duchess of Cleaveland.

my deare friend Mr. Godolphin and lady, which I undertooke to contrive and survey, and employ workmen 'till it should be quite finished; it being just over against his Majesties wood yard by the Thames side, leading to Scotland yard.

19. To Lambeth, to that rare magazine of marble, to take order for chimney-pieces, &c. for Mr. Godolphin's house. The owner of the workes had built for-himselfe a pretty dwelling-house; this Dutchman had contracted with the Genoese for all their marble. We also saw the Duke of Buckingham's Glasse-work, where they made huge vases of mettall as cleare, ponderous and thick as chrystal; also looking-glasses far larger and better than any that come from Venice.

9 Oct. I went with Mrs. Godolphin and my wife to Black-wall, to see some Indian curiosities; the streetes being slippery I fell against a piece of timber with such violence that I could not speake nor fetch my breath for some space: being carried into an house and let blood, I was removed to the water side and so home, where after a daies rest I recovered. This being one of my greatest deliverances, the Lord Jesus make me ever mindfull and thankfull.

31. Being my birth-day, and 56 yeares old, I spent the morning in devotion and imploring God's protection, with solemn thanksgiving for all his signal mercies to me, especialy for that escape which concerned me this moneth at Black-wall. Dined with Mrs. Godolphin, and returned home through a prodigious and dangerous mist.

9 Nov. Finish'd the lease of Spalding for Mr. Godolphin.

16. My sonn and I dining at my Lord Chamberlaine's, he shew'd us amongst others that incomparable piece of Raphael's, being *a Minister of State dictating to Guicciardini*, the earnestness of whose face looking up in expectation of what he was next to write is so to the life, and so naturall, as I esteeme it one of the choicest pieces of that admirable artist. There was *a Woman's head* of Leonardo da Vinci; a *Madona* of old Palma, and two of Van-Dyke's, of which one was *his owne picture* at length, when young, in a leaning posture; the other *an Eunuch singing*. Rare pieces indeede.

4 Dec. I saw the greate ball daunced by all the gallants and ladyes at the Dutchesse of York's.

10 Dec. There fell so deep a snow as hinder'd us from church.

12. To London, in so great a snow as I remember not to have seene the like.

17. More snow falling, I was not able to get to church.

1677. 8 Feb. I went to Roehampton with my lady Dutchesse of Ormond. The garden and perspective is pretty, the prospect most agreeable.

15 May. Came the Earle of Peterborough to desire me to be a Trustee for Lord Visc. Mordaunt and the Countesse, for the sale of certaine lands set out by Act of Parliament to pay debts.

12. I went to London to give the Lo. Ambr. Berkeley (now return'd from the Treaty at Nimeguen) an account of the greate trust repos'd in me during his absence, I having receiv'd and remitted to him no lesse than 20,000*l.* to my no small trouble and losse of time, that during his absence and when the Lord Treasurer was no greate friend [of his] I yet procur'd him greate sums, very often soliciting his Majesty in his behalfe ; looking after the rest of his estate and concerns intirely, without once accepting any kind of acknowledgment, purely upon the request of my dear friend Mr. Godolphin. I return'd with abundance of thanks and professions from my Lord Berkeley and my Lady.

29. This business being now at an end and myself deliver'd from that intolerable servitude and correspondence, I had leisure to be somewhat more at home and to myselve.

3 July. I sealed the deedes of sale of the Mannor of Blechinglee to Sir Robt. Clayton, for payment of Lo. Peterborough's debts, according to the trust of the Act of Parliament.

16. I went to Wotton.—22. Mr. Evans, curate of Abinger, preach'd an excellent sermon on 5 Matthew 12. In the afternoone Mr. Higham at Wotton catechised.

26. I din'd at Mr. Duncomb's at Sheere, whose house stands environ'd with very sweete and quick streams.

29. Mr. Bohun, my sonn's late tutor, preached at Abinger on 4 Phil. 8. very elegantly and practically.

5 Aug. I went to visite my Lord Brounker, now taking the waters at Dulwich.

9. Din'd at the Earl of Peterborow's the day after the marriage of my Lord of Arundel to Lady Mary Mordaunt daughter to the Earl of Peterborough.

28. To visite my Lord Chamberlaine in Suffolk ; he sent his coach and 6 to meete and bring me from St. Edmonds Bury to Euston.

29. We hunted in the park and kill'd a very fat buck.—31. I went a hawking.

7 Sept. There din'd this day at my Lord's one Sir John Gaudy, a very handsome person, but quite dumb, yet very intelligent by signes, and a very fine painter ; he was so civil and well bred as it was not possible to discerne any imperfection by him. His lady and children were also there, and he was at church in the morning with us.

4. I went to visite my Lord Crofts, now dying at St. Edmonds Bury, and tooke this opportunity to see this ancient Towne, and the remaines of that famous Monasterie and Abby. There is little standing intire save the gate-house ; it has ben a vast and magnificent Gothic structure, and of greate extent. The gates are wood, but quite plated over with iron. There are also two stately churches, one especialy.

5. I went to Thetford, the Burrough Towne, where stand the ruines

of a religious house ; there is a round mountaine artificialy raised, either for some castle or monument, which makes a pretty landscape. As we went and return'd, a tumbler shew'd his extraordinary addresse in the Warren. I also saw the Decoy, much pleas'd with the stratagem.

9. A stranger preach'd at Euston church, and fell into a handsome panegyric on my Lord's new building the church, which indeede for its elegance and cherefullness is one of the prettiest country churches in England. My Lord told me his heart smote him that after he had bestow'd so much on his magnificent palace there, he should see God's House in the ruine it lay in. He has also rebuilt the parsonage-house, all of stone, very neate and ample.

10. To divert me, my Lord would needs carry me to see Ipswich, when we din'd with one Mr. Mann by the way, who was Recorder of the towne. There were in our company my Lord Huntingtoure sonn to the Dutchesse of Lauderdale, Sir Ed. Bacon a learned gentleman of the family of the greate Chancellor Verulam, and Sir John Felton, with some other Knights and Gentlemen. After dinner came the Bailiff and Magistrates in their formalities with their maces to compliment my Lord and invite him to the Towne-house, where they presented us a collation of dried sweet meates and wine, the bells ringing, &c. Then we went to see the towne, and first, the Lord Viscount Hereford's house, which stands in a park neere the towne, like that at Bruxelles in Flanders ; the house not greate yet pretty, especialy the hall. The stewes for fish succeed one another and feed one the other, all paved at bottome. There is a good picture of the *Bl. Virgin* in one of the parlours, seeming to be of Holbein or some good master. Then we saw the Haven, 7 miles from Harwich. The tide runs out every day, but the bedding being soft mudd it is safe for shipping and a station. The trade of Ipswich is for the most part Newcastle coales, with which they supply London, but it was formerly a cloathing towne. There is not any beggar asks alms in the whole place, a thing very extraordinary, so order'd by the prudence of the Magistrates. It has in it 14 or 15 beautiful churches : in a word 'tis for building, cleannesse, and good order, one of the best townes in England. Cardinal Wolsey was a butcher's sonn of this towne, but there is little of that magnificent Prelate's foundation here, besides a schole and I think a library, which I did not see. His intentions were to build some greate thing. We return'd late to Euston, having travell'd above 50 miles this day.

Since first I was at this place, I found things exceedingly improv'd. It is seated in a bottome between two gracefull swellings, the maine building being now in the figure of a Greek II with foure pavilions, two at each corner, and a breake in the front, rail'd and balustred at the top, where I caus'd huge jarrs to be plac'd full of earth to keepe them steady upon their pedestalls between the statues, which make as good a shew as if they were of stone, and tho' the building be of brick, and but

two stories besides cellars, and garretts cover'd with blue slate, yet there is roome enough for a full court, the offices and out-houses being so ample and well-dispos'd. The King's apartment is painted *à fresca*, and magnificently furnish'd. There are many excellent pictures of the greates masters. The gallery is a pleasant, noble roome: in the breake, or middle, is a billiard-table, but the wainscot being of firr, and painted, does not please me so well as Spanish oake without paint. The chapel is pretty, the porch descending to the gardens. The orange garden is very fine, and leads into the green-house, at the end of which is a hall to eate in, and the conservatory some hundred feete long, adorn'd with mapps, as the other side is with the heads of Cæsars ill cut in alabaster: over head are several apartments for my Lord, Lady, and Dutchesse,<sup>1</sup> with kitchens and other offices below in a lesser form, with lodgings for servants, all distinct, for them to retire to when they please and would be in private and have no communication with the palace, which he tells me he will wholly resign to his sonn-in-law and daughter, that charming young creature. The canall running under my lady's dressing-room chamber window is full of carps and foule which come and are fed there. The cascade at the end of the canall turnes a corne-mill, which provides the family, and raises water for the fountaines and offices. To passe this canal into the opposite meadows, Sir Sam. Moreland has invented a screw-bridge, which being turn'd with a key lands you 50 foote distant at the entrance of an ascending walke of trees, a mile in length, as tis also on the front into the park, of 4 rows of ash-trees, and reaches to the park-pale, which is 9 miles in compass, and the best for riding and meeting the game that I ever saw. There were now of red and fallow deere almost a thousand, with good covert, but the soile barren and flying sand, in which nothing will grow kindly. The tufts of firr and much of the other wood were planted by my direction some yeares before. This seate is admirably plac'd for field sports, hawking, hunting, or racing. The mutton is small, but sweete. The stables hold 30 horses and 4 coaches. The out-offices make two large quadrangles, so as servants never liv'd with more ease and convenience, never master more civil. Strangers are attended and accommodated as at their home, in pretty apartments furnish'd with all manner of conveniences and privacy. There is a library full of excellent books. There are bathing-rooms, elaboratorie, dispensatorie, a decoy, and places to keepe and fat fowl in. He had now in his new church (neere the garden) built a dormitory or vault with several repositories in which to burie his family. In the expence of this pious structure, the church is most laudable, most of the Houses of God in this country resembling rather stables and thatch'd cottages than temples in which to serve the Most High. He has built a lodge in the park for the keeper, which is a neate dwelling and might become any gentleman.

<sup>1</sup> His daughter, wife of the Duke of Grafton.

The same has he don for the parson, little deserving it, for murmuring that my Lord put him some time out of his wretched hovel, whilst it was building. He has also erected a faire inn at some distance from his palace, with a bridge of stone over a river neere it, and repaired all the tenants houses, so as there is nothing but neatnesse and accommodations about his estate, which I yet think is not above £.1500 a yeare. I believe he had now in his family 100 domestic servants. His lady (being one of the Bredrodes daughters, grandchild to a natural sonn of Henry Frederick Prince of Orange) is a good-natur'd and obliging woman. They love fine things and to live easily, pompously, and hospitably, but with so vast expence as plunges my Lord into debt exceedingly. My Lord himselfe is given to no expensive vice but building, and to have all things rich, polite, and princely. He never plays, but reades much, having the Latin, French, and Spanish tongues in perfection. He has travell'd much, and is the best bred and courtly person his Majesty has about him, so as the publiq Ministers more frequent him than any of the rest of the Nobility. Whilst he was Secretary of State and Prime Minister he had gotten vastly, but spent it as hastily, even before he had establish'd a fund to maintaine his greatnesse ; and now beginning to decline in favour (the Duke being no great friend of his) he knows not how to retrench. He was sonn of a Doctor of Laws whom I have seene, and being sent from Westminster Schole to Oxford with intention to be a Divine, and parson of Harlington,<sup>1</sup> a village neere Brainford, when Master of Arts, the Rebellion falling out, he follow'd the King's Army, and receiving an honourable *wound in the face*,<sup>2</sup> grew into favour, and was advanc'd from a meane fortune, at his Majestys restauration, to be an Earle and Knight of the Garter, Lord Chamberlaine of the Household, and first favourite for a long time, during which the King married his natural sonn, the Duke of Grafton, to his onely daughter and heiress, as before mentioned, worthy for her beauty and virtue of the greatest Prince in Christendom. My Lord is, besides this, a prudent and understanding person in businesse and speakes well. Unfortunate yet in those he has advanc'd, most of them proving ungratefull. The many obligations and civilities I have receiv'd from this noble gentleman extracts from me this character, and I am sorry he is in no better circumstances.

Having now pass'd neere three weeks at Euston to my greate satisfaction, with much difficulty he suffer'd me to looke homeward, being very earnest with me to stay longer, and to engage me, would himselfe have carried and accompanied me to Lynn Regis, a towne of important traffiq, about 20 miles beyond, which I had never seene, as also the Travelling Sands about 10 miles wide of Euston, that have so damag'd

<sup>1</sup> See in Lord Clarendon's Continuation of his Life, &c. a curious circumstance relating to Sir Henry Bennett's taking his title, when first created a Baron, from this place.

<sup>2</sup> A deep cut across his nose, he was always obliged to wear a black patch upon it, and is so represented in his portraits.

the country, rouling from place to place, and like the Sands in the Deserts of Lybia, quite overwhelm'd some gentlemen's whole estates, as the relation extant in print and brought to the Royal Society describes at large.

13 Sept. My Lord's coach convey'd me to Bury, and thence baiting at Newmarket, stepping in at Audley End to see that house againe, I slept at Bishops Stortford, and the next day home. I was accompanied in my journey by Major Fairfax, of a younger house of the Lord Fairfax, a souldier, a traveller, an excellent musitian, a good-natur'd well-bred gentleman.

18. I preferred Mr. Philips (nephew of Milton) to the service of my Lord Chamberlaine, who wanted a scholar to reade to & entertaine him sometimes.

12 Oct. With Sir Robert Clayton to Marden, an estate he had bought lately of my kinsman Sir John Evelyn of Godstone in Surrey, which from a despicable farne house Sir Robert had erected into a seate with extraordinary expence. 'Tis in such a solitude among hills, as being not above 16 miles from London, seems almost incredible, the ways up to it so winding and intricate. The gardens are large, and well wall'd, and the husbandry part made very convenient and perfectly understood. The barnes, the stacks of come, the stalls for cattle, pigeon-house, &c. of most laudible example. Innumerable are the plantations of trees, especialy wallnuts. The orangerie and gardens are very curious. In the house are large and noble roomes. He and his lady (who is very curious in distillery) entertain'd me three or foure days very freely. I earnestly suggested to him the repairing of an old desolate dilapidated Church, standing on the hill above the house,<sup>1</sup> which I left him in good disposition to do, and endow it better; there not being above foure or five houses in the parish besides that of this prodigious rich Scrivener<sup>2</sup>. This place is exceeding sharp in the winter by reason of the serpenting of the hills; and it wants running water; but the solitude much pleas'd me. All the ground is so full of wild

<sup>1</sup> Woldingham. The Church consists of one room about 30 feet long and 21 wide, without any tower, spire, or bell. It is considered as a Donative, not subject to the Bishop, service performed once a month. No Churchwarden; two farm-houses, four cottages. By the Population Return in 1811, the number of inhabitants was 5<sup>2</sup>. That disposition which was thought to have appeared subsided; the Church remains as it then was.

<sup>2</sup> In London there was formerly a Company called Scriveners, now extinct. The last member of it, named Ellis, died at the age of more than 90. Dr. Johnson speaks well of him in the present reign. The business comprehended that of a Banker, and what is now called a Conveyancer; they had money deposited with them for the purpose of making purchases, or lending on mortgage, they preparing the Conveyances. In the time of K. Charles I. during the troubles and the *interregnum*, a gentleman of the name of Abbot in the City had a very great share of this business. Sir Robert Clayton and a Mr. Morris were his clerks at the same time, and jointly succeeded to his business, in which they had acquired a great estate. Mr. Morris died first, and having no children, left his property to his friend Sir Robert. The Editor lately saw a deed attested by Mr. Abbot as Scrivener, and by Mr. Morris and Mr. Clayton as his *servants*.

thyme, marjoram, and other sweete plants, that it cannot be overstock'd with bees ; I think he had neere 40 hives of that industrious insect.

14. I went to Church at Godstone, and to see old Sir John Evelyn's *dormitory*, joining to the church, pav'd with marble, where he and his lady lie on a very stately monument at length ; he in armour, of white marble.<sup>1</sup> The inscription is onely an account of his particular branch of the family on black marble.

15. Returned to London ; in the evening, I saw the Prince of Orange, and supped with Lord Ossory.

23. Saw againe the Prince of Orange : his marriage with the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to the Duke of York, by Mrs. Hyde, the late Dutchesse, was now declared.

11 Nov. I was all this week composing matters betweene old Mrs. Howard and Sir Gabriel Sylvius, upon his long and earnest addresses to Mrs. Ann her second daughter, mayd of honor to the Queene. My friend Mrs. Godolphin (who exceedingly lov'd the young lady) was most industrious in it, out of pittie to the languishing knight ; so as tho' there were greate differences in their yeares, it was at last effected, and they were married the 13th in Hen. 7th's Chapell by the Bishop of Rochester<sup>2</sup>, there being besides my wife and Mrs. Graham, her sister, Mrs. Godolphin, and very few more. We din'd at the old lady's, and supp'd at Mr. Graham's at St. James's.

15. The Queene's birth-day, a greate Ball at Court, where the Prince of Orange and his new Princesse daunced.

19. They went away, and I saw embarqu'd my Lady Sylvius, who went into Holland with her husband, made Hoffmaester to the Prince, a considerable employment. We parted with greate sorrow, for the greate respect and honour I bore her, a most pious and virtuous lady.

27. Din'd at the Lord Treasurer's with Prince Rupert, Viscount Falkenberg, Earle of Bathe, Lord O'Brien, Sir John Lowther, Sir Christ. Wren, Dr. Grew, and other learned men.

30. Sir Joseph Williamson, Principal Secretary of State, was chosen President of the Royal Society after my Lord Viscount Brounker had possess'd the chaire now sixteen yeares successively, and therefore now thought fit to *change*, that prescription might not prejudice.

4 Dec. Being the first day of his taking the chaire, he gave us a magnificent supper.

20. Carried to my Lord Treasurer an account of the Earl of Bristol's Librarie at Wimbleton, which my Lord thought of purchasing, till I acquainted him that it was a very broken collection, consisting much in books of judicial astrologie, romances, and trifles.

25. I gave my sonn an office, with instructions how to govern his youth ; I pray God give him the grace to make a right use of it.

<sup>1</sup> It is a very fine monument, in perfect preservation.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. John Dolben, also Dean of Westminster, translated afterwards to York.

1678. 23 Jan. Din'd with the Duke of Norfolk, being the first time I had seene him since the death of his elder brother, who died at Padoa in Italy, where he had resided above 30 yeares. The Duke had now newly declar'd his mariage to his concubine, whom he promis'd me he never would marry.<sup>1</sup> I went with him to see the Duke of Buckingham, thence to my Lord Sunderland, now Secretary of State, to shew him that rare piece of Vosterman's (son of old Vosterman) which was a view or landscape of my Lord's palace, &c. at Althorp in Northamptonshire.

8 Feb. Supping at my Lord Chamberlaine's, I had a long discourse with the Conte de Castel Mellor, lately Prime Minister in Portugal, who taking part with his master King Alphonso was banish'd by his brother Don Pedro, now Regent, but had behaved himselfe so uncorruptly in all his ministrie, that tho' he was acquitted and his estate restored, yet would they not suffer him to returne. He is a very intelligent and worthy gentleman.

18. My Lord Treasurer sent for me to accompany him to Wimbledon, which he had lately purchased of the Earle of Bristol : so breaking fast with him privately in his chamber, I accompanied him with two of his daughters, my Lord Conway and Sir Bernard Gascoyne, and having surveyed his gardens and alterations, returned late at night.

22. Dr. Pierce preach'd at White-hall on 2 Thessal. 3. 6. against our late Schismatics, in a rational discourse, but a little over-sharp and not at all proper for the auditory there.

22 Mar. Dr. South preached *coram Rege* an incomparable discourse on this text, 'A wounded spirit who can beare !' Note : Now was our communion table plac'd altar-wise ; the church steeple, clock, and other reparations finish'd.

16 April. I shew'd Dom. Emanuel de Lyra (Portugal Ambassador) and the Count de Castel Mellor the Repository of the R. Society and the Colledge of Physitians.

18. I went to see New Bedlam Hospital, magnificently built,<sup>2</sup> and most sweetely placed in More-fields, since the dreadful fire in London.

28 June. I went to Windsor with my Lord Chamberlaine (the Castle now repairing with exceeding cost) to see the rare worke of Verrio, an incomparable carving of Gibbons.

29. Return'd with my Lord by Hounslow Heath, where we saw the new-rais'd army encamp'd, design'd against France, in pretence at

<sup>1</sup> It appears by the Books of Peerage that his Grace married to his second wife Mrs. Jane Bickerton, daughter of a Scotch gentleman, Robert Bickerton, Esq. who was Gentleman of the Wine Cellar to King Charles II. There are engraved portraits both of this Duke and of his Duchess.

<sup>2</sup> Taken down, being greatly decayed, in 1814, and a new one erected on the Surrey side of the Thames, in the road leading from St. George's Fields to Lambeth. On pulling it down, the foundations were found to be very bad, as it had been built on part of the Towne-ditch and on a soil very unfit for the erection of so large a building. Patients were removed to the new building in August 1815.

least, but which gave umbrage to the Parliament. His Majesty and a world of company were in the field, and the whole armie in battalia, a very glorious sight. Now were brought into service a new sort of Soldiers call'd *Granadiers*, who were dextrous in flinging hand granados, every one having a pouch full; they had furr'd caps with coped crownes like Janizaries, which made them looke very fierce, and some had long hoods hanging down behind, as we picture fools. Their clothing being likewise pybald yellow and red.

8 July. Came to dine with me my Lord Longford, Treasurer of Ireland, nephew to that learned gentleman my Lord Aungier, with whom I was long since acquainted: also the Lady Siddulph and other company.

19. The Earle of Ossory came to take his leave of me, going into Holland to command the English forces.

20. I went to the Tower to try a mettall at the Assay-masters, which onely prov'd Sulphur; then saw Monsieur Rotiere, that excellent graver belonging to the Mint, who emulates even the ancients, in both mettall and stone; he was now moulding an horse for the King's statue, to be cast in silver, of a yard high. I din'd with Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint.

23. Went to see Mr. Elias Ashmole's library and curiosities at Lambeth. He has divers MSS. but most of them astrological, to which study he is addicted, tho' I believe not learned, but very industrious, as his History of the Order of the Garter proves. He shew'd me a toade included in amber. The prospect from a turret is very fine, it being so neere London, and yet not discovering any house about the country. The famous John Tradescant bequeathed his Repository to this gentleman, who has given them to the University of Oxford, and erected a lecture on them, over the Laboratorie, in imitation of the R. Society.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Godolphin was made Master of the Robes to the King.

25. There was sent me £.70, from whom I knew not, to be by me distributed among poore people; I afterwards found it was from that deere friend (Mrs. Godolphin) who had frequently given me large sums to bestow on charities.

16 Aug. I went to Lady Mordaunt, who put £.100 into my hands to dispose of for pious uses, relief of prisoners, poore, &c. Many a sum had she sent me on similar occasions; a blessed creature she was, and one that loved and feared God exemplarily.

23. Upon Sir Robert Reading's importunity I went to visite the

<sup>1</sup> The donation took place in 1677, and a suitable building was erected by Sir Christ. Wren, bearing the name of the 'Ashmolean Museum.' This was the first public institution for the reception of rarities in Art or Nature established in England; and in the infancy of the study of Natural History in this country, possessed what was then considered as a valuable and superior collection. There are good portraits of Ashmole, and of the Tradescant family by Dobson, in the Museum, from which engravings have been very inaccurately taken.

Duke of Norfolk at his new palace at Weybridge,<sup>1</sup> where he has laid out in building neere £.10,000, on a copyhold, and in a miserable, barren, sandy place by the street side ; never in my life had I seene such expense to so small purpose. The roomes are wainscotted, and some of them parquetted with cedar, yew, cypresse, &c. There are some good pictures, especialy that incomparable painting of Holbein's, where the Duke of Norfolk, Charles Brandon, and Henry VIII. are dauncing with the three ladies, with most amourous countenances and sprightly motion exquisitely expressed. 'Tis a thousand pities (as I told my Lord of Arundel his son) that that jewel should be given away.

24. I went to see my Lord of St. Alban's house at Byflete, an old large building. Thence to the paper mills, where I found them making a coarse white paper. They cull the raggs, which are linnen, for white paper, woollen for brown ; then they stamp them in troughs to a papp with pestles or hammers like the powder-mills, then put it into a vessell of water, in which they dip a frame closely wyred with wyre as small as a haire and as close as a weaver's reede ; on this they take up the papp, the superfluous water draining thro' the wyre ; this they dextrously turning, shake out like a pancake on a smooth board between 2 pieces of flannell, then presse it between a greate presse, the flannell sucking out the moisture ; then taking it out, they ply and dry it on strings, as they dry linnen in the laundry ; then dip it in alum-water, lastly polish and make it up in quires. They put some gum in the water in which they macerate the raggs. The mark we find on the sheets is formed in the wyre.

25. After evening prayer visited Mr. Sheldon (nephew to the late Abp. of Canterbury) and his pretty melancholy garden ; I tooke notice of the largest *arbor thuyris* I had ever seene. The place is finely water'd, and there are many curiosities of India, shewn in the house.

There was at Weybridge the Dutchesse of Norfolk, Lord Tho. Howard (a worthy and virtuous gentleman, with whom my sonn was some time bred up in Arundel House) who was newly come from Rome, where he had been some time ; also one of the Duke's daughters by his first lady. My Lord leading me about the house made no scruple of shewing me all the hiding-places for the Popish priests, and where they said masse, for he was no bigotted Papist. He told me he never trusted them with any seacret, and us'd Protestants only in all businesses of importance.

I went this evening with my Lord Duke to Windsor, where was a magnificent Court, it being the first time of his Majesty removing thither since it was repair'd.

<sup>1</sup> This house was the property of Mrs. Bickerton, whom the Duke married. After his death she married Mr. Maxwell, and they together with Lord George Howard (her eldest son by the Duke) sold it to the Countess of Morchester (mistress to James II.) Her daughter married David Colyer Earl of Portmore, whose descendant is the present owner, but the house is uninhabited, and in a most ruinous state (1816).

27 Aug. I tooke leave of the Duke, and din'd at Mr. Hen. Brouncker's, at the Abby of Sheene, formerly a monastery of Carthusians, there yet remaining one of their solitary cells with a crosse. Within this ample inclosure are several pretty villas and fine gardens of the most excellent fruites, especialy Sir William Temple's (lately Ambassador into Holland), and the Lord Lisle's, sonn to the Earle of Leicester, who has divers rare pictures, and above all, that of Sir Brian Tuke's by Holbein.

After dinner I walk'd to Ham, to see the house and garden of the Duke of Lauderdale, which is indeede inferior to few of the best villas in Italy itselfe; the house furnish'd like a greate Prince's; the parterres, flower gardens, orangeries, groves, avenues, courts, statues, perspectives, fountaines, aviaries, and all this at the banks of the sweetest river in the world, must needes be admirable.

Hence I went to my worthy friend Sir Henry Capel [at Kew] brother to the Earle of Essex: it is an old timber house, but his garden has the choicest fruit of any plantation in England, as he is the most industrious and understanding in it.

29. I was call'd to London to wait upon the D. of Norfolk, who having at my sole request bestow'd the Arundelian Library on the Royal Society, sent to me to take charge of the bookes and remove them, onely stipulating that I would suffer the Heraulds cheif officer, Sir William Dugdale, to have such of them as concern'd Herauldry and the Marshall's office, bookes of Armorie and Genealogies, the Duke being Earl Marshall of England. I procur'd for our Society, besides printed bookes, neere 100 MSS., some in Greeke of greate concernment. The printed bookes being of the oldest impressions are not the lesse valuable; I esteem them almost equal to MSS. Amongst them are most of the Fathers printed at Basil before the Jesuits abus'd them with their expurgatory Indexes; there is a noble MS. of Vitruvius. Many of these bookes had ben presented by Popes, Cardinals, and greate persons, to the Earls of Arundel and Dukes of Norfolk; and the late magnificent Earle of Arundel bought a noble library in Germanie, which is in this collection. I should not, for the honour I beare the family, have persuaded the Duke to part with these, had I not seene how negligent he was of them, suffering the priests and every body to carry away and dispose of what they pleas'd, so that abundance of rare things are irrecoverably gone.

Having taken order here, I went to the Royal Society to give them an account of what I had procur'd, that they might call a Council and appoint a day to waite on the Duke to thank him for this munificent gift.

3 Sept. I went to London to dine with Mrs. Godolphin [formerly Mrs. Blagg, who had ben maid of honour to the Queene], and found her in labour; she was brought to bed of a sonn, who was baptiz'd in the chamber, by the name of Francis, the susceptors being Sir William

Godolphin (head of the family), Mr. John Hervey, Treassurer to the Queene, and Mrs. Boscawen, sister to Sir William and the father.

8. Whilst I was at church came a letter from Mr. Godolphin that my deare friend his lady was exceedingly ill, and desiring my prayers and assistance. My wife and I tooke boate immediately and went to White-hall, where, to my inexpressible sorrow, I found she had ben attacq'd with the new fever, then reigning this excessive hot autumn, and which was so violent that it was not thought she could last many hours.

9. She died in the 26th yeare of her age, to the inexpressible affliction of her deare husband and all her relations, but of none in the world more than of mysele, who lost the most excellent and inestimable friend that ever liv'd. Never was a more virtuous and inviolable friendship; never a more religious, discreet and admirable creature, beloved of all, admired of all, for all possible perfections of her sex. She is gon to receive the reward of her signal charity, and all other her Christian graces, too blessed a creature to converse with mortals, fitted as she was by a most holy life to be received into the mansions above. She was for witt, beauty, good-nature, fidelity, discretion, and all accomplishments, the most incomparable person. How shall I ever repay the obligations to her for the infinite good offices she did my soule by so oft ingaging me to make religion the termes and tie of the friendship there was between us! She was the best wife, the best mistress, the best friend that ever husband had. But it is not here that I pretend to give her character, *having design'd to consecrate an account of her worthy life to posterity.*

Her husband, struck with unspeakable affliction, fell down as dead. The King himselfe and all the Court expressed their sorrow. To the poore and miserable her losse was irreparable, for there was no degree but had some obligation to her memorie. So carefull and provident was she to be prepared for all possible accidents, that (as if she foresaw her end) she received the heavenly viaticum but the Sunday before, after a most solemn recollection. She put all her domestic concerns into the exactest order, and left a letter directed to her husband, to be opened in case she dïed in child-bed, in which with the most pathetic and endearing expressions of a most loyal and virtuous wife, she begs his kindnesse to her memorie might be continu'd by his care and esteeme of those she left behind, even to her domestic servants, to the meanest of which she left considerable legacies, as well as to the poore. It was now seven yeares since she was maid of honor to the Queene, that she regarded me as a father, a brother, and what is more, a friend. We often prayed, visited the sick and miserable, received, read, discoursed, and communicated in holy offices together. She was most deare to my wife and affectionate to my children. But she is gon! This onely is my comfort that she is happy in Christ and I shall shortly behold her

again! She desir'd to be buried in the dormitorie of his family, neere 300 miles from all her other friends. So afflicted was her husband at this severe losse, that the intire care of her funerall was committed to me. Having closed the eyes and dropped a teare upon the cheeke of my deare departed friend, lovely even in death, I caused her corps to be embalmed and wrapped in lead, with a plate of brasse soldered thereon, with an inscription, and other circumstances due to her worth, with as much diligence and care as my greived heart would permit me ; I then retired home for two daies, which were spent in solitude and sad reflections.

17. She was accordingly carried to Godolphin in Cornwall, in a hearse with six horses, attended by two coaches of as many, with about 30 of her relations and servants. There accompanied the hearse her husband's brother Sir William, two more of his brothers, and three sisters ; her husband was so overcome with grief, that he was wholly unfit to travel so long a journey till he was more composed. I went as far as Hounslow with a sad heart, but was obliged to return upon some indispensable affaires. The corpse was ordered to be taken out of the hearse every night, and decently placed in the house, with tapers about it, and her servants attending, to Cornwall ; and then was honorably interr'd in the parish church of Godolphin. This funeral cost not much less than £1,000.

With Mr. Godolphin I looked over and sorted his lady's papers, most of which consisted of Prayers, Meditations, Sermon-notes, Discourses, and Collections on severall religious subjects, and many of her owne happy composing, and so pertinently digested, as if she had ben all her life a student in divinity. We found a diary of her solemn resolutions, all tending to practical virtue, with letters from select friends, all put into exact method. It astonish'd us to see what she had read and written, her youth considered.

1 Oct. The Parliament and the whole Nation were alarm'd about a conspiracy of some eminent Papists for the destruction of the King and introduction of Popery, discover'd by one Oates and Dr. Tongue,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the subsequent part of these memoirs it will appear that Mr. Godolphin (afterwards Lord Godolphin) continued the steady friend of Mr. Evelyn, whose grandson married into the family. The infant now mentioned as born, carried on the friendship to the family through a long life.

<sup>2</sup> Ezrael Tong, bred in University College, Oxford, being puritanically inclined, quitted the University, but in 1648 returned, and was made a Fellow. He had the living of Pluckley in Kent, but quitted it, being vexed by his parishioners and Quakers. In 1657 he was made Fellow of the new erected College at Durham, and that being dissolved in 1660, he taught school at Islington. He then went with Col. Edward Harley to Dunkirk, but that being given up, he took a small living in Herefordshire (Lentwardine) ; but soon quitted it for St. Mary Stayning in London, which, after the fire in 1666, was united to St. Michael, Wood Street, and he held them to his death, in 1680. He was a great opponent of the Papists. Wood mentions several publications of his, amongst which are, 'The Jesuits unmasked,' 1678 ; 'Jesuitical Aphorisms,' 1678 ; 'The Jesuits' Morals,' 1680 (1679) ; the two last translated from the French. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. II. p. 502.

*which last I knew, being the translator of the 'Jesuites' Morals;'* I went to see and converse with him at White-hall, with Mr. Oates, one that was lately an apostate to the Church of Rome, and now return'd againe with this discovery. He seem'd to be a bold man, and in my thoughts furiously indiscreete; but every body believ'd what he said; and it quite chang'd the genius and motions of the Parliament, growing now corrupt and interested with long sitting and court practices: but with all this Poperie would not go downe. This discoverie turn'd them all as one man against it, and nothing was don but to find out the depth of this. Oates was encourag'd, and every thing he affirm'd taken for gospel;—the truth is, the Roman Catholics were exceeding bold and busy every where, since the Duke forbore to go any longer to the Chapell.

16 Oct. Mr. Godolphin requested me to continue the trust his wife had reposed in me in behalfe of his little sonn, conjuring me to transfer the friendship I had for his deare wife, on him and his.

21 Oct. The murder of Sir Edmonbury Godfrey, found strangl'd about this time, as was manifest by the Papists, he being a Justice of the Peace, and one who knew much of their practices, as conversant with Colman (a servant of the . . . now accus'd), put the whole nation into a new ferment against them.

31. Being my 58th of my age, required my humble addresses to Almighty God, and that he would take off his heavy hand, still on my family, and restore comforts to us after the losse of my excellent friend.

5 Nov. Dr. Tillotson preach'd before the Commons at St. Margaret's. He said the Papists were now arriv'd at that impudence as to deny that there ever was any such thing as the gunpowder conspiracy; but he affirm'd that he himself had severall letters written by Sir Everard Digby (one of the traytors), in which he gloried that he was to suffer for it; and that it was so contriv'd, that of the Papists not above two or three should have ben blown up, and they, such as were not worth saving.

15. The Queene's birth-day. I never saw the Court more brave, nor the nation in more apprehension and consternation. Coleman and one Staly had now ben tried, condemn'd, and executed. On this Oates grew so presumptuous, as to accuse the Queene of intending to poison the King, which certainly that pious and vertuous lady abhorr'd

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Mr. Evelyn speaks of Dr. Tong's having translated the last of these by his desire.

Oates said that Thomas Whitbread, a priest, on 13 June, 16 . . . did tell the Rector of St. Omer's, that a Minister of the Church of England had scandalously put out the 'Jesuits' Morals' in English, and had endeavoured to render them odious, and had asked the Rector whether he thought Oates might know him? and the Rector called the deponent, who heard these words as he stood at the chamber door, and when he went into the chamber of the Provincial, he asked him 'If he knew the author of the Jesuits' Morals?' deponent answered, 'His person, but not his name.' Whitbread then demanded, whether he would undertake to poison or assassinate the author; which deponent undertook, having £50. reward promised him, and appointed to return to England.—From a publication of Oates.

the thoughts of, and Oates his circumstances made it utterly unlikely, in my opinion. He probably thought to gratifie some who would have ben glad his Majesty should have married a fruitfull lady ; but the King was too kind a husband to let any of these make impression on him. However divers of the Popish Peeres were sent to the Towre, accus'd by Oates, and all the Roman Catholic Lords were by a new act for ever excluded the Parliament, which was a mighty blow. The King's, Queen's, and Duke's servants, were banish'd, and a test to be taken by every body who pretended to enjoy any office of publiq trust, and who would not be suspected of Popery. I went with Sir William Godolphin, a member of the Commons House, to the Bishop of Ely (Dr. Pet. Gunning), to be resolv'd whether masses were idolatry, as the test express'd it, which was so worded that several good Protestants scrupl'd, and Sir William, tho' a learned man and excellent divine himselfe, had some doubts about it. The Bishop's opinion was, that he might take it, tho' he wish'd it had ben otherwise worded in the test.

1679. 15 Jan. I went with my Lady Sunderland to Chelsey, and din'd with the Countesse of Bristol [her mother] in the greate house, formerly the Duke of Buckingham's, a spacious and excellent place for the extent of ground and situation in a good aire. The house is large, but ill contriv'd, tho' my Lord of Bristol, who purchas'd it after he sold Wimbledon to my Lord Treasurer, expended much mony on it. There were divers pictures of Titian and Vandyke, and some of Bassano, very excellent, especialy an *Adonis and Venus*, a *Duke of Venice*, a *Butcher in his shambles selling meate to a Swisse*; and of Van-Dyke, my *Lord of Bristol's* picture, with the *Earl of Bedford's* at length, in the same table. There was in the garden a rare collection of orange-trees, of which she was pleas'd to bestow some upon me.

16. I supp'd this night with Mr. Secretary at one Mr. Houblon's, a French merchant, who had his house furnish'd *en Prince*, and gave us a splendid entertainment.

25. The Long Parliament, which had sat ever since the Restauration, was dissolv'd by persuasion of the Lord Treassurer, tho' divers of them were believ'd to be his pensioners. At this all the politicians were at a stand, they being very eager in pursuite of the late Plot of the Papists.

30. Dr. Cudworth preached before the King at White-hall, on 2 Timothy 3. 5. reckoning up the perils of the last times, in which, amongst other wickednesse, Treasons should be one of the greatest, applying it to the occasion, as committed under a forme of reformation and godlinesse; concluding that the prophesy did intend more particularly the present age, as one of the last times; the sinns there enumerated, more abundantly reigning than ever.

2 Feb. Dr. Durell, Dean of Windsor, preach'd to the Household at White-hall, on 1 Cor. 16. 22; he read the whole sermon out of his

notes, which I had never before seene a Frenchman do, he being of Jersey, and bred at Paris.

4 Dr. Pierce, Deane of Salisbury, preached on 1 John 4. 1, 'Try the Spirits, there being so many delusorie ones-gone forth of late into the world:' he inveied against the pernicious doctrines of Mr. Hobbes.

Mr. brother Evelyn was now chosen Knight for the County of Surrey, carrying it against my Lord Longford and Sir Adam Brown of Betchworth Castle. The country coming in to give him their suffrages were so many, that I believe they eate and dranke him out neere £2,000, by a most abominable costome.

1 April. My friend Mr. Godolphin was now made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and of the Privy Council.

4 The Bp. of Gloucester preach'd, in a manner very like Bishop Andrews, full of divisions, and scholastical, and that with much quicknesse. The holy Communion followed.

20. Easter Day. Our Vicar preached exceeding well on 1 Cor. 5 and 7. The holy Communion followed, at which I and my daughter Mary (now about 14 yeares old) received for the first time. The Lord Jesus continue his grace unto her, and improve this blessed beginning.

24 The Duke of York, voted against by the Commons for his recusancy, went over to Flanders, which made much discourse.

4 June. I din'd with Mr. Pepys in the Tower, he having ben committed by the House of Commons for misdemeanors in the Admiralty when he was Secretary; I believe he was unjustly charged<sup>1</sup>. Here I saluted my Lords Stafford and Petre, who were committed for the Popish Plot.

7. I saw the magnificent cavalcade and entry of the Portugal Ambassador.

17. I was godfather to a sonn of Sir Christopher Wren, Surveyor of his Majestys buildings, that most excellent and learned person, with Sir William Fermor and my Lady Viscountesse Newport, wife of the Treasurer of the Household.

Thence to Chelsey, to Sir Stephen Fox, and my lady, in order to his purchase of the Countesse of Bristol's house there, which she desir'd me to procure a chapman for.

19. I din'd at Sir Robert Clayton's with Sir Robert Viner, the greate banquer.

22. There were now divers Jesuites executed about the Plot, and a rebellion in Scotland of the Phanatics, so that there was a sad prospect of public affairs.

25. The new Commissioners of the Admiralty came to visite me,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pepys was concerned in a contested election in 1684, and his opponent accused him of being a Papist, which the House of Commons inquired into, but without finding any proof. By Grey's Debates it appears that he was accused of having sent information to the French court of the state of the English Navy. Most incredible!

*viz.* Sir Henry Capel, brother to the Earle of Essex, Mr. Finch, eldest son to the Lord Chancellor, Sir Humph. Winch, Sir Thomas Meeres, Mr. Hales, with some of the Commissioners of the Navy. I went with them to London.

1 July. I dined at Sir W. Godolphin's, and with that learned gentleman went to take the aire in Hyde Park, where was a glorious cortege.

3 July. Sending a piece of venison to Mr. Pepys, still a prisoner, I went and din'd with him.

6. Now were there papers, speeches, and libels, publicly cried in the streetes against the Dukes of York and Lauderdale, &c. obnoxious to the Parliament, with too much and indeede too shameful a liberty; but the people and Parliament had gotten head by reason of the vices of the greate ones.

There was now brought up to London a child, son of one Mr. Wotton<sup>1</sup>, formerly amanuensis to Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winton, who both read and perfectly understood Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac, and most of the modern languages; disputed in Divinity, Law, and all the Sciences; was skilful in History both Ecclesiastical and Profane; in Politics; in a word, so universally and solidly learned at 11 yeares of age, that he was looked on as a miracle. Dr. Lloyd, one of the most deepe learned divines of this nation in all sorts of literature, with Dr. Burnet, who had severely examin'd him, came away

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Henry Wotton, Minister of Wrentham, in Suffolk. This son was afterwards the celebrated Wm. Wotton, the friend and defender of Dr. Bentley, and the antagonist of Sir William Temple in the great Controversy about Antient and Modern Learning. His early and extraordinary proficiency in letters and general knowledge of every kind, was commemorated by his father in a pamphlet 'On the Education of Children,' addressed to King Charles II. and reprinted in 1753, with the attestations of several learned men who had examined him, to the truth of his uncommon abilities and wonderful acquisitions in the different languages, both antient and modern: yet it is remarkable those eminent qualifications did not advance him in the line of his profession beyond a Fellowship at Cambridge and a country parsonage, *viz.* Milton, in Buckinghamshire, which was given him by the Earl of Nottingham, to whom he had been Chaplain. Sir Philip Skippon, who lived at Wrentham, in Suffolk, in a letter to Mr. John Ray, Sep. 18, 1671, writes: 'I shall somewhat surprize you with what I have seen in a little boy, William Wotton, 5 years old last month, son of Mr. Wotton, minister of this parish, who hath instructed his child within the last 3 quarters of a year in the reading the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, which he can read almost as well as English, and that tongue he could read at four years and three months old, as well as most lads of twice his age.' Sir Philip left a draught of a longer letter to Mr. Ray, in which he adds, 'He is not yet able to parse any language, but what he performs in turning the 3 learned tongues into English, is done by strength of memory, so that he is ready to mistake when some words of different signification have near the same sound. His father hath taught him by no rules, but only uses his memory in remembering words.'—He was admitted of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, April, 1676, some months before he was 10 years old. He took the degree of B. A. when only 12 years and 5 months old. Dr. Burnet, Bp. of Sarum, recommended him to Dr. Lloyd, Bp. of St. Asaph, who took him as an assistant in making a Catalogue of his books, and carried him to St. Asaph, and gave him the sinecure of Llandrillo in Denbighshire. He suffered from the satirical pen of Swift; but this is no wonder, as he had spoken of the Tale of a Tub as a profane piece of ribaldry. He compiled Memoirs of the Cathedral Churches of St. David and St. Asaph, which Browne Willis published. When very young, he remembered almost the whole of any discourse he had heard, and repeated to Bp. Lloyd one of his own sermons. He died in 1726, aged 61, and was buried at Buxted in Sussex.

astonish'd, and told me they did not believe there had the like appeared in the world. He had onely ben instructed by his father, who being himselfe a learned person, confess'd that his sonn knew all that he himselfe knew. But what was more admirable than his vast memory was his judgment and invention, he being tried with divers hard questions, which requir'd maturity of thought and experience. He was also dextrous in Chronology, Antiquities, Mathematics. In sum, an *Intellectus universalis*, beyond all that we reade of Picus Mirandula, and other precece witts, and yet withall a very humble child.

14. I went to see how things stood at Parson's Green, my lady Viscountesse Mordaunt (now sick in Paris, whither she went for health) having made me a trustee for her children, an office I could not refuse to this most excellent, pious, and virtuous lady, my long acquaintance.

15. I din'd with Mr. Sidney Godolphin, now one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

18. I went early to the Old Bailey Sessions-house, to the famous trial of Sir George Wakeman, one of the Queene's physitians, and three Benedictine Monks ; the first (whom I was well acquainted with, and take to be a worthy gentleman abhorring such a fact) for intending to poison the King ; the others, as accomplices to carry on the plott, to subvert the government and introduce Popery. The Bench was crowded with the Judges, Lord Maior, Justices, and innumerable spectators. The cheife accusers, Dr. Oates (as he call'd himselfe), and one Bedlow, a man of inferior note. Their testimonys were not so pregnant, and I feare much of it from hearsay, but swearing positively to some particulars, which drew suspicion upon their truth ; nor did circumstances so agree as to give either the Bench or Jury so entire satisfaction as was expected. After therefore a long and tedious tryal of 9 houres, the Jury brought them in not guilty, to the extraordinary triumph of the Papists, and without sufficient disadvantage and reflections on the witnesses, especialy Oates and Bedlow. This was a happy day for the Lords in the Tower, who expecting their triall, had this gon against the prisoners at the bar, would all have ben in the utmost hazard. For my part, I looke on Oates as a vain insolent man, puff'd up with the favour of the Commons for having discover'd something realy true, more especialy as detecting the dangerous intrigue of Coleman, prov'd out of his owne letters, and of a generall designe which the Jesuited party of the Papists ever had, and still have, to ruine the Church of England ; but that he was trusted with those greate seacrets he pretended, or had any solid ground for what he accus'd divers noblemen of, I have many reasons to induce my contrary beliefe. That among so many Commissions as he affirm'd to have deliver'd to them from P. Oliva<sup>1</sup> and the Pope, he who made no scruple of opening all other papers, letters, and seacrets, should not only not open any of those pretended Com-

<sup>1</sup> Padrè Oliva, General of the Order of Jesuits.

missions, but not so much as take any copy or witnesse of any one of them, is almost miraculous. But the Commons (some leading persons I meane of them) had so exalted him, that they tooke all he said for gospell, and without more ado ruin'd all whom he nam'd to be conspirators; nor did he spare whoever came in his way. But indeede the murder of Sir Edm. Godfrey, suspected to have ben compass'd by the Jesuite party for his intimacy with Coleman (a buisy person whom I also knew) and the feare they had that he was able to have discover'd some things to their prejudice, did so exasperate not only the Commons but all the Nation, that much of these sharpnesses against the more honest Roman Catholics who liv'd peaceably, is to be imputed to that horrid fact.

The Sessions ended, I din'd, or rather supp'd (so late it was), with the Judges! in the large roome annex'd to the place, and so return'd home. Tho' it was not my costome or delight to be often present at any capital trials, we having them commonly so exactly publish'd by those who take them in short-hand, yet I was inclin'd to be at this signal one, that by the ocular view of the carriages and other circumstances of the managers and parties concerned, I might informe mysele, and regulate my opinion of a cause that had so grievously alarm'd the whole nation.

22 July. Din'd at Clapham at Sir D. Gauden's; went thence with him to Windsor, to assist him in a business with his Majesty. I lay that night at Eton College, the Provost's lodgings (Dr. Craddock), where I was courteously entertained.

23. To Court: after dinner I visited that excellent painter Verrio, whose works in fresca in the King's palace at Windsor will celebrate his name as long as those walls last. He shew'd us his pretty garden, choice flowers, and curiosities, he himselfe being a skilfull gardener.

I went to Clifden, that stupendous natural rock, wood, and prospect, of the Duke of Buckingham's,<sup>2</sup> buildings of extraordinary expence. The grotts in the chalky rock are pretty: 'tis a romantic object, and the place altogether answers the most poetical description that can be made of solitude, precipice, prospect, or whatever can contribute to a thing so very like their imaginations. The stande, somewhat like *Frascati* as to its front, and on the platform, is a circular view to the utmost verge of the horizon, which with the serpentine of the Thames is admirable. The staire case is for its materials singular; the cloisters, descents, gardens, and avenue thro' the wood, august and stately, but the land all about wretchedly barren, and producing nothing but ferne. Indee, as I

<sup>1</sup> The Judges were, Lord Chief Justice North, Mr. Justice Atkins, Mr. Justice Windham, Mr. Justice Pemberton, Mr. Justice Dolben.

<sup>2</sup> Clifden's proud alcove,

The bower of wanton Shrewsbury and Love. Pope.

The Countess of Shrewsbury, whose husband having challenged the Duke, she is said to have held the horse of the latter in the habit of a page whilst they fought.

told his Majesty that evening (asking me how I lik'd Clifden) without flattery, that it did not please me so well as Windsor for the prospect and park, which is without compare, there being but one only opening, and that narrow, which led one to any variety, whereas that of Windsor is every where greate and unconfin'd.

Returning I call'd at my cousin Evelyn's, who has a very pretty seate in the forest, 2 miles behither Clifden, on a flat, with gardens exquisitely kept tho' large, and the house a stanch good old building, and what was singular, some of the roomes floor'd dove-tail-wise without a nail, exactly close. One of the closetts is parquetted with plaine deale, set in diamond, exceeding stanch and pretty.

7 Aug. Dined at the Sheriffs, when, the Company of Drapers and their wives being invited, there was a sumptuous entertainment according to the formes of the Citty with musiq, &c. comparable to any Prince's service in Europ.

8. I went this morning to shew my Lord Chamberlaine, his Lady, and the Dutchesse of Grafton, the incomparable work of Mr. Gibbons the carver, whom I first recommended to his Majesty, his house being furnish'd like a cabinet, not onely with his owne work, but divers excellent paintings of the best hands. Thence to Sir Stephen Foxes, where we spent the day.

31. After evening service to see a neighbour, one Mr. Bohun, related to my sonn's late tutor of that name, a rich Spanish merchant, living in a neate place, which he has adorned with many curiosities, especialy severall carvings of Mr. Gibbons, and some pictures by Streeter.

13 Sept. To Windsor, to congratulate his Majesty on his recovery; I kiss'd the Duke's hand now lately return'd from Flanders to visite his brother the King, on which there were various bold and foolish discourses, the Duke of Monmouth being sent away.

19. My Lord Sunderland, one of the principal Secretaries of State, invited me to dinner, where was the King's natural sonn, the Earle of Plymouth, the Earle of Shrewsbury, E. of Essex, E. of Mulgrave, Mr. Hyde, and Mr. Godolphin. After dinner I went to prayers at Eton, and visited Mr. Hen. Godolphin, fellow there, and Dr. Cradock.

25. Mr. Slingsby and Signior Verrio came to dine with me, to whom I gave China oranges off my owne trees, as good, I think, as were ever eaten.

6 Oct. A very wet and sickly season.

23. Dined at my Lo. Chamberlaines, the King being now newly returned from his New-market recreations.

4 Nov. Din'd at the Lord Maior's, and in the evening went to the funerall of my pious, dear, and ancient learned friend, Dr. Jasper Needham, who was buried at St. Bride's Church. He was a true and holy Christian, and one who lov'd me with greate affection. Dr. Dove

preach'd with an eulogie due to his memory. I lost in this person one of my dearest remaining sincere friends.

5. I was invited to dine at my Lord Tivdale's, a Scotch Earle, a learned and knowing nobleman. We afterwards went to see Mr. Mountague's new palace neere Bloomsbery, built by our curator Mr. Hooke, somewhat after the French; it was most nobly furnish'd, and a fine, but too much expos'd garden.

6. Din'd at the Countesse of Sunderland's, and was this evening at the re-marriage of the Dutchesse of Grafton to the Duke (his Majesty's natural sonn) she being now 12 years old. The ceremonie was performed in my Lord Chamberlaines (her fathers) lodgings at White-hall by the Bishop of Rochester, his Majesty being present. A sudden and unexpected thing, when every body believ'd the first marriage would have come to nothing; but the measure being determin'd I was privately invited by my Lady, her mother, to be present. I confesse I could give her little joy, and so I plainly told her, but she said the King would have it so, and there was no going back. This sweetest, hopefulest, most beautifull child, and most vertuous too, was sacrific'd to a boy that had ben rudely bred, without any thing to encourage them but his Majesty's pleasure. I pray God the sweete child find it to her advantage, who, if my augury deceive me not, will in few years be such a paragon as were fit to make the wife of the greatest Prince in Europe. I staid supper, where his Majesty sate betweene the Dutchesse of Cleaveland (the mother of the Duke of Grafton) and the sweete Dutchesse the bride; there were several greate persons and ladies, without pomp. My love to my Lord Arlington's family and the sweete child made me behold all this with regret, tho' as the Duke of Grafton affects the sea, to which I find his father intends to use him, he may emerge a plaine, usefull, and robust officer, and were he polish'd, a tolerable person, for he is exceeding handsome, by far surpassing any of the King's other naturall issue.

8 Nov. At Sir Stephen Fox's, and was agreeing for the Countesse of Bristol's house at Chelsey within £.500.

18. I din'd at my Lord Maiors [Sir Robert Clayton] being desired by the Countesse of Sunderland to carry her thither on a solemn day, that she might see the pomp and ceremonie of this Prince of Citizens, there never having ben any, who, for the stateliness of his palace, prodigious feasting, and magnificence, exceeded him. This Lord Maior's acquaintance had ben from the time of his being apprentice to one Mr. Abbot, his uncle, who being a scrivener, and an honest worthy man, one who was condemn'd to die at the beginning of the troubles 40 years past, as concern'd in the commission of array for K. Charles I. had escap'd with his life; I often us'd his assistance in money matters. Robert Clayton, then a boy, his nephew, became after his uncle Abbot's death, so prodigiously rich and opulent, that he was reckon'd

one of the wealthiest citizens. He married a free-hearted woman, who became his hospitable disposition, and having no children, with the accession of his partner (Morris) and fellow apprentice, who also left him his estate, he grew excessively rich. He was a discrete magistrate, and tho' envied, I think without much cause. Some believ'd him guilty of hard dealing, especially with the Duke of Buckingham, much of whose estate he had swallow'd, but I never saw any ill by him, considering the trade he was of. The reputation and known integrity of his uncle Abbot brought all the royal party to him, by which he got not onely greate credit, but vast wealth, so as he pass'd this office with infinite magnificence and honor.

20 Nov. I din'd with Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, with my wife, invited to heare musiq, which was exquisitely perform'd by foure of the most renown'd masters; Du Prue, a Frenchman, on the lute; Signor Bartholomeo, an Italian, on the harpsichord; Nicolao on the violin; but above all for its sweetnesse and novelty, the *viol d'amore* of 5 wyre-strings plaied on with a bow, being but an ordinary violin, play'd on lyre way by a German. There was also a flute douce, now in much request for accompanying the voice. Mr. Slingsby, whose sonn and daughter play'd skilfully, had these meetings frequently in his house.

21. I din'd at my Lord Maior's to accompany my worthiest and generous friend the Earl of Ossorie; it was on a Friday, a private day, but the feast and entertainment might have become a King. Such an hospitable costume and splendid magistrature dos no city in the world shew, as I believe.

23. Dr. Allestree preach'd before the household on 11 St. Luke 2. Dr. Lloyd on 28 Matt. 20. before the King, shewing with how little reason the Papists applied those words of our Blessed Saviour to maintaine the pretended infallibility they boast of. I never heard a more Christian and excellent discourse: yet were some offended that he seemed to say the Church of Rome was a true Church; but 'twas a captious mistake, for he never affirmed any thing that could be more to their reproach, and that such was the present Church of Rome, showing how much it had erred. There was not in this sermon so much as a shadow for censure, no person of all the Cleargy having testified greater zeale against the errors of the Papists than this pious and most learned person. I dined at the Bishop of Rochester's, and then went to St. Paul's to heare that greate wit Dr. Sprat, now newly succeeding Dr. Outram in the cure of St. Margaret's. His talent was a great memory, never making use of notes, a readinesse of expression in a most pure and plain style of words, full of matter, easily deliver'd.

26 Nov. I met the Earle of Clarendon with the rest of my fellow executors of the Will of my late Lady Viscountesse Mordaunt, viz. Mr. Laurence Hyde, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and lately

Plenipotentiary Ambassador at Nimeguen ; Andrew Newport, and Sir Charles Wheeler, to examine and audit and dispose of this year's accompt of the estate of this excellent Lady, according to the direction of her will.

27. I went to see Sir John Stonehouse, with whom I was treating a marriage between my sonn and his daughter-in-law.

28. Came over the Duke of Monmouth from Holland unexpectedly to his Majesty, whilst the Duke of York was on his journey to Scotland, whither the King sent him to reside and governe. The bells and bon-fires of the Citty at this arrivall of the Duke of Monmouth publishing their joy, to the no small regret of some at Court. This Duke, whom for distinction they call'd the Protestant Duke (tho' the sonn of an abandon'd woman), the people made their idol.

4 Dec. I din'd, together with Lord Ossorie and the E. of Chesterfield, at the Portugal Ambassadors, now newly come, at Cleaveland House, a noble palace, too good for that infamous . . . . The staire-case is sumptuous, and the gallerie and garden, but above all the costly furniture belonging to the Ambassador, especialy the rich Japan cabinets, of which I think there were a dozen. There was a billiard-table, with as many more bazards as ours commonly have ; the game being only to prosecute the ball till hazarded, without passing the port or touching the pin ; if one miss hitting the ball every time, the game is lost, or if hazarded. Tis more difficult to hazard a ball, tho' so many, than in our table, by reason the bound is made so exactly even, and the edges not stuff'd ; the balls also are bigger, and they for the most part use the sharp and small end of the billiard stick, which is shod with brasse or silver. The entertainment was exceeding civil, but besides a good olio, the dishes were trifling, hash'd and condited after their way, not at all fit for an English stomach, which is for solid meate. There was yet good fowle, but roasted to coale, nor were the sweet-meates good.

30 Dec. I went to meete Sir John Stonehouse, and give him a particular of the settlement on my sonn, who now made his adresses to the young lady his daughter-in-law, daughter of Lady Stonehouse.

1680. 25 Jan. Dr. Cave, author of ' Primitive Christianity,' &c. a pious and learned man, preached at White-hall to the household on 3 James 17, concerning the duty of grace and charity.

30. I supped with Sir Stephen Fox, now made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

19 Feb. The writings for the settling joynture and other contracts of marriage of my sonn were finished and sealed. The lady was to bring 5000*l.* in consideration of a settlement of 500*l.* a yeare present maintenance, which was likewise to be her jointure, and 500*l.* a yeare after myne and my wife's decease. But with God's blessing it will be at the least 1000*l.* a yeare more in few yeares. I pray God make him

worthy of it, and a comfort to his excellent mother, who deserves much from him.

21. Shrove Tuesday. My sonn was married to Mrs. Martha Spencer, daughter to my Lady Stonehouse by a former gentleman, at St. Andrew's Holborn, by our Vicar, borrowing the Church of Dr. Stillingfleet, Deane of St. Paul's, the present incumbent. We afterwards din'd at a house in Holborn ; and after the solemnity and dauncing was don, they were bedded at Sir John Stonehouse's lodging in Bow-streete, Covent Garden.

26. To the R. Society, where I met an Irish Bishop with his Lady, who was daughter to my worthy and pious friend Dr. Jeremy Taylor, late Bp. of Downe and Connor ; they came to see the Repository. She seemed to be a knowing woman, beyond the ordinary talent of her sex.

3 Mar. I din'd at my Lord Mayor's in order to the meeting my Lady Beckford, whose daughter (a rich heiress) I had recommended to my brother of Wotton for his only sonn, she being the daughter of the lady by Mr. Ersfield [Eversfield], a Sussex gentleman.

16. To London, to receive £.3,000 of my daughter-in-law's portion, which was paid in gold.

26. The Dean of Sarum preach'd on Jerem. 45, 5, an hour and halfe from his common-place book of kings and greate men retiring to private situations. Scarce any thing of Scripture in it.

18 April. On the earnest invitation of the Earle of Essex I went with him to his house at Cashioberie in Hartford-shire. It was on Sunday, but going early from his house in the square of St. James, we ariv'd by ten o'clock ; this he thought too late to go to church, and we had prayers in his chapell. The house is new, a plaine fabric, built by my friend Mr. Hugh May. There are divers faire and good roomes, and excellent carving by Gibbons, especialy the chimney-piece of the Library. There is in the porch or entrance a painting by Verrio, of Apollo and the Liberal Arts. One roome parquett'd with yew, which I lik'd well. Some of the chimney mantles are of Irish marble, brought by my Lord from Ireland when he was Lord Lieutenant, and not much inferior to Italian. The tympanum or gabal at the front is a bass-relievo of Diana hunting, cut in Portland stone, handsomely enough. I did not approve of the middle dores being round, but when the Hall is finish'd as design'd, it being an oval with a cupola, together with the other wing, it will be a very noble palace. The library is large, and very nobly furnish'd, and all the books are richly bound and gilded ; but there are no MSS. except the Parliament Rolls and Journals, the transcribing and binding of which cost him, as he assur'd me, £.500.

No man has ben more industrious than this noble Lord in planting about his seate, adorn'd with walkes, ponds, and other rural elegancies ; but the soile is stonie, churlish, and uneven, nor is the water neere enough to the house, tho' a very swift and cleare stream runs within a

flight shot from it in the vally, which may fitly be call'd Coldbrook, it being indeede excessive cold, yet producing faire troutes. 'Tis pittie the house was not situated to more advantage, but it seemes it was built just where the old one was, which I believe he onely meant to repaire; this leads men into irremediable errors, and it saves but a very little.

The land about it is exceedingly addicted to wood, but the coldnesse of the place hinders the growth. Black cherry-trees prosper even to considerable timber, some being 80 foote long; they make also very handsome avenues. There is a pretty oval at the end of a faire walke, set about with treble rows of Spanish chesnut trees.

The gardens are very rare, and cannot be otherwise, having so skillful an artist to govern them as Mr. Cooke, who is, as to the mechanic part, not ignorant in Mathematics, and pretends to Astrologie. There is an excellent collection of the choicest fruit.

As for my Lord, he is a sober, wise, judicious, and pondering person, not illiterate beyond the rate of most noblemen in this age, very well vers'd in English historie and affaires, industrious, frugal, methodical, and every way accomplish'd. His Lady (being sister of the late Earle of Northumberland) is a wise, yet somewhat melancholy woman, setting her heart too much on the little lady her daughter, of whom she is over fond. They have an hopeful son at the Academie.

My Lord was not long since come from his Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, where he shew'd his abilities in administration and government, as well as prudence in considerably augmenting his estate without reproach. He had ben Ambassador Extraordinary in Denmark, and, in a word, such a person as became the sonn of that worthy Hero his father to be, the late Lord Capel, who lost his life for K. Charles I.

We spent our time in the mornings in walking or riding, and contriving [alterations], and the afternoones in the Library, so as I pass'd my time for 3 or 4 daies with much satisfaction. He was pleas'd in conversation to impart to me divers particulars of state, relating to the present times. He being no great friend to the D — — was now laid aside, his integritie and abilities being not so suiteable in this conjuncture. 21. I returned to London.

30 April. To a meeting of the executors of the late Viscountesse Mordaunt's estate, to consider of the sale of Parson's Greene, being in treaty with Mr. Loftus, and to settle the halfe yeare's account.

1 May. Was a meeting of the feoffees of the poore of our parish. This yeare I would stand one of the collectors of their rents, to give example to others. My sonn was added to the feoffees.

This afternoone came to visit me Sir Edw. Deering of Surrendon in Kent, one of the Lords of the Treasury, with his daughter, married to my worthy friend Sir Robert Southwell, Clerk of the Council, now Extraordinary Envoye to the Duke of Brandenburgh, and other Prin-

ces in Germanie, as before he had ben in Portugal, being a sober, wise, and virtuous gentleman.

13. I was at the funeral of old Mr. Shish, master shipwright of his Majesty's Yard here, an honest and remarkable man, and his death a public losse, for his excellent 'successe in building ships (tho' altogether illiterate), and for breeding up so many of his children to be able artists. I held up the pall with three knights, who did him that honour, and he was worthy of it. It was the costome of this good man to rise in the night, and to pray kneeling in his owne coffin, which he had lying by him many yeares. He was borne in that famous yeare of the Gunpowder plot 1605.

14 June. Came to dine with us the Countesse of Clarendon, Dr. Lloyd, Deane of Bangor, (since Bp. of St. Asaph), Dr. Burnett, author of the History of the Reformation, and my old friend Mr. Henshaw. After dinner we all went to see the Observatory and Mr. Flamsted, who shew'd us divers rare instruments, especialy the greate quadrant.

24 July. Went with my wife and daughter to Windsor, to see that stately Court, now neere finish'd. There was erected in the Court the King on horseback, lately cast in copper, and set on a rich pedestal of white marble, the worke of Mr. Gibbons, at the expence of Toby Rustate, a page<sup>1</sup> of the back staires, who by his wonderful frugality had ariv'd to a greate estate in mony, and did many works of charity, as well as this of gratitude to his Master, which cost him £.1000. He is a very simple, ignorant, but honest and loyal creature.

We all din'd at the Countesse of Sunderland's afterwards to see Signor Verrio's garden, thence to Eton College to salute the Provost, and heard a Latine speech of one of the Alumni (it being at the election), and were invited to supper, but took our leave, and got to London that night in good time.

26. My most noble and illustrious friend, the Earl of Ossorie, espying me this morning after sermon in the privy gallery, calling to me, told me he was now going his journey (meaning to Tangier, whither he was designed Governor and General of the Forces, to regaine the losses we had lately sustain'd from the Moors, when Inchqueene was Governor). I ask'd if he would not call at my house (as he always did whenever he went out of England on any exploit); he said he must embark at Portsmouth, 'wherefore let you and I dine together to-day, I am quite alone, and have something to impart to you; I am not well, shall be private, and desire your company.' Being retir'd to his lodgings and set down on a couch, he sent to his secretary for the copy of a letter which he had written to Lord Sunderland (Secretary of State), wishing me to reade it; it was to take notice how ill he resented it

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Tobias Rustate. He was a great benefactor to Jesus College, Cambridge, in particular, by an endowment of scholarships there for the benefit of young students, orphan sons of Clergymen.

that he should tell the King before Lord Ossorie's face, that Tangier was not to be kept, but would certainly be lost, and yet added that 'twas fit for Lord Ossorie should be sent, that they might give some account of it to the world, meaning (as suppos'd) the next Parliament, when all such miscarriages would probably be examin'd ; this Lord Ossorie took very ill of Lord Sunderland, and not kindly of the King, who resolving to send him with an incompetent force, seem'd, as his Lordship tooke it, to be willing to cast him away, not only on an hazardous adventure, but in most men's opinion an impossibility, seeing there was not to be above 3 or 400 horse and 4000 foote for the garrison and all, both to defend the towne, forme a camp, repulse the enemy, and fortifie what ground they should get in. This touch'd my Lord deeply, that he should be so little consider'd as to put him on a businesse in which he should probably not only loose his reputation, but be charg'd with all the miscarriages and ill successe ; whereas at first they promis'd 6000 foote and 600 horse effective. My Lord being an exceeding brave and valiant person, and who had so approv'd himself in divers signal battailes, both at sea and land ; so belov'd, and so esteem'd by the people, as one they depended upon all occasions worthy of such a captain ; he looked on this as too greate an indifference in his Majesty after all his services, and the merits of his father the Duke of Ormond, and a designe of some who envied his virtue. It certainly tooke so deepe roote in his mind, that he who was the most void of feare in the world (and assur'd me he would go to Tangier with 10 men if his Majesty commanded him) could not beare up against this unkindness. Having disburden'd himselfe of this to me after dinner, he went with his Majesty to the Sheriffs at a greate supper in Fishmongers Hall, but finding himselfe ill, tooke his leave immediately of his Majesty, and came back to his lodging. Not resting well this night, he was persuaded to remove to Arlington House for better accommodation. His disorder turn'd to a malignant fever, which increasing after all that six of the most able physicians could do, he became delirious, with intervals of sense, during which Dr. Lloyd (after Bp. of St. Asaph) administer'd the holy sacrament, of which I also participated. He died the Friday following, the 30 July, to the universal grieve of all that knew or heard of his greate worth, nor had any a greater losse than myselfe. Oft would he say I was the oldest acquaintance he had in England (when his Father was in Ireland), it being now of above 30 yeares, contracted abroad, when he rid in the Academie in Paris, and when we were sel-dome asunder. His Majesty never lost a worthier subject, nor father a better or more dutiful son ; a loving, generous, good-natur'd, and perfectly obliging friend ; one who had done innumerable kindnesses to severall before they knew it ; nor did he ever advance any that were not worthy ; no one more brave, more modest : none more humble, sober, and every way virtuous. Unhappy England in this illustrious

person's loss ! Universal was the mourning for him and the eulogies on him ; I staid night and day by his bed-side to his last gasp, to close his deare eyes ! O sad father, mother, wife, and children ! What shall I add ! he deserv'd all that a sincere friend, a brave souldier, a virtuous courtier, a loyal subject, an honest man, a bountifull master, and good Christian could deserve of his Prince and Country. One thing more let me note, that he often express'd to me the abhorrence he had of that base and unworthy action which he was put upon, of engaging the Smyrna fleete in time of peace, in which tho' he behav'd himselfe like a greate captaine, yet he told me it was the onely blot in his life, and troubled him exceedingly. Tho' he was commanded, and never examin'd further when he was so, yet he always spake of it with regret and detestation. The Countesse was at the seate of her daughter, the Countesse of Derby, almost 200 miles off.

30 August. I went to visite a French gentleman, one Monsieur Chaidine, who having ben thrice in the East Indies, Persia, and other remote countries, came hither in our returne ships from those parts, and it being reported that he was a very curious and knowing man, I was desir'd by the R. Society to salute him in their name, and to invite him to honour them with his company. Sir Jo. Hoskins and Sir Christopher Wren accompanied me. We found him at his lodgings in his Eastern habit, a very handsome person, extremely affable, a modest, well-bred man, not inclin'd to talke wonders. He spake Latine, and understood Greeke, Arabic, and Persian, from 11 yeares travels in those parts, whither he went in search of jewells, and was become very rich. He seem'd about 36 years of age. After the usual civilities we ask'd some account of the extraordinary things he must have seene in travelling over land to those places where few, if any, Northern Europeans us'd to go, as the Black and Caspian Sea, Mingrelia, Bagdat, Nineveh, Persepolis, &c. He told us that the things most worthy of our sight would be the draughts he had caus'd to be made of some noble ruines, &c. for that, besides his own little talent that way, he had carried two good painters with him, to draw landskips, measure and designe the remaines of the palace which Alexander burnt in his frolic at Persepolis, with divers temples, columns, relievos, and statues, yet extant, which he affirm'd to be sculpture far exceeding any thing he had observ'd either at Rome, in Greece, or in any other part of the world where magnificence was in estimation. He said there was an inscription in letters not intelligible, though intire. He was sorry he could not gratify the curiosity of the Society at present, his things not being yet out of the ship, but would wait on them with them on his returne from Paris, whither he was going the next day, but with intention to returne suddenly, and stay longer here, the persecution in France not suffering Protestants, and he was one, to be quiet. He told us that Nineveh was a vast citty, now all buried in her ruines, the inhabitants building on the subterranean

vaults, which were, as appear'd the first stories of the old Cittie ; that there were frequently found huge vases of fine earth, columns, and other antiquities ; that the straw which the Egyptians requir'd of the Israelites, was not to burne, or cover the rowes of bricks as we use, but being chopp'd small to mingle with the clay, which being dried in the sun (for they bake not in the furnaces) would else cleave asunder ; that in Persia are yet a race of Igniculi who worship the sun and the fire as Gods ; that the women of Georgia and Mingrelia were universaly, and without any compare, the most beautifull creatures for shape, features, and figure, in the world, and therefore the Grand Seignior and Bashaws had had from thence most of their wives and concubines ; that there had, within these hundred yeares ben Amazons amongst them, that is to say, a sort or race of valiant women, given to warr.; that Persia was extremely fertile ; he spoke also of Japan and China, and of the many greate errors of our late geographers, as we suggested matter for discourse. We then took our leaves, failing of seeing his papers, but it was told us by others that indeede he durst not open or shew them till he had first shewed them to the French King, but of this he himselfe said nothing.

2 Sept. I had an opportunity, his Majesty being still at Windsor, of seeing his private library at White-hall, at my full ease. I went with expectation of finding some curiosities, but though there were about 1000 volumes, there were few of importance which I had not perus'd before. They consisted chiefly of such books as had from time to time ben dedicated or presented to him ; a few Histories, some Travels and French bookes, abundance of mapps and sea charts, entertainments and pomps, buildings and pieces relating to the navy, some mathematical instruments ; but what was most rare were 3 or 4 Romish breviaries, with a great deal of miniature and monkish painting and gilding, one of which is most exquisitely don, both as to the figures, grotesques, and compartments, to the utmost of that curious art. There is another in which I find written by the hand of K. Hen. VII. his giving it to his deare daughter Margaret, afterwards Queene of Scots, in which he desires her to pray for his soule, subscribing his name at length. There is also the processe of the philosophers great elixer, represented in divers pieces of excellent miniature, but the discourse is in High Dutch, a MS. There is another MS. in 4to. of above 300 yeares old in French, being an institution of physic, and in the botanical part the plants are curiously painted in miniature : also a folio MS. of good thicknesse, being the severall exercises, as Theames, Orations, Translations, &c. of K. Edward VI. all written and subscrib'd by his owne hand, and with his name very legible, and divers of the Greeke interleav'd and corrected after the manner of schole boys exercises, and that exceedingly well and proper, with some epistles to his preceptor, which shew that young Prince to have ben extraordinarily advanc'd in learning, and as Cardan, who had ben in England affirm'd, stupendiously knowing for

his age. There is likewise his Journal<sup>1</sup>, no lesse testifying his early ripeness and care about the affaires of state.

There are besides many pompous volumes, some emboss'd with gold, and inſaglias on achats, medailes, &c. I spent 3 or 4 intire daies, lock'd up and alone, among these bookes and curiosities. In the rest of the private lodgings contiguous to this, are divers of the best pictures of the greate masters, Raphael, Titian, &c. and, in my esteeme, above all, the *Noli me tangere of our blessed Saviour to Mary Magdalen after his Resurrection*, of Hans Holbein, then which I never saw so much reverence and kind of heavenly astonishment express'd in a picture.

There are also divers curious clocks, watches, and pendules of exquisite work, and other curiosities. An ancient woman, who made these lodgings cleane, and had all the keys, let me in at pleasure for a small reward, by meanes of a friend.

6 Sept. I din'd with Sir Stephen Fox, now one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. This gentleman came first a poore boy from the quire of Salisbury, then was taken notice of by Bp. Duppa, and afterwards waited on my Lord Percy (brother to Algernon E. of Northumberland), who procur'd for him an inferior place amongst the Clerks of the Kitchen and Greene Cloth side, where he was found so humble, diligent, industrious, and prudent in his behaviour, that his Majesty being in exile, and Mr. Fox waiting, both the King and Lords about him frequently employ'd him about their affaires; trusted him both with receiving and paying the little mony they had. Returning with his Majesty to England, after greate wants and greate sufferings, his Majesty found him so honest and industrious, and withall so capable and ready, that being advanc'd from Clerk of the Kitchen to that of the Greene Cloth, he procur'd to be Paymaster to the whole Army, and by his dexterity and punctual dealing he obtain'd such credit among the banquers, that he was in a short time able to borrow vast sums of them upon any exigence. The continual turning thus of mony, and the souldiers moderate allowance to him for his keeping touch with them, did so enrich him, that he is believ'd to be worth at least 200,000*l*. honestly gotten and unenvied, which is next to a miracle. With all this he continues as humble and ready to do a courtesie as ever he was. He is generous, and lives very honorably, of a sweete nature, well spoken, well bred, and is so highly in his Majesty's esteeme, and so usefull, that being long since made a knight, he is also advanc'd to be one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasurie, and has the reversion of the Cofferer's place after Harry Brouncker. He has married his eldest daughter to my Lord Cornwallis, and gave her 12,000 pounds, and restor'd that entangl'd family besides. He match'd his eldest son to Mrs. Trollop, who brings with her (besides a greate sum) nēere, if

<sup>1</sup> A note is added, that Dr. Burnet has transcribed many remarks out of this in his History of the Reformation.

not altogether 2000*l.* *per ann.* Sir Stephen's Lady (an excellent woman) is sister to Mr. Whittle, one of the King's chirurgeons. In a word, never was man more fortunate than Sir Stephen ; he is an handsome person, vertuous, and very religious.

23 Sept. Came to my house some German strangers and Signor Pietro a famous musitian, who had ben long in Sweden in Queene Christina's Court ; he sung admirably to a *guitar*, and had a perfect good tenor and base, and had set to Italian composure many of Abraham Cowley's pieces, which shew'd extremely well. He told me that in Sweden the heate in some part of summer was as excessive as the cold in winter ; so cold, he affirm'd, that the streetes of all the townes are desolate, no creatures stirring in them for many moneths, all the inhabitants retiring to their stoves. He spake high things of that romantic Queene's learning and skill in languages, the majestie of her behaviour, her exceeding wit, and that the histories she had read of other countries, especially of Italy and Rome, had made her despise her owne. That the real occasion of her resigning her Crowne was the Noblemen's importuning her to marrie, and the promise which the Pope had made her of procuring her to be Queene of Naples, which also caus'd her to change her religion ; but she was cheated by his crafty Holiness,<sup>1</sup> working on her ambition ; that the reason of her killing her Secretary at Fountaine Belean<sup>2</sup> was his revealing that intrigue with the Pope. But after all this I rather believe it was her mad prodigality and extreme vanity, which had consum'd those vast treasures the greate Adolphus, her father, had brought out of Germany during his [campaigns] there and wonderfull successes ; and that if she had not voluntarily resign'd, as foreseeing the event, the Estates of her Kingdom would have compell'd her to do so.

30 Oct. I went to London to be private, my birthday being the next day, and now I ariv'd at my sixtieth year, on which I began a more solemn survey of my whole life, in order to the making and confirming my peace with God, by an accurate scrutinie of all my actions past, as far as I was able to call them to mind. How difficult and uncertaine, yet how necessary a work ! The Lord be mercifull to me, and accept me ! Who can tell how oft he offendeth ? Teach me therefore so to number my daies that I may apply my heart to wisdom, and make my calling and election sure. Amen, Lord Jesus.

13. I spent this whole day in exercises. A stranger preach'd at White-hall on 16 Luke 30, 31.<sup>3</sup> I then went to St. Martin's, where the Bp. of St. Asaph preach'd on 1 Peter 3, 15. ; the holy communion follow'd, at which I participated, humbly imploring God's assistance in the greate worke I was entering into. In the afternoone I heard Dr. Sprat at St Margaret's on 17 Acts 11.

<sup>1</sup> Pope Alexander VII. of the family of Chighi at Sienna.

<sup>2</sup> So called and written in that time.

<sup>3</sup> This was probably to the King's household early in the morning.

I began and spent the whole weeke in examining my life, begging pardon for my faults, assistance and blessing for the future, that I might in some sort be prepar'd for the time that now drew neere, and not have the greate work to begin when one can worke no longer. The Lord Jesus help and assist me! I therefore stirr'd little abroad till the 5 November, when I heard Dr. Tenison, the now Vicar of St. Martin's; Dr. Lloyd, the former incumbent, being made the Bishop of St. Asaph.

7. I participated of the blessed Communion, finishing and confirming my resolutions of giving myselfe up more intirely to God, to whom I had now most solemnly devoted the rest of my poore remainder of life in this world; the Lord enabling me, who am an unprofitable servant, a miserable sinner, yet depending on his infinite goodnesse and mercy, accepting my endeavours.

15. Came to dine with us Sir Richard Anderson, his lady, sonn, and wife, sister to my daughter in law.

30 Nov. The anniversary election at the Royall Society, brought me to London, where was chosen President that excellent person and greate philosopher Mr. Robert Boyle, who indeede ought to have ben the very first; but neither his infirmitie nor his modestie could now any longer excuse him. I desired I might for this yeare be left out of the Council, by reason my dwelling was in the country. The Society according to costome dined together.

This signal day begun the trial (at which I was present) of my Lord Viscount Stafford, for conspiring the death of the King; second sonn to my Lord Thomas Howard Earle of Arundel and Surry, Earle Marishall of England and grandfather to the present Duke of Norfolk, whom I so well knew, and from which excellent person I received so many favours. It was likewise his birth-day. The trial was in Westminster Hall, before the King, Lords, and Commons, just in the same manner as 40 yeares past, the greate and wise Earle of Strafford (there being but one letter differing their names) receiv'd his trial for pretended ill government in Ireland, in the very same place, this Lord Stafford's father being then High Steward. The place of sitting was now exalted some considerable height from the paved floore of the Hall, with a stage of boards. The throne, woolpacks for the Judges, long formes for the Peeres, chaire for the Lord Steward, exactly ranged, as in the House of Lords. The sides on both hands scaffolded to the very roofe for the Members of the House of Commons. At the upper end and on the right side of the King's state, was a box for his Majesty, and on the left others for the greate ladyes, and over heade a gallerie for Ambassadors and public Ministers. At the lower end or entrance was a barr, and place for the prisoner, the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, the axe-bearer and guards, my Lord Stafford's two daughters, the Marchionesse of Winchester being one; there was likewise a box

for my Lord to retire into. At the right hand, in another box, somewhat higher, stood the Witnesses; at the left the Managers, in the name of the Commons of England, viz. Serjeant Maynard (the greatest lawyer) the same who prosecuted the cause against the Earle of Stafford 40 yeares before, being now neere 80 yeares of age) Sir William Jones, late Attorney General, Sir Francis Winnington, a famous pleader, and Mr. Treby now Recorder of London, not appearing in their gownes as lawyers, but in their cloakes and swords as representing the Commons of England: to these were joined Mr. Hampden, Mr. Sacheverell, Mr. Poule, Col. Titus, Sir Tho. Lee, all gentlemen of quality, and noted parliamentary men. The two first dayes, in which were read the commission and impeachment, were but a tedious entrance into matter of fact, at which I was but little present. But on Thursday I was commodiously seated amongst the Commons, when the witnesses were sworn and examined. The principal witnesses were Mr. Oates (who call'd himselfe Dr.) Mr. Dugdale, and Tuberville. Oates swore that he deliver'd a commission to Viscount Stafford from the Pope, to be Paymaster Generall to an army intended to be rais'd, Dugdale, that being at Lord Aston's, the prisoner dealt with him plainly to murder his Majestie: and Tuberville, that at Paris he had also propos'd the same to him.

3. The depositions of my Lord's witnesses were taken, to invalidate the King's witnesses; they were very slight persons, but, being 15 or 16, they tooke up all that day, and in truth they rather did my Lord injury than service.

4. Came other witnesses of the Commons to corroborate the Kings, some being Peeres, some Commons, with others of good qualitie, who tooke off all the former day's objections, and set the King's witnesses *recti in Curia*.

6. Sir Wm. Jones summ'd up the evidence; to him succeeded all the rest of the Managers, and then Mr. Hen. Poule made a vehement oration. After this my Lord, as on all occasions, and often during the trial, spoke in his owne defence, denying the charge altogether, and that he had never seene Oates or Tuberville at the time and manner affirm'd: in truth, their testimonie did little weigh with me; Dugdale's onely seem'd to press hardest, to which my Lord spake a great while, but confusedly, without any method. One thing my Lord said as to Oates, which I confesse did exceedingly affect me; that a person who during his depositions should so vauntingly brag that tho' he went over to the Church of Rome, yet he was never a Papist, nor of their religion, all the time that he seem'd to apostatize from the Protestant, but only as a spie; tho' he confess'd he tooke their sacrament, worshipped images, went thro' all their oathes and discipline of their proselytes, swearing secrecy and to be faithfull, but with intent to come over againe and betray them; that such an hypocrite, that had so deeply prevari-

cated as even to turne idolator (for so we of the Church of England term'd it), attesting God so solemnly that he was intirely theirs and devoted to their interest, and consequently (as he pretended) trusted ; I say that the witsse of such a profligate wretch should be admitted against the life of a Peere, this my Lord look'd upon as a monstrous thing, and such as must needs redound to the dishonour of our Religion and Nation. And verily I am of his Lordship's opinion ; such a man's testimonie should not be taken against the life of a dog. But the merit of something material which he discover'd against Coleman, put him in such esteeme with the Parliament, that now, I fancy, he stuck at nothing, and thought every body was to take what he said for Gospel. The consideration of this and some other circumstances began to stagger me ; particularly how 'twas possible that one who went among the Papists on such a designe, and pretended to be intrusted with so many letters and commissions from the Pope and the party, nay and deliver'd them to so many greate persons, should not reserve one of them to shew, nor so much as one copy of any commission, which he who had such dexterity in opening letters might certainly have done, to the undeniable conviction of those whom he accus'd: but, as I said, he gain'd credit on Coleman ; but as to others whom he so madly flew upon, I am little inclin'd to believe his testimony, he being so slight a person, so passionate, ill-bred, and of such impudent behaviour ; nor is it likely that such piercing politicians as the Jesuits should trust him with so high and dangerous seacrets.

7. On Tuesday I was againe at the trial, when judgment was demanded ; and after my Lord had spoken what he could in denying the fact, the Managers answering the objections, the Peeres, adjourned to their house, and within two houres returned againe. There was in the meane time this question put to the Judges, 'whether there being but one witsse to any single crime or act, it could amount to convict a man of treason.' They gave an unanimous opinion that in case of treason they all were overt acts, for tho' no man should be condemn'd by one witsse for any one act, yet for several acts to the same intent, it was valid, which was my Lord's case. This being past and the Peeres in their seates againe, the Lord Chancellor Finch (this day the Lord High Steward) removing to the woolsack next his Majesty's state, after summoning the Lieutenant of the Tower to bring forth his prisoner, and proclamation made for silence, demanded of every peer (who were in all 86) whether William Lord Viscount Stafford were guilty of the treason laid to his charge, or not guilty. Then the Peere spoken to, standing up, and laying his right hand on his breast, said Guilty, or Not Guilty, upon my honour, and then sate down, the Lord Steward noting their suffrages as they answered upon a paper: when all had done, the number of Not guilty being but 31, the Guilty 55: and then after proclamation for silence againe, the Lord Steward directing his

speech to the prisoner, against whom the axe was turned edgeways, and not before, in aggravation of his crime, he being ennobled by the King's father, and since received many favours from his present Majesty, (after enlarging on his offence) deploring first his own unhappinesse that he who had never condemn'd any man before, should now be necessitated to begin with him; he then pronounc'd sentence of death by hanging, drawing, and quartering, according to forme, with greate solemnity and dreadfull gravity, and after a short pause, told the prisoner that he believ'd the Lords would intercede for the omission of some circumstances of his sentence, beheading only excepted; and then breaking his white staff, the Court was dissolved. My Lord Stafford during all this latter part spake but little, and only gave their Lordships thanks after the sentence was pronounced; and indeede behaved himselfe modestly and as became him.

It was observ'd that all his owne relations of his name and family condemn'd him, except his nephew the Earle of Arundel, son to the Duke of Norfolk. And it must be acknowledg'd that the whole trial was carried on with exceeding gravity: so stately and august an appearance I had never seene before; for besides the innumerable spectators of gentlemen and forraine ministers, who saw and heard all the proceedings, the prisoner had the consciences of all the Commons of England for his accusers, and all the Peeres to be his Judges and Jury. He had likewise the assistance of what Counsel he would, to direct him in his plea, who stood by him. And yet I can hardly think that a person of his age and experience should engage men whom he never saw before (and one of them that came to visite him as a stranger at Paris) *point blank* to murder the King: God onely who searches hearts can discover the truth. Lord Stafford was not a man belov'd, especialy of his own family.

12. This evening looking out of my chamber window towards the west, I saw a meteor of an obscure bright colour, very much in shape like the blade of a sword, the rest of the skie very serene and cleare. What this may portend God onely knows: but such another phenomenon I remember to have seene in 1640, aboute the Trial of the greate Earle of Strafford, preceeding our bloody Rebellion. I pray God avert his judgements. We have had of late severall comets, which tho' I believe appeare from naturall causes, and of themselves operate not, yet I cannot despise them. They may be warnings from God, as they commonly are forerunners of his animadversions. After many daies and many nights of snow, cloudy and dark weather, the comet was very much wasted.

17 December. My daughter in law was brought to bed of a sonn christen'd Richard.

22. A solemn publicq fast that God would prevent all Popish plotts, avert his judgements, and give a blessing to the proceedings of Parlia-

ment which was now assembl'd, and which struck at the succession of the Duke of York.

29. The Viscount Stafford was beheaded on Tower-hill.

1681, 10 Feb. I was at the wedding of my nephew John Evelyn of Wotton, married by the Bp. of Rochester at Westminster in Henry VII. Chapell, to the daughter and heyre of Mr. Eversfield of Sussex, her portion £8000. The solemnity was kept with a few friends onely at Lady Beckford's, the lady's mother.

8 Mar. Visited and din'd at the Earle of Essex's, with whom I spent most of the afternoone alone. Thence to my (yet living) godmother and kinswoman Mrs. Keightley, sister to Sir Tho. Evelyn and niece to my father, being now 86 yeares of age, sprightly, and in perfect health, her eyes serving her as well as ever, and of a comely countenance, that one would not suppose her above 50.

27. The Parliament now conven'd at Oxford. Greate expectation of his Royal Highness's case as to the succession, against which the House was set.

An extraordinary sharp and cold spring, not yet a leafe on the trees, frost and snow lying: whilst the whole nation was in the greatest ferment.

11 April. I tooke my leave of Dr. Lloyd (now Bishop of St. Asaph) at his house in Leicester Fields, now going to reside in his diocese.

12. I din'd at Mr. Brisbane's, Secretary to the Admiralty, a learned and industrious person, whither came Dr. Burnet to thank me for some papers which I had contributed towards his excellent History of the Reformation.

26. I din'd at Don Pietro Ronquillo's, the Spanish Ambassador, at Wild House (Drury Lane), who us'd me with extraordinary civility. The dinner was plentiful, halfe after the Spanish, halfe after the English way. After dinner he led me into his bed-chamber, where we fell into a long discourse concerning religion. Tho' he was a learned man in politics, and an advocate, he was very ignorant in religion, and unable to defend any point of controversy; he was however far from being fierce. At parting he earnestly wish'd me to apply humbly to the Blessed Virgin to direct me, assuring me that he had known divers who had ben averse from the Roman Catholic Religion, wonderfully enlighten'd and convinc'd by her intercession. He importun'd me to come and visite him often.

29 April. But one showre of rain all this month.

5 May. Came to dine with me Sir William Fermor of Northamptonshire, and Sir Christopher Wren, his Majesty's Architect and Surveyor, now building the Cathedral of St. Paul, and the Columne in memorie of the Citty's conflagration, and was in hand with the building of 50 Parish Churches. A wonderful genius had this incomparable person.

16 May. Came my Lady Sunderland to desire that I would propose

a match to Sir Stephen Fox for her sonn, Lord Spencer, to marry Mrs. Jane, Sir Stephen's daughter. I excus'd' myself all I was able, for the truth is, I was afraid he would prove an extravagant man : for though a youth of extraordinary parts, and had an excellent education to render him a worthy man, yet his early inclinations to extravagance made me apprehensive that I should not serve Sir Stephen by proposing it, like a friend ; this being now his only daughter, well bred, and likely to receive a large share of her father's opulence. Lord Sunderland was much sunke in his estate by gaming and other prodigalities, and was now no longer Secretary of State, having fallen into displeasure of the King for siding with the Commons about the Succession ; but which I am assur'd he did not do out of his owne inclination, or for the preservation of the Protestant religion, but by mistaking the ability of the party to carry it. However, so earnest and importunate was the Countesse, that I did mention it to Sir Stephen, who said that it was too great honour, that his daughter was very young as well as my Lord, and he was resolved never to marry her without the parties mutual liking, with other objections which I neither would nor could contradict. He desir'd me to expresse to the Countesse the greate sense he had of the honour don him, that his daughter and her sonn were too young, that he would do nothing without her liking, which he did not think her capable of expressing judiciously till she was 16 or 17 yeares of age, of which she now wanted 4 yeares, and that I would put it off as civilly as I could.

20 May. Our new curate preach'd, a pretty hopefull young man, yet somewhat raw, newly come from colledge, full of Latine sentences, which in time will weare off. He read prayers very well.

25. There came to visite me Sir William Walter and Sir John Elowes ; and the next day the Earle of Kildare, a young gent. related to my wife, and other company. There had scarce fallen any raine since Christmas.

2 June. I went to Hampton Court, when the Surrey gentlemen presented their addresses to his Majesty, whose hand I kiss'd, introduc'd by the Duke of Albemarle.

12. It still continu'd so great a drought as had never ben known in England, and it was said to be universal.

14 Aug. No sermon this afternoone, which I think did not happen twice in this parish these 30 years ; so gracious has God ben to it, and indeede to the whole nation : God grant that we abuse not this greate priviledge, either by our wantonnesse, schisme, or unfaithfulness, under such meanes as he has not favoured any other nation under heaven besides.

23. I went to Wotton, and on the following day was invited to Mr. Denzil Onslow's at his seate at Purford, where was much company and such an extraordinary feast as I had hardly seene at any country gen-

tleman's table. What made it more remarkable was, that there was not any thing save what his estate about it did afford : as venison, rabbits, hares, pheasants, partridges, pigeons, quails, poultrie, all sortes of fowle in season from his owne decoy neere his house, and all sorts of fresh fish. After dinner we went to see sport at the decoy, where I never saw so many herons.

The seate stands on a flat, the ground pasture, rarely water'd, and exceedingly improv'd since Mr. Onslow bought it of Sir Robert Parkhurst, who spent a faire estate. The house is timber, but commodious, and with one ample dining-roome, the hall adorn'd with paintings of fowle and huntings, &c. the work of Mr. Barlow, who is excellent in this kind from the life <sup>1</sup>.

30. From Wotton I went to see Mr. Hussey (at Sutton in Shere), who has a very pretty seate well water'd, neere my brother's. He is the neatest husband for curious ordering his domestic and field accommodations, and what pertains to husbandry, that I have ever seene, as to his granaries, tacklings, tooles, and utensills, ploughs, carts, stables, wood-piles, wood-house, even to hen-roosts and hog-troughs. Methought I saw old Cato or Varro in him ; all substantial, all in exact order. The sole inconvenience he lies under, is the greate quantity of sand which the streame brings along with it, and fills his canals and réceptacles for fish too soone. The rest of my time of stay at Wotton was spent in walking about the grounds and goodly woods, where I have in my youth so often entertain'd my solitude : and so on the 2d of Sept. I once more returned to my home.

6 September. Died my pretty grand-child, and was interr'd on the 8th [at Deptford.]

14. Din'd with Sir Stephen Fox, who propos'd to me the purchasing of Chelsey College, which his Majesty had some time since given to our Society, and would now purchase it againe to build an Hospital or Infirmary for Souldiers there, in which he desired my assistance as one of the Council of the R. Society.

15. I had another opportunity of visiting his Majesty's private Library at White-hall.

To Sir Sam. Moreland's, to see his house and mechanics<sup>2</sup>.

17. I went with Monsieur Faubert about taking the Countesse of Bristol's house for an academie, he being lately come from Paris for his religion, and resolving to settle here<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This house has been pulled down many years. The estate is the property of the Earl of Onslow. 1816.

<sup>2</sup> In Lambeth, at what is now Vauxhall, where Sir Sam. Moreland had fitted up a house, and built a large room, which he furnished in a sumptuous manner, and constructed in his garden some fountains. He was much in favour with the King for services he had rendered to him whilst abroad, and this is probably the place which it is said the King and his Ladies used to cross the water to go to. Hist. Surrey, III. 489, 490, 491.

<sup>3</sup> He had a riding house between Swallow-street and King-street ; the passage by it between those streets, is still (or lately was) called by his name (1816.)

23. I went to see Sir Tho. Bond's fine house and garden at Peckham.

2 Oct. I went to Camerwell, where that good man Dr. Par (late chaplain to Abp. Usher) preach'd on 16 Acts, 30.

11. I went to Fulham to visit the Bishop of London, in whose garden I first saw the *Sedum arborescens* in flower, which was exceedingly beautifull.

5 Nov. Dr. Hooper preach'd on 12 Mark, 16, 17, before the King, of the usurpation of the Church of Rome. This is one of the first rank of pulpit men in the nation.

15. I din'd with the Earle of Essex, who after dinner in his study, where we were alone, related to me how much he had ben scandaliz'd and injur'd in the report of his being privy to the marriage of his Lady's niece, the rich young widow of the late Lord Ogle, sole daughter of the E. of Northumberland; shewing me a letter of Mr. Thynn's excusing himself for not communicating his marriage to his Lordship. He acquainted me also with the whole story of that unfortunate lady being betray'd by her grandmother the Countesse of Northumberland, and Col. Bret, for money; and that tho', upon the importunity of the Duke of Monmouth, he had deliver'd to the grandmother a particular of the jointure which Mr. Thynn pretended he would settle on the lady, yet he totally discourag'd the proceeding, as by no means a competent match for one that both by birth and fortune might have pretended to the greatest prince in Christendom; that he also propos'd the Earle of Kingston, or the Lord Cranburn, but was by no means for Mr. Thynn.

19. I din'd with my worthy friend Mr. Erskin, Master of the Charterhouse, uncle to the Dutchesse of Monmouth; a wise and learned gentleman, fitter to have ben a privy councillor and minister of state than to have been laied aside.

24. I was at the audience of the Russia Ambassador before both their Majesties in the Banqueting-house. The presents were carried before him, held up by his followers in two ranks before the King's State, and consisted of tapissry (one suite of which was doubtless brought from France as being of that fabrick, the Ambassador having pass'd thro' that Kingdom as he came out of Spain), a large Persian carpet, furs of sable and ermine, &c. but nothing was so splendid and exotic as the Ambassador who came soone after the King's Restauration. This present Ambassador was exceedingly offended that his coach was not permitted to come into the Court, till being told that no King's Ambassador did, he was pacified, yet requiring an attestation of it under the hand of Sir Cha. Cotterell, the Master of the Ceremonies; being, it seems, afraid he should offend his Master if he omitted the least punctilio. 'Twas reported he condemned his sonn to loose his head for shaving off his beard, and putting himselfe in the French mode at Paris, and that he would have executed it had not the French King interceded—but qu: of this.

30 Nov. Sir Christopher Wren chosen President [of the Royal Society], Mr. Austine, Secretary, with Dr. Plot, the ingenious author of History of Oxfordshire. There was a most illustrious appearance.

1682. 11 Jan. I saw the audience of the Morocco Ambassador<sup>1</sup>, his retinue not numerous. He was receiv'd in the Banqueting-house, both their Majesties being present. He came up to the Throne without making any sort of reverence, not bowing his head or body. He spake by a renegado-Englishman, for whose safe return there was a promise. They were all clad in the Moorish habite, cassocks of colour'd cloth, or silk, with buttons and loopes, over this an *alhaga*, or white woollen mantle, so large as to wrap both head and body, a shash or small turban, naked legg'd and arm'd, but with leather socks like the Turks, a rich scymeter, and large calico sleeved shirts. The Ambassador had a string of pearls oddly woven in his turban. I fancy the old Roman habite was little different as to the mantle and naked limbs. The Ambassador was an handsome person, well featur'd, of a wise look, subtile, and extreame civile. Their presents were lions and estridges (ostriches), &c. ; their errand about a peace at Tangier. But the concourse and tumult of the people was intolerable, so as the officers could keepe no order, which these strangers were astonish'd at at first, there being nothing so regular, exact, and perform'd with such silence, as is on all these public occasions of their country, and indeede over all the Turkish dominions.

14. Din'd at the Bp. of Rochester's, at the Abby, it being his marriage day, after twenty-four yeares. He related to me how he had ben treated by Sir William Temple, foreseeing that he might be a delegate in the concerne of my Lady Ogle, now likely to come in controversy upon her marriage with Mr. Thynn ; also how earnestly the late E. of Danby, Lord Treasurer, sought his friendship, and what plaine and sincere advice he gave him from time to time about his miscarriages and partialities ; particularly his outing Sir John Duncomb from being Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Ste. Fox, above all, from Paymaster of the Armie. The Treasurer's excuse and reason was, that Fox's credit was so over-greate with the bankers and monied men, that he could procure none but by his meanes ; 'for that reason,' replied the Bishop, 'I would have made him my friend, Sir Stephen being a person both honest and of credit.' He told him likewise of his stateliness and difficulty of accesse, and severall other miscarriages, and which indeede made him hated.

24. To the Royall Society, where at the Council we pass'd a new law for the more accurate consideration of candidates, as whether they would really be useful ; also concerning the honorary members, that none should be admitted but by diploma.

<sup>1</sup> Named Hamet. There are different prints of him ; one of which is a large and fine one by Robert.

This evening I was at the entertainment of the Morocco Ambassador at the Dutchesse of Portsmouth's glorious apartments at Whitehall, where was a greate banquet of sweetemeates and musiq, but at which both the Ambassador and his retinue behav'd themselves with extraordinary moderation and modesty, tho' plac'd about a long table a lady betweene two moores, and amongst these were the King's natural children, *viz.* Lady Lichfield and Sussex, the Dutchess of Portsmouth, Nelly, &c. concubines, and cattell of that sort, as splendid as jewells and excesse of bravery could make them. The Moores neither admiring nor seeming to regard any thing, furniture or the like, with any earnestnesse, and but decently tasting of the banquet. They dranke a little milk and water, but not a drop of wine; they also dranke of a sorbet and jacolatt; did not looke about, or stare on the ladies, or expresse the least suprise, but with a courtly negligence in pace, countenance, and whole behaviour, answering only to such questions as were ask'd with a greate deale of wit and gallantrie, and so gravely tooke leave with this compliment, 'That God would blesse the Dutchess of Portsmouth and the Prince her sonn, meaning the little Duke of Richmond.' The King came in at the latter end, just as the Ambassador was going away. In this manner was this slave (for he was no more at home) entertain'd by most of the nobility in towne, and went often to Hide Park on horseback, where he and his retinue shew'd their extraordinary activity in horsemanship, and flinging and catching their launces at full speede; they rid very short, and could stand upright at full speede, managing their spears with incredible agility. He went sometimes to the theatres, where upon any foolish or fantastical action, he could not forbear laughing, but he endeavour'd to hide it with extraordinary modesty and gravity. In a word, the Russian Ambassador, still at Court, behav'd himselfe like a clowne, compar'd to this civil heathen.

27. This evening Sir Ste. Fox acquainted me againe with his Majestys resolution of proceeding in the erection of a Royal Hospital for emerited souldiers on that spot of ground which the Royal Society had sold to his Majesty for 1300*l.* and that he would settle 5000*l.* *per ann.* on it, and build to the value of 20,000*l.* for the reliefe and reception of 4 companies, *viz.* 400 men to be as in a colledge or monasterie. I was therefore desir'd by Sir Stephen (who had not onely the whole managing of this, but was, as I perceiv'd, himselfe to be a grand benefactor, as well it became him who had gotten so vast an estate by the souldiers) to assist him, and consult what method to cast it in, as to the government. So in his study we arranged the governor, chaplaine, steward, housekeeper, chirurgeon, cook, butler, gardener, porter, and other officers, with their several salaries and entertainments. I would needes have a Library, and mention'd several bookes, since some souldiers might possibly be

studious when they were at leisure to recollect. Thus we made the first calculations, and set downe our thoughts to be consider'd and digested better, to shew his M<sup>a</sup>jesty and the Archbishop. He also engag'd me to consider of what laws and orders were fit for the government, which was to be in every respect as strict as in any religious convent.

After supper came in the famous treble Mr. Abel, newly return'd from Italy ; I never heard a more excellent voice ; one would have sworn it had ben a woman's, it was so high, and so well and skillfully manag'd, being accompanied by Signor Francesco on the harpsichord.

28. Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, shew'd me a large folio containing the whole mechanic part and art of building royal ships and men of warr, made by Sir Anth. Deane, being so accurate a piece from the very keele to the lead block, rigging, gunns, victualling, manning, and even to every individual pin and naile, in a method so astonishing and curious, with the draught, both geometrical and in perspective, and severall sections, that I do not think the world can shew the like. I esteeme this booke as an extraordinary jewell.

7 Feb. My daughter Mary began to learn musick of Signor Bartholomeo, and dauncing of Monsieur Isaac, reputed the best masters.

Having had severall violent fits of an ague, recourse was had to bathing my legs in milk up to the knees, made as hot as I could endure it ; and sitting so in it in a deepe churn or vessell cover'd with blankets, and drinking carduus posset, then going to bed and sweating, I not onely miss'd that expected fit, but had no more, only continued weake, that I could not go to church 'till Ash Wednesday, which I had not missed, I think, so long in twenty yeares, so gracious had God beene to me.

After this warning and admonition I now began to looke over and methodize all my writings, accompts, letters, papers ; inventoried the goods, and other articles of the house, and put things into the best order I could, and made my will ; that now growing in yeares, I might have none of these secular things and concerns to distract me when it should please Almighty God to call me from this transitory life. With this I prepar'd some special meditations and devotions for the time of sicknesse. The Lord Jesus grant them to be salutary for my poore soul in that day, that I may obtain mercy and acceptance !

1 March. My second grandchild was born, and christen'd the next day by our Viccar at Sayes Court, by the name of John<sup>1</sup>. I beseeche God to bless him.

2. Ash Wednesday. I went to church ; our Viccar preached on Proverbs, shewing what care and vigilance was required for the keeping of the heart upright. The holy Communion followed, on which I gave God thanks for his gracious dealing with me in my late sick-

<sup>1</sup> Who became his successor, and was created a baronet in 1713.

ness, and affording me this blessed opportunity of praising him in the Congregation, and receiving the cup of salvation with new and serious resolutions.

Came to see and congratulate my recovery, Sir John Lowther, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Pepys, Sir Anth: Deane, and Mr. Hill.

10. This day was executed Coll. Vrats, and some of his accomplices, for the execrable murder of Mr. Thynn<sup>1</sup>, set on by the principal Konigsmark; he went to execution like an undaunted hero, as one that had done a friendly office for that base coward C. Koningsmark, who had hopes to marry his widow the rich Lady Ogle, and was acquitted by a corrupt jury, and so got away. Vrats told a friend of mine who accompanied him to the gallows, and gave him some advice, that he did not value dying of a rush, and hop'd and believ'd God would deale with him like a gentleman. Never man went so unconcern'd for his sad fate.

24. I went to see the corpse of that obstinate creature Coll. Vrats, the King permitting that his body should be transported to his owne country, he being of a good family, and one of the first embalmed by a particular art invented by one William Russell, a coffin maker, which preserv'd the body without disbowelling, or to appearance using any bituminous matter. The flesh was florid, soft, and full, as if the person were onely sleeping. He had now ben dead neere 15 daies, and lay expos'd in a very rich coffin lin'd with lead, too magnificent for so daring and horrid a murderer.

At the meeting of R. Society were exhibited some pieces of amber sent by the Duke of Brandenburg, in one of which was a spider, in another a gnat, both very intire. There was a discourse of the tingeing of glass, especially with red, and the difficulty of finding any red colour effectual to penetrate glass, among the glass-painters; that the most diaphonous, as blue, yellow, &c. did not enter into the substance of what was ordinarily painted, more than very shallow, unless incorporated in the mettall itselfe, other reds and whites not at all beyond the superficies.

5 April. To the R. Society, where at a Council was regulated what collections should be published monthly, as formerly the transactions, which had of late ben discontinu'd, but were now much call'd for by the curious abroad and at home.

12. I went this afternoone with severall of the Royal Society to a supper which was all dress'd, both fish and flesh, in Monsieur Papin's Digestors, by which the hardest bones of beefe itselfe, and mutton, were made as soft as cheese, without water or other liquor, and with lesse than 8 ounces of coales, producing an incredible quantity of gravy; and for close of all a jelly made of the bones of beef, the best for clearness

<sup>1</sup> He lies buried in Westminster Abbey; the manner of his death being represented on his monument.

and good relish, and the most delicious that I had ever seene or tasted. We eat pike and other fish bones, and all without impediment ; but nothing exceeded the pigeons, which tasted just as if bak'd in a pie, all these being stew'd in their own juice, without any addition of water save what swam about the Digester, as *in balneo* ; the natural juice of all these provisions acting on the grosser substances, reduc'd the hardest bones to tendernesse ; but it is best descanted with more particulars for extracting tinctures, preserving and stewing fruite, and saving fuel, in Dr. Papin's booke, publish'd and dedicated to our Society, of which he is a member. He is since gone to Venice with the late Resident here (and also a Member of our Society), who carried this excellent mechanic, philosopher, and physician, to set up a philosophical meeting in that citty. This philosophical supper caus'd much mirth amongst us, and exceedingly pleas'd all the company. I sent a glass of the jelley to my wife, to the reproch of all that the ladies ever made of the best hartshorn.

April. The season was unusually wet, with rain and thunder.

25 May. I was desir'd by Sir Ste. Fox and Sir Christopher Wren to accompany them to Lambeth, with the plot and designe of the College to be built at Chelsey, to have the Abp.'s approbation. It was a quadrangle of 200 foote square after the dimensions of the larger quadrangle at Christ Church, Oxford, for the accomodation of 440 persons, with governor and officers. This was agreed on.

The Duke and Dutchesse of York were just now come to London after his escape and shipwreck as he went by sea for Scotland.

28. At the Rolls Chapell preached the famous Dr. Burnet on 2 Peter i. 10. describing excellently well what was meant by Election ; *vis.* not the effect of any irreversable decree, but so call'd because they embraced the Gospel readily, by which they became elect or precious to God. It would be very needlesse to make our calling and election sure, were they irreversable and what the rigid Presbyterians pretend. In the afternoone to St. Lawrence's church, a new and cheerful pile.

29. I gave notice to the Bp. of Rochester of what Maimburg had publish'd about the motives of the late Dutchesse of York's perversion, in his Historie of Calvinism ; and did myselfe write to the Bp. of Winchester (Dr. Morley) about it, who being concern'd in it, I urged him to set forth his vindication.

31. The Morocco Ambassador being admitted an honorary member of the R. Society, and subscribing his name and titles in Arabic, I was deputed by the Council to go and compliment him.

19 June. The Bantame<sup>1</sup>, or East India Ambassadors (at this time we had in London the Russian, Moroccan, and Indian Ambassadors,)

<sup>1</sup> The name of one was Pungearon Nia Para, of the other Kaia Nebbe, or Keay Nabee. There are different prints of both, representing them exactly as here described. There were others in the embassy, but probably of inferior degree.

being invited to dine at Lord Geo. Berkeley's (now Earl), I went to the entertainment to contemplate the exotic guests. They were both very hard-favour'd and much resembling in countenance some sort of monkeys. We ate at two tables, the Ambassadors and interpreter by themselves. Their garments were rich Indian silks, flower'd with gold, *viz.* a close waistcoat to their knees, drawers, naked legs, and on their heads capps made like fruit-baskets. They wore poison'd daggers at their bosoms, the hafts carv'd with some ugly serpents or devils heads, exceeding keene, and of Damasco metal. They wore no sword. The second Ambassador (sent it seemes to succeed in case the first should die by the way in so tedious a journey), having ben at Mecca, wore a Turkish or Arab shash, a little part of the linnen hanging downe behinde his neck, with some other difference of habite, and was halfe a Negro, bare legg'd and naked feete, and deem'd a very holy man. They sate cross-legg'd like Turks, and sometimes in the posture of apes and monkeys; their nailes and teeth black as jet, and shining, which being the effect, as to their teeth, of perpetually chewing betel to preserve them from the tooth-ache, much raging in their country, is esteem'd beautifull. The first Ambassador was of an olive hue, a flat face, narrow eyes, squat nose, and Moorish lips, no haire appeared; they wore several rings of silver, gold, and copper on their fingers, which was a token of knighthood or nobility. They were of Java Major, whose Princes have ben turn'd Mahometans not above 50 yeares since, the inhabitants are still pagans and idolators. They seem'd of a dull and heavy constitution, not wondering at any thing they saw, but exceedingly astonished how our Law gave us property in our estates, and so thinking we were all Kings, for they could not be made to comprehend how subjects could possess anything but at the pleasure of their Prince, they being all slaves; they were pleas'd with the notion, and admir'd our happinesse. They were very sober, and I believe subtle in their way. Their meate was cook'd, carried up, and they attended by several fat slaves, who had no covering save drawers, which appear'd very uncouth and loathsome. They ate their pilaw and other spoone-meate without spoones, taking up their pottage in the hollow of their fingers, and very dextrously flung it into their mouthes without spilling a drop.

17 July. Came to dine with me the Duke of Grafton and the young Earle of Ossorie, son to my most deare deceas'd friend.

30. Went to visit our good neighbour Mr. Bohun, (Lea, Kent), whose whole house is a cabinet of all elegancies, especially Indian; in the hall are contrivances of Japan skreens instead of wainscot; and there is an excellent pendule clock inclos'd in the curious flower-work of Mr. Gibbons in the middle of the vestibule. The landskips of the skreens represent the manner of living, and country of the Chinese. But above all, his lady's cabinet is adorn'd on the fret, cieling, and

chimney-piece, with Mr. Gibbons's best carving. There are also some of Streeter's best paintings, and many rich curiosities of gold and silver as growing in the mines. The gardens are exactly kept, and the whole place very agreeable and well water'd. The owners are good neighbours, and Mr. Bohun has also built and endow'd an hospital for eight poor people, with a pretty chapell, and every necessarie accommodation.

1 Aug. To the Bp. of London at Fulham, to review the additions which Mr. Marshall had made to his curious booke of flowers in miniature, and collection of insects.

4 With Sir Stephen Fox, to survey the foundations of the Royal Hospital begun at Chelsey.

9. The Council of the R. Society had it recommended to them to be trustees and visitors, or supervisors, of the Academy which Monsieur Faubert did hope to procure to be built by subscription of worthy gentlemen and noblemen, for the education of youth, and to lessen the vast expence the Nation is at yearly by sending children into France to be taught military exercises. We thought good to give him all the encouragement our recommendation could procure.

15. Came to visite me Dr. Rogers, an acquaintance of mine long since at Padoa. He was then Consul of the English Nation, and student in that Universitie, where he proceeded Dr. in Physic; presenting me now with the Latine oration he lately made upon the famous Dr. Harvey's anniversarie in the Coll. of Physicians at London.

20. This night I saw another comet, neere Cancer, very bright, but the stream not so long as the former.

29. Supp'd at Lord Clarendon's with Lord Hyde his brother, now the great favorite, who invited himselfe to dine at my house on the Tuesday following.

30 Oct. Being my birth-day, and I now entering my greate climacterical of 63, after serious recollections of the yeares past, giving Almighty God thanks for all his mercifull preservations and forbearance, begging pardon for my sinns and unworthinesse, and his blessing and mercy on me the yeare entering, I went with my Lady Fox to survey her building, and give some directions for the garden at Chiswick; the architect is Mr. May; somewhât heavy and thick, and not so well understood; the garden much too narrow, the place without water, neere an highway, and neere another greate house of my Lord Burlington, little land about it, so that I wonder at the expence; but women will have their will.

25. I was invited to dine with Mons. Lionberg, the Swedish Resident, who made a magnificent entertainment, it being the birth-day of his King. There dined the Duke of Albemarle, D. of Hamilton, Earle of Bathe, E. of Aylesbury, Lord Arran, Lord Castlehaven, the sonn of him who was executed 50 yeares before, and several greate persons. I was exceeding afraide of drinking (it being a Dutch feast), but the

Duke of Albemarle being that night to waite on his Majestie, excesse was prohibited ; and to prevent all, I stole away and left the company as soone as we rose from table.

28. I went to the Council of the Royal Society for the auditing the last yeares accompt, where I was surpriz'd with a fainting fit that for a time tooke away my sight, but God being mercifull to me, I recovered it after a short repose.

30 Nov. I was exceedingly indanger'd and importun'd to stand the election [for President of the R. S.] having so many voices, but by favor of my friends, and regard of my remote dwelling, and now frequent infirmities, I desir'd their suffrages might be transferr'd to Sir John Hoskins, one of the Masters of Chancery ; a most learned virtuoso as well as lawyer, who accordingly was elected.

7 Dec. Went to congratulate Lord Hyde (the greate favorite), newly made Earle of Rochester,<sup>1</sup> and lately marrying his eldest daughter to the Earle of Ossorie.

18. I sold my East India adventure of £.250 principal for £.750 to the Royal Society, after I had been in that company 25 years, being extraordinary advantageous, by the blessing of God.

23 Jan. 1683. Sir Francis North, sonn to the Lord North, and Lord Cheife Justice, being made Lord Keeper on the death of the Earle of Nottingham, the Lord Chancellor, I went to congratulate him. He is a most knowing, learned, and ingenious man, and besides an excellent person, of an ingenious and sweete disposition, very skilfull in music, painting, the new philosophy, and politer studies.

29. Supp'd at Sir Jos. Williamson's, where was a select companie of our Society, Sir William Petty, Dr. Gale (that learned schole-master of St. Paul's), Dr. Whistler, Mr. Hill, &c. The conversation was philosophicall and cheerfull, on divers considerable questions proposed ; as of the hereditary succession of the Roman Emperors ; the Pica. mentioned in the Preface to our Common Prayer, which signifies onely the Greeke Kalendarium. These were mixed with lighter subjects.

2 Feb. I made my court at St. James's, when I saw the Sea Charts of Capt. Collins, which that industrious man now brought to shew the Duke, having taken all the coastings from the mouth of the Thames, as far as Wales, and exactly measuring every creeke, island, rock, soundings, harbors, sands, and tides, intending next Spring to proceed till he had finish'd the whole iland, and that measured by chains and other instruments. A most exact and usefull undertaking. He affirm'd, that of all the mapps put out since, there are none extant so true as those of Jo. Norden, who gave us the first in Qu. Elizabeth's time ; all since him are erroneous.

12. This morning I receiv'd the newes of the death of my father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne, Knt. and Bart. who died at my house at

<sup>1</sup> Laurence, second son of the Chancellor.

Sayes Court this day at 10 in the morning, after he had labour'd under the gowt and dropsie for neere 6 moneths, in the 78th yeare of his age. The funerall was solemniz'd on the 19th at Deptford, with as much decency as the dignity of the person, and our relation to him, requir'd. There being invited the Bp. of Rochester, severall noblemen, knights, and all the fraternity of the Trinity Companie, of which he had ben Master, and others of the country. The Vicar preach'd a short but proper discourse on 39 Psalm, 10, on the frailty of our mortal condition, concluding with an ample and well-deserv'd eulogie on the defunct, relating to his honourable birth and ancestors, education, learning in Greeke and Latine, modern languages, travels, publiq employments, signal loyalty, character abroad, and particularly the honor of supporting the Church of England in its public worship during its persecution by the late Rebels usurpation and regicide, by the suffrages of divers Bishops, Doctors of the Church, and others, who found such an asylum in his house and family at Paris, that in their disputes with the Papists (then triumphing over it as utterly lost) they us'd to argue for its visibility and existence from Sir R. Browne's chapell and assembly there. Then he spake of his greate and loyal sufferings during 13 yeares exile with his present Majestie, his returne with him in the signall yeare 1660; his honorable employment at home, his timely recesse to recollect himselfe, his greate age, infirmities, and death. He gave to the Trinity Corporation that land in Deptford on which are built those alms-houses for 24 widows of emerited seamen. He was borne the famous yeare of the Gunpowder Treason, in 1605, and being the last [male] of his family, left my wife, his onely daughter, heire. His grandfather Sir Richard Browne was the greate instrument under the greate Earl of Leicester (favorite to Queene Eliz.) in his government of the Netherlands. He was Master of the Household to King James, and Cofferer; I think was the first who regulated the compositions thro' England for the King's household provisions, progresses<sup>1</sup>, &c. which was so high a service, and so gratefull to the whole nation, that he had acknowledgments and publiq thanks sent him from all the Counties; he died by the rupture of a veine in a vehement speech he made about the compositions in a Parliament of King James. By his mother's side he was à Gunson, Treasurer of the Navy in the reignes of Hen. 8, Qu. Mary, and Qu. Eliz., and as by his large pedigree appeares, related to divers of the English nobility. Thus ended this honorable person, after so many changes and tossings to and fro, in the same house where he was borne. 'Lord teach us so to number our days that we may apply our hearts to wisdom!'

By a special clause in his will he order'd that his body should be

<sup>1</sup> The different Counties were to find provisions of different sorts, which were collected by officers called purveyors, whose extortions often excited the attention of Parliament. For a particular account of their practices, see *Archæologia*, vol. III. p. 349.

buried in the Church-yard under the South East window of the Chancel, adjoining to the burying places of his ancestors, since they came out of Essex to Sayes Court, he being much offended at the novel custome of burying every one within the body of the Church and Chancel, that being a favour heretofore granted only to martyrs and greate persons ; this excesse of making Churches Charnel-houses being of ill and irreverend example, and prejudicial to the health of the living, besides the continual disturbance of the pavement and seates, and severall other indecencies. Dr. Hall, the pious Bishop of Norwich, would also be so interr'd<sup>1</sup>, as may be read in his Testament.

16 March. I went to see Sir Josiah Child's prodigious cost in planting walnut trees about his seate<sup>2</sup>, and making fish-ponds, many miles in circuit, in Epping Forest, in a barren spot, as oftentimes these suddenly monied men for the most part seate themselves. He, from a merchant's apprentice, and management of the East India Company's stock, being arriv'd to an estate ('tis said) of £200,000; and lately married his daughter to the eldest sonn of the Duke of Beaufort, late Marques of Worcester, with £50,000 portional present, and various expectations.

I din'd at Mr. Houblon's<sup>3</sup>, a rich and gentile French merchant, who was building a house in the Forest, neare Sir J. Child's, in a place where the late Earle of Norwich dwelt some time, and which came from his lady the widow of Mr. Baker. It will be a pretty villa, about 5 miles from White-chapell.

18 March. I went to hear Dr. Horneck preach at the Savoy Church on 2 Phil. 5. He was a German borne, a most pathetic preacher, a person of a Saint-like life, and hath written an excellent treatise of Consideration<sup>4</sup>.

20. Din'd at Dr. Whistler's at the Physicians Colledge, with Sir Tho. Millington, both learned men ; Dr. W. the most facetious man in nature, and now Censor of the College. I was here consulted where they should build their library ; 'tis pity this Colledge is built so neere New-gate Prison, and in so obscure an hole, a fault in placeing most of our publiq buildings and Churches in the Citty, thro' the avarice of some few men, and his Majesty not over-ruling it when it was in his power after the dreadfull conflagration.

21. Dr. Tenison preach'd at White-hall on 1 Cor. 6. 12 ; I esteeme him to be one of the most profitable preachers in the Church of England being also of a most holy conversation, very learned and ingenious.

<sup>1</sup> As was afterwards, at Fulham, Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, who used to say 'The Churchyard for the dead, the Church for the living.'

Where that elegant mansion, Wanstead House, now stands.

<sup>2</sup> The family were eminent merchants in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

<sup>4</sup> The full title is, 'The great Law of Consideration, or a Discourse wherein the nature, usefulness, and absolute necessity of Consideration, in order to a truly serious and religious life, are laid open ; it went through several editions.

The paines he takes and care of his parish will, I feare, weare him out, which would be an inexpressible losse.<sup>1</sup>

24. I went to heare Dr. Charleton's lecture on the heart in the Anatomie Theater at the Physicians Colledge.

30. I went to London in order to my passing the following weeke, for the celebration of the Easter now approaching, there being in the Holy Weeke so many eminent preachers officiating at the Court and other places.

6 April. Good Friday. There was in the afternoone, according to costome, a Sermon before the King at White-hall; Dr. Sprat preached for the Bp. of Rochester.

17. I was at the launching of the last of the 30 ships order'd to be new built by Act of Parliament, named the Neptune, a second rate, one of the goodliest vessells of the whole navy, built by my kind neighbour young Mr. Shish, his Majesty's master shipwright of this dock.

1 May. I went to Blackheath to see the new faire, being the first, procur'd by the Lord Dartmouth. This was the first day, pretended for the sale of cattle, but I think in truth to enrich the new tavern at the bowling greene, erected by Snape,<sup>2</sup> his Majesty's farrier, a man full of projects. There appeared nothing but an innumerable assembly of drinking people from London, pedlars, &c. and I suppose it too neere London to be of any greate use to the country.

March was unusually hot and dry, and all April excessively wet.

I planted all the out limites of the garden and long walks with holly.<sup>3</sup>

9. Din'd at Sir Gabriel Sylvius's, and thence to visite the Duke of Norfolck, to ask whether he would part with any of his Cartoons and other drawings of Raphael and the greate masters; he told me if he might sell them altogether, he would. but that the late Sir Peter Lely (our famous painter) had gotten some of his best. The person who desired me to treat for them was Vander Douse, grandson to that greate scholar, contemporary and friend of Joseph Scaliger.

16. Came to dinner and visite Sir Richard Anderson of Pendly and his Lady, with whom I went to London.

June 8. On my return home from the R. Society, I found Mr. Wilbraham, a young gent. of Cheshire.

11. The Lord Dartmouth was elected Master of the Trinity House, sonn to Geo. Legg, late Master of the Ordnance, and one of the groomes of the bedchamber; a greate favorite of the Duke's, an active and understanding gentleman in sea affairs.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Thomas Tenison succeeded Tillotson in the metropolitical see of Canterbury. having been before Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields and Bishop of Lincoln. He lived to a very great age.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Granger mentions a print of this person by White, and says he was father of Dr. Snape of Eton: one of this family has been serjeant-farrier to the King for 300 years.

<sup>3</sup> 400 feet in length, 9 feet high, 5 in diameter, in my now ruined garden, thanks to the Czars of Muscovy. Sylva, Book II. chap. vi.

13. To our Society, where we received the Count de Zinzendorp, Ambassador from the Duke of Saxonie, a very fine young man : we shew'd him divers experiments on the magnet, on which subject the Society were upon.

16. I went to Windsor, dining by the way at Chesewick (Chiswick), at Sir Stephen Fox's, where I found Sir Robert Howard (that universal pretender), and Signor Verrio, who brought his draught and designs for the painting of the staire-case of Sir Stephen's new house.

That which was new at Windsor since I was last there, and was surprising to me, was that incomparable fresca painting in St. George's Hall, representing the legend of St. George, and triumph of the Black Prince, and his reception by Edw. III. ; the volto, or roofe, not totally finish'd ; then the *Resurrection* in the Chapell, where the figure of the Ascension is in my opinion comparable to any paintings of the most famous Roman masters ; the *Last Supper* also over the altar. I liked the contrivance of the unseene organ behind the altar, nor less the stupendous and beyond all description the incomparable carving of our Gibbons, who is, without controversie, the greatest master both for invention and rarenesse of worke, that the world ever had in any age ; nor doubt I at all that he will prove as greate a master in the statuary art.

Verrio's invention is admirable, his ord'nance full and flowing, antiq and heroical ; his figures move ; and if the walls hold (which is the onely doubt by reason of the salts which in time and in this moist climate prejudice) the work will preserve his name to ages.

There was now the terrace brought almost round the old Castle ; the grass made cleane, even, and curiously turf'd ; the avenues to the new park, and other walkes, planted with elmes and limes, and a pretty canal, and receptacle for fowle ; nor lesse observable and famous is the throwing so huge a quantity of excellent water to the enormous height of the Castle, for the use of the whole house, by an extraordinary invention of Sir Samuel Morland.

17 June. I din'd at the Earle of Sunderland's with the Earles of Bath, Castlehaven, Lords Viscounts Falconberg, Faulkland, Bp. of London, the Grand Master of Malta, brother to the Duke de Vendosme, (a young wild spark,) and Mr. Dryden the Poet. After evening prayer I walk'd in the park with my Lord-Clarendon, where we fell into discourse of the Bp. of Salisbury (Dr. Seth Ward), his subtilty, &c. Dr. Durell, late Deane of Windsor, being dead, Dr. Turner, one of the Duke's Chaplains, was made Deane.

I visited my Lady Arlington, Groome of the Stole to her Majesty, who being hardly set down to supper, word was brought her that the Queene was going into the park to walke, it being now neere eleven at night ; the alarm caus'd the Countesse to rise in all haste, and leave her supper to us. By this one may take an estimate of the extream slavery

and subjection that courtiers live in, who have not time to eate and drinke at their pleasure. It put me in mind of Horace's Mouse, and to blesse God for my owne private condition.

Here was Monsieur de l'Angle, the famous minister of Charenton, lately fled from the persecution in France, concerning the deplorable condition of the Protestants there.

18. I was present, and saw and heard the humble submission and petition of the Lord Maior, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, on behalf of the Citty of London, on the *quo warranto* against their charter, which they deliver'd to his Majesty in the Presence-chamber. It was deliver'd kneeling, and then the King and Council went into the Council-chamber, the Maior and his brethren attending still in the Presence-chamber. After a short space they were called in, and my Lord Keeper made a speech to them, exaggerating the disorderly and riotous behaviour in the late election, and polling for Papillon and Du Bois after the Common-hall had ben formally dissolv'd; with other misdemeanors, libells on the Government, &c. by which they had incurr'd his Majestys high displeasure; and that but for this submission, and under such articles as the King should require their obedience to, he would certainly enter judgment against them, which hitherto he had suspended. The things requir'd were as follows: that they should neither elect Maior, Sheriff, Alderman, Recorder, Common Serjeant, Towne Cleark, Coroner, or Steward of Southwark, without his Majestys approbation; and that if they presented any his Majesty did not like, they should proceed in wonted manner to a second choice; if that was disapprov'd, his Majesty to nominate them; and if within 5 daies they thought good to assent to this, all former miscarriages should be forgotten. And so they tamely parted with their so ancient privileges after they had dined and ben treated by the King. This was a signal and most remarkable period. What the consequences will prove, time will shew. Divers of the old and most learned lawyers and judges were of opinion that they could not forfeit their charter, but might be personally punish'd for their misdemeanors; but the plurality of the younger judges and rising men judg'd it otherwise.

The Popish Plot also, which had hitherto made such a noise, began now sensibly to dwindle, thro' the folly, knavery, impudence, and giddiness of Oates, so as the Papists began to hold up their heads higher than ever, and those who had fled, flock'd to London from abroad. Such suddaine changes and eager doings there had ben, without any thing steady or prudent for these last seaven yeares.

19 June. I return'd to towne in a coach with the Earle of Clarendon, when passing by the glorious palace his father built but few yeares before, which they were now demolishing, being sold to certaine undertakers, I turn'd my head the contrary way till the coach was gone past it, least I might minister occasion of speaking of it, which

must needs have griev'd him that in so short a time their pomp was so sadly fallen.

28. After the Popish Plot there was now a new, and (as they call'd it) a Protestant Plot discover'd, that certaine Lords and others should designe the assassination of the King and the Duke as they were to come from New-market, with a general rising of the Nation, and especially of the City of London, disaffected to the present Government ; upon which were committed to the Tower the Lord Russell, eldest son of the Earle of Bedford, the Earle of Essex, Mr. Algernon Sydney son to the old Earle of Leicester, Mr. Trenchard, Hampden, Lord Howard of Escrick, and others. A proclamation was issued against my Lord Grey, the Duke of Monmouth, Sir Tho. Armstrong, and one Ferguson, who had escaped beyond sea ; of these some were said to be for killing the King, others for onely seizing on him and persuading him to new counsels, on the pretence of the danger of Popery should the Duke live to succeed, who was now again admitted to the councils and cabinet seacrets. The Lords Essex and Russell were much deplor'd, few believing they had any evil intention against the King or the Church ; some thought they were cunningly drawn in by their enemies for not approving some late councils and management relating to France, to Popery, to the persecution of the Dissenters, &c. They were discovered by the Lord Howard of Escrick and some false brethren of the club, and the designe happily broken ; had it taken effect, it would, to all appearance, have expos'd the Government to unknowne and dangerous events, which God avert !

28. Was borne my grand-daughter at Sayes Court, and christned by the name of Martha Maria, our Viccar officiating. I pray God blesse her, and may she choose the better part.

13 July. As I was visiting Sir Tho. Yarbrow and his Lady in Covent Garden, the astonishing newes was brought to us of the Earle of Essex having cut his throat, having ben but three days a prisoner in the Tower, and this happening on the very day and instant that Lord Russell was on his trial, and had sentence of death. This accident exceedingly amaz'd me, my Lord Essex being so well knowne by me to be a person of such sober and religious deportment, so well at his ease, and so much oblig'd to the King. It is certaine the King and Duke were at the Tower, and pass'd by his window about the same time this morning, when my Lord asking for a razor shut himselfe into a closet and perpetrated the horrid act. Yet it was wondred by some how it was possible he should do it in the manner he was found, for the wound was so deepe and wide, that being cut thro' the gullet, wind-pipe, and both the jugulars, it reach'd to the very vertebræ of the neck, so that the head held to it by a very little skin as it were ; the gapping too of the razor, and cutting his owne fingers, was a little strange ; but more, that having pass'd the jugulars he should have strength to proceed so

far, that an executioner could hardly have don more with an axe. There were odd reflections upon it.<sup>1</sup>

This fatal newes coming to Hicks's Hall upon the article of my Lord Russell's trial, was said to have had no little influence on the Jury and all the Bench to his prejudice. Others said that he had himselfe on some occasions hinted, that in case he should be in danger of having his life taken from him by any publiq misfortune, those who thirsted for his estate should misse of their aim; and that he should speak favourably of that Earle of Northumberland,<sup>2</sup> and some others who made away with themselves; but these are discourses so unlike his sober and prudent conversation, that I have no inclination to credit them. What might instigate him to this devilish fact, I am not able to conjecture. My Lord Clarendon, his brother-in-law, who was with him but the day before, assur'd me he was then very cheerfull, and declar'd it to be the effect of his innocence and loyalty; and most believe that his Majesty had no severe intentions against him, tho' he was altogether inexorable as to Lord Russell, and some of the rest. For my part, I believe the crafty and ambitious Earle of Shaftesbury had brought them into some dislike of the present carriage of matters at Court, not with any designe of destroying the Monarchy (which Shaftsbury has in confidence and for unanswerable reasons told me he would support to his last breath, as having seene and felt the miserie of being under mechanic tyranny), but perhaps of setting up some other whom he might governe, and frame to his own Platonic fancie, without much regard to the religion establish'd under the Hierarchie, for which he had no esteeme; but when he perceiv'd those whom he had engag'd to rise, fail of his expectations, and the day past, reproching his complices that a second day for an exploit of this nature was never successfull, he gave them the slip, and got into Holland, where the fox died, three moneths before these unhappy Lords and others were discover'd or suspected. Every one deplor'd Essex and Russell, especialy the last, as being thought to have ben drawn in on pretence only of endeavouring to rescue the King from his present councillors, and secure Religion from Popery, and the Nation from arbitrary Government, now so much apprehended; whilst the rest of those who were fled, especialy Ferguson and his gang, had doubtlesse some bloudy designe, to set up a Commonwealth, and turn all things topsy turvy. Of the same tragical principles is Sidney.

13. I had this day much discourse with Monsieur Pontaq, son to the famous and wise prime President of Bourdeaux. This gentleman was owner of that excellent vignoble of Pontaq and Obrien, from whence

1. Bishop Burnet, after making every enquiry by desire of the Countess, does not believe that Essex was murdered. *Own Times*, vol. I. p. 569.

2 Henry Percy, eighth Earl of Northumberland, shot himself in the Tower, to which he had been committed on a charge of high treason in June 1585.

come the choicest of our Bourdeaux wines ; and I think I may truly say of him, what was not so truly said of St. Paul, that much learning had made him mad. He had studied well in philosophie, but chiefly the rabbines, and was exceedingly addicted to cabalistical fancies, an eternal hablador [babbler], and halfe distracted by reading abundance of the extravagant Eastern Jewes. He spake all languages, was very rich, had a handsome person, and was well bred, about 45 yeares of age.

14 July. I visited Mr. Fraser, a learned Scots gentleman, whom I had formerly recommended to Lord Berkeley for the instruction and government of his sonn, since dead at sea. He had now ben in Holland at the sale of the learned Heinsius's library, and shew'd me some very rare and curious bookes, and some MSS. which he had purchas'd to good value. There were three or four Herbals in miniature, accurately don, divers Roman antiquities, of Verona, and very many books of Aldus's impression.

15. A stranger, an old man, preach'd on 6 Jerem. 8. the not hearkening to instruction, portentous of desolation to a people ; much after Bp. Andrews's method, full of logical divisions, in short and broken periods, and Latine sentences, now quite out of fashion in the pulpit, which is grown into a far more profitable way, of plaine and practical discourses, of which sort this Nation, or any other, never had greater plenty or more profitable (I am confident) ; so much has it to answer for thriving no better on it.

The public was now in greate consternation on the late plot and conspiracy ; his Majestie very melancholy, and not stirring without double guards ; all the avenues and private doores about White-hall and the Park shuf up, few admitted to walke in it. The Papists in the meane time very jocond, and indeede with reason, seeing their own brought to nothing, and turn'd to ridicule, and now a conspiracy of Protestants as they call'd them.

The Turks were likewise in hostility against the German Emperour, almost masters of the Upper Hungary, and drawing towards Vienna. On the other side the French King (who 'tis believed brought in the infidels) disturbing his Spanish and Dutch neighbours, having swallow'd up almost all Flanders, pursuing his ambition of a fifth universal monarchy ; and all this blood and disorder in Christendom had evidently its rise from our defections at home, in a wanton peace, minding nothing but luxurie, ambition, and to procure money for our vices. To this add our irreligion and atheism, greate ingratitude, and selfe interest ; the apostacy of some, and the suffering the French to grow so greate, and the Hollanders so weake. In a word, we were wanton madd, and surfeiting with prosperity ; every moment unsettling the old foundations, and never constant to any thing. The Lord in his mercy avert the sad omen, and that we do not provoke him till he beare it no longer !

This summer did we suffer 20 French men of war to passe our Channel towards the Sound, to help the Danes against the Swedes, who had abandon'd the French interest ; we not having ready sufficient to guard our coasts or take cognizance of what they did ; though the nation never had more, or a better navy, yet the sea never had so slender a fleete.

19 July. George Prince of Denmark, who landed this day, came to marry the Lady Anne, daughter to the Duke : so I returned home, having seene the young gallant at dinner at White-hall.

20. Severall of the Conspirators of the lower forme were executed at Tyburn ; and the next day,

21. Lord Russell was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the executioner giving him three butcherly strokes. The speech he made, and paper which he gave the Sheriff declaring his innocence, the noblenesse of the family, the piety and worthynesse of the unhappy gentleman, wrought much pity, and occasion'd various discourses on the plot.

25. I againe saw Prince George of Denmark : he had the Danish countenance, blonde, of few words, spake French but ill, seem'd somewhat heavy, but reported to be valiant, and indeede he had bravely rescu'd and brought off his brother the K. of Denmark in a battaile against the Swedes, when both those Kings were engag'd very smartly.

28. He was married to the Lady Anne at White-hall. Her Court and Household to be modell'd as the Duke's, her father, had ben, and they to continue in England.

1 Aug. Came to see me Mr. Flamsted, the famous astronomer, from his Observatorie at Greenewich, to draw the meridian for my pendule, &c.

2. The Countesses of Bristol and Sunderland, aunt and cousin german of the late Lord Russell, came to visite me, and condole his sad fate. The next day came Col. Russell, uncle to the late Lord Russell, and brother to the Earle of Bedford, and with him Mrs. Middleton, that famous and indeede incomparable beauty, daughter to my relation Sir Robert Needham.

19. I went to Bromely to visite our Bishop, and excellent neighbour, & to congratulate his now being made Archbishop of Yorke. On the 28th he came to take his leave of us, now preparing for his journey and residence in his province.

28. My sweete little grandchild Martha Maria died, and on the 29th was buried in the parish church.

2 September. This morning was read in the Church, after the office was done, the declaration setting forth the late conspiracy against the King's person.

3. I went to see what had ben done by the Duke of Beaufort on his late purchas'd house at Chelsey, which I once had the selling of for the Countesse of Bristol ; he had made greate alterations, but might have built a better house with the materials and the cost he had been at.

Saw the Countesse of Monte Feltre, whose husband I had formerly known ; he was a subject of the Pope's, but becoming a Protestant, he resided in England, and married into the family of the Savilles of Yorkshire. The Count, her late husband, was a very learned gent: a greate politician, and a goodly man. She was accompanied by her sister exceedingly skill'd in painting, nor did they spare for colour on their owne faces. They had a greate deal of wit.

9. It being the day of publiq thanksgiving for his Majesty's late preservation, the former declaration was againe read, and there was an office us'd, compos'd for the occasion. A loyal Sermon was preached on the divine right of Kings, from 144 Psalm 10. 'Thou hast preserved David from the peril of the sword.'

15. Came to visite me the learned anatomist Dr. Tyson, with some other Fellows of our Society.

16. At the elegant villa and garden of Mr. Bohun's at Lee. He shewed me the zinnar tree or platanus, and told me that since they had planted this kind of tree about the Citty of Ispahan in Persia, the plague, which formerly much infested the place, had exceedingly abated of its mortal effects, and render'd it very healthy.

18. I went to London to visite the Dutchesse of Grafton, now greate with child, a most virtuous and beautifull lady. Dining with her at my Lord Chamberlaine's, met my Lord of St. Alban's, now grown so blind that he could not see to take his meate. He has liv'd a most easy life, in plenty even abroad, whilst his Majesty was a sufferer ; he has lost immense sums at play, which yet, at about 80 yeares old, he continues, having one that sits by him to name the spots in the cards. He eate and drank with extraordinary appetite. He is a prudent old courtier, and much enrich'd since his Majesty's returne.

After dinner I walked to survey the sad demolition of Clarendon House, that costlly and only sumptuous palace of the late Lord Chancellor Hyde, where I have often ben so cheerfull with him, and sometimes so sad: happening to make him a visite but the day before he fled from the angry Parliament, accusing him of mal-administration, and being envious at his grandeur, who from a private lawyer came to be father in law to the Duke of York, and as some would suggest, designing his Majesty's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, not apt to breed ; to this they imputed much of our unhappiness, and that he being sole minister and favorite at his Majesty's restauration, neglected to gratify the king's suffering party, preferring those who were the cause of our troubles. But perhaps as many of these things were injuriously laid to his charge, so he kept the government far steadier than it has prov'd since. I could name some who I think contributed greatly to his ruin, the buffoones and the *misses*, to whom he was an eye-sore. 'Tis true he was of a jolly temper after the old English fashion ; but France had now the ascendant, and we were become quite another na-

tion. The Chancellor gone, and dying in exile, the Earl his successor sold that which cost £50,000. building, to the young Duke of Albemarle for £25,000. to pay debts which how contracted remains yet a mystery, his sonn being no way a prodigal. Some imagine the Dutchesse his daughter had ben chargeable to him. However it were, this stately palace is decreed to ruine, to support the prodigious waste the Duke of Albemarle had made of his estates since the old man died. He sold it to the highest bidder, and it fell to certaine rich bankers and mechanics, who gave for it and the ground about it £35,000.; they designe a new towne as it were, and a most magnificent piazza (i. e. square.) 'Tis said they have already materials towards it with what they sold of the house alone, more worth than what they paid for it. See the vicissitude of earthly things ! I was astonished at this demolition, nor less at the little army of labourers and artificers levelling the ground, laying foundations, and contriving greate buildings at an expence of £200,000. if they perfect their designe.<sup>1</sup>

19. In my walkes I stepp'd into a goldbeaters work-house, where he shew'd me the wonderfull ductilitie of that spreading and oylie metall. He said it must be finer than the standard, such as was old angel gold, and that of such he had once seene to the value of £100. stamp'd with the *agnus dei*; and coyn'd at the time of the holy war, which had ben found in a ruin'd wall somewhere in the north, neere to Scotland, some of which he beat into leaves, and the rest sold to the curiosi in antiquities and medails.

23 Sept. We had now the welcome tidings of the King of Poland raising the siege of Vienna, which had given terror to all Europe, and utmost reproch to the French, who 'tis believ'd brought in the Turks for diversion that the French King might the more easily swallow Flanders, and pursue his unjust conquests on the Empire, whilst we sat unconcern'd and under a deadly charm from somebody.

There was this day a collection for rebuilding New-market, consum'd by an accidental fire, which removing his Majesty thence sooner than was intended, put by the assassins, who were disappointed of their rendezvous and expectation by a wonderfull providence. This made the

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Lord Cornbury, dated Sayes Court, 23 Jan. 1665-6, Mr. Evelyn having been to see Clarendon House, says, 'I went with prejudice and a critical spirit, incident to those who fancy they know any thing in art; I acknowledge that I have never seene a nobler pile. My old friend and fellow traveller (inhabitants and co-temporaries at Rome) has perfectly acquitted himself. It is, without hyperbole, the best contrived, the most usefull, gracefull, and magnificent house in England; I except not Audley End, which, though larger and full of gaudy barbarous ornaments, dos not gratifie judicious spectators. Here is state and use, solidity and beauty, most symmetrically combined together. Nothing abroad pleases me better, nothing at home approaches it. I have no designe to gratifie the architect beyond what I am obliged as a professed honorer of virtue wheresoever 'tis conspicuous; but when I had seriously contemplated every roome (for I went into 'em all, from the cellar to the plat-forme on the rooffe), seene how well and judiciously the walls were erected, the arches cut and turn'd, the timber brac'd, their scantlings and contignations dispos'd, I was most highly satisfied, and do acknowledge myselfe to have much improv'd by what I observ'd.'

King more earnest to render Winchester the seate of his autumnal field diversions for the future, designing a palace there, where the antient castle stood ; infinitely indeede preferable to New-market for prospects, air, pleasure, and provisions. The surveior has already begun the foundation for a palace, estimated to cost £35,000, and his Majesty is purchasing ground about it to make a parke, &c.

4 Oct. I went to London, on receiving a note from the Countesse of Arlington, of some considerable charge or advantage I might obtaine by applying myselfe to his Majesty on this signal conjuncture of his Majesty entering up judgment against the City Charter ; the proposaI made me I wholly declin'd, not being well satisfied with these violent transactions, and not a little sorry that his Majesty was so often put upon things of this nature against so greate a Citty, the consequences whereoff may be so much to his prejudice ; so I return'd home. At this time the Lord Chief Justice Pemberton was displaced. He was held to be the most learned of the judges, and an honest man. Sir Geo. Jefferies was advanc'd reputed to be most ignorant, but most daring. Sir Geo. Treby, Recorder of London, was also put by, and one Genner, an obscure lawyer, set in his place. Eight of the richest and cheife aldermen were remov'd, and all the rest made onely justices of the peace, and no more wearing of gownes or chaines of gold. The Lord Mayor and two Sheriffs holding their places by new grants, as *Custodes*, at the King's pleasure. The pompe and grandure of the most august Citty in the world thus chang'd face in a moment, which gave greate occasion of discourse and thoughts of hearts, what all this would end in. Prudent men were for the old foundations.

Following his Majesty this morning thro' the gallerie, I went, with the few who attended him, into the Dutchesse of Portsmouth's *dressing roome* within her bed-chamber, where she was in her morning loose garment, her maids combing her, newly out of her bed, his Majesty and the gallants standing about her ; but that which engag'd my curiosity was the rich and splendid furniture of this woman's apartment, now twice or thrice pull'd down and rebuilt to satisfie her prodigal and expensive pleasures, whilst her Majestys dos not excede some gentlemen's ladies in furniture and accommodation. Here I saw the new fabriq of French tapissry, for designe, tendernesse of worke, and incomparable imitation of the best paintings, beyond any thing I had ever beheld. Some pieces had Versailles, St. Germain's, and other palaces of the French King, with huntings, figures, and landskips, exotiq fowls, and all to the life rarely don. Then for Japan cabinets, screenes, pendule clocks, greate vases of wrought plate, tables, stands, chimney furniture, sconces, branches, braseras, &c. all of massive silver, and out of number, besides some of her Majesty's best paintings.

Surfeiting of this, I din'd at Sir Stephen Fox's, and went contented home to my poor, but quiet villa. What contentment can there be in

the riches and splendor of this world, if purchas'd with vice and dishonour!

10 Oct. Visited the Dutchesse of Grafton, not yet brought to bed, and dining with my Lord Chamberlaine (her father), went with them to see Montagu House, a palace lately built by Lord Montagu, who had married the most beautifull Countesse of Northumberland<sup>1</sup>. It is a stately and ample palace. Signior Verrio's fresca paintings, especially the funeral pile of Dido, on the stayrecase, the labours of Hercules, fight with the Centaurs, effeminacy with Dejanira, and Apotheosis or reception amongst the gods, on the walls and roofe of the greate roome above, I think exceeds any thing he has yet don, both for designe, colouring, and exuberance of invention, comparable to the greatest of the old masters, or what they so celebrate at Rome. In the rest of the chamber are some excellent paintings of Holbein and other masters. The garden is large, and in good aire, but the fronts of the house not answerable to the inside. The Court at entrie, and wings for offices seeme too neere the streete, and that so very narrow and meanely built that the corridore is not in proportion to the rest, to hide the court from being overlook'd by neighbours, all which might have ben prevented had they plac'd the house further into the ground, of which there was enough to spare. But on the whole it is a fine palace, built after the French pavilion way, by Mr. Hooke, the Curator, of the Royal Society. There were with us my Lady Scroope, the greate witt, and Monsieur Chardine, the celebrated traveller.

13. Came to visite me my old and worthy friend Mr. Packer, bringing with him his nephew Berkeley, grandson to the honest judge. A most ingenious, virtuous, and religious gentleman, seated neere Worcester, and very curious in gardening.

17 Oct. I was at the court leet of this manor, my Lord Arlington his Majesty's High Steward.<sup>2</sup>

26. Came to visite and dine with me, Mr. Brisbane, Secretary to the Admiralty, a learned and agreeable man.

30. I went to Kew to visite Sir Hen. Capell, brother to the late Earle of Essex; but he being gone to Cashioberry, after I had seene his garden and the alterations therein, I return'd home. He had repair'd his house, roof'd his hall with a kind of cupola, and in a niche was an artificial fountaine; but the roomé seems to me over melancholy, yet might be much improv'd by having the walls well painted *a fresca*. The two greene houses for oranges and mirtles communicating with the roomes below, are very well contriv'd. There is a cupola made with pole-work betweene two elmes at the end of a walk, which

<sup>1</sup> He was made Earl of Montagu by King William, and Duke by Queen Anne. His wife was Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley Earl of Southampton, widow of Joceline Percy, the 11th and last Earl of Northumberland (of that family).

<sup>2</sup> The manor of Deptford le Strond, alias West Greenwich.

being cover'd by plashing the trees to them, is very pretty: for the rest there are too many fir trees in the garden.

17 Nov. I tooke a house in Villiers Streete; York Buildings, for the winter, having many important concernes to dispatch, and for the education of my daughters.

23. The Duke of Monmouth, till now proclaim'd traytor on the pretended plot for which Lord Russell was lately beheaded, came this evening to White-hall and render'd himselfe, on which were various discourses.

26. I went to compliment the Dutchesse of Grafton, now laying-in of her first child, a sonn<sup>1</sup>, which she called for, that I might see it. She was become more beautiful, if it were possible, than before, and full of vertue and sweetnesse. She discours'd with me of many particulars, with greate prudence and gravity beyond her yeares.

29. Mr. Forbes shew'd me the plot of the garden making at Burleigh, at my Lord Exeter's, which I look'd on as one of the most noble that I had seene.

The whole court and towne in solemn mōurning for the death of the K. of Portugal, her Majesties brother.

30. At the anniversary dinner of the Royal Society the King sent us two does, Sir Cyril Wych was elected President.

5 Dec. I was this day invited to a wedding of one Mrs. Castle, to whom I had some obligation, and it was to her fifth husband, a Lieutenant Colonel of the Citty. She was the daughter of one Burton, a broom-man, by his wife who sold kitchen stuff in Kent Streete, whom God so bless'd that the father became a very rich, and was a very honest man; he was Sheriff of Surrey, where I have sat on the bench with him. Another of his daughters was married to Sir John Bowles; and this daughter was a jolly friendly woman. There was at the wedding the Lord Maior, the Sheriff, several Aldermen, and persons of qualitie; above all, Sir Geo. Jefferies, newly made Lord Chiefe Justice of England, with Mr. Justice Withings, daunc'd with the bride and were exceeding merrie. These greate men spent the rest of the after-noone, till 11 at night, in drinking healths, taking tobacco, and talking much beneath the gravity of Judges that had but a day or two before condemn'd Mr. Algernon Sidney, who was executed the 7th on Tower Hill, on the single witnesse of that monster of a man, Lord Howard of Escrick, and some sheets of paper taken in Mr. Sidney's study, pretended to be written by him, but not fully prov'd, nor the time when, but appearing to have ben written before his Majesty's restauration, and then pardoned by the act of oblivion; so that tho' Mr. Sidney was known to be a person obstinately averse to government by a monarch

<sup>1</sup> Charles, who succeeded his father killed in Ireland in 1690. This son was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Chamberlain, Privy Counsellor, K. G. &c. in the reigns of Anne, George I. and George II. There is a fine whole-length mezzotinto of him by Faber.

(the subject of the paper was in answer to one of Sir E. Filmer), yet it was thought he had very hard measure. There is this yet observable, that he had ben an inveterate enemie to the last King, and in actual rebellion against him ; a man of greate courage, greate sense, greate parts, which he shew'd both at his trial and death ; for when he came on the scaffold, instead of a speech, he told them onely that he had made his peace with God, that he came not thither to talk, but to die ; put a paper into the Sheriffs' hand, and another into a friend's, sayd one prayer as short as a grace, laid down his neck, and bid the executioner do his office.

The Duke of Monmouth, now having his pardon, refuses to acknowledge there was any treasonable plot ; for which he is banish'd White-hall. There was a greate disappointment to some who had prosecuted Trenchard, Hampden, &c. that for want of a second witnesse were come out of the Tower upon their habeas corpus.

The King had now augmented his guards with a new sort of dragoons, who carried also granados, and were habited after the Polish manner, with long picked caps, very fierce and fantastical.

7. I went to the Tower, and visited the Earl of Danby, the late Lord High Treasurer, who had ben imprison'd four years : he receiv'd me with greate kindnesse. I-dined with him, and staid till night. We had discourse of many things, his Lady railing sufficiently at the keeping her husband so long in prison. Here I saluted the Lord Dunblaine's wife<sup>1</sup>, who before had ben married to Emerton, and about whom there was that scandalous businesse before the delegates.

23. The small pox very prevalent and mortal ; the Thames frozen.

26. I dined at Lord Clarendon's, where I was to meet that ingenious and learned gentleman Sir Geo. Wheeler, who has published the excellent description of Africa and Greece, and who being a Knight of a very fair estate and young, had now newly entred into holy orders.

27. I went to visite Sir John Chardin, a French gentleman who had travell'd three times by land into Persia, and had made many curious researches in his travells, of which he was now setting forth a relation. It being in England this year one of the severest frosts that had happen'd of many yeares, he told me the cold in Persia was much greater, the ice of an incredible thicknesse ; that they had little use of iron in all that country, it being so moiste (tho' the aire admirably clear and healthy), that oyle would not preserve it from rusting, so that they had neither clocks nor watches ; but some padlocks they had for doores and for boxes.

30. Dr. Sprat, now made Deane of Westminster, preached to the King at White-hall, on 6 Matt. 24. Recollecting the passages of the

<sup>1</sup> Peregrine Viscount Dumblaine, youngest son of the Earl of Danby, so created in his father's life-time, and who became his successor in title and estate.

past yeare, I gave God thanks for his mercies, praying his blessing for the future.

1684, 1 January. The weather continuing intolerably severe, streetes of booths were set upon the Thames ; the aire was so very cold and thick, as of many yeares there had not ben the like. The small pox was very mortal.

2. I din'd at Sir Ste. Fox's : after dinner came a fellow who eate live charcoal, glowingly ignited, quenching them in his mouth, and then champing and swallowing them down. There was a dog also which seem'd to do many rational actions.

6. The river quite frozen.

9. I went crosse the Thames on the ice, now become so thick as to beare not onely streetes of boothes, in which they roasted meate, and had divers shops of wares, quite acrosse as in a towne, but coaches, carts, and horses, passed over. So I went from Westminster Stayres to Lambeth, and din'd with the Archbishop : where I met my Lord Bruce, Sir Geo. Wheeler, Coll. Cooke, and severall divines. After dinner and discourse with his Grace till evening prayers, Sir Geo. Wheeler and I walked over the ice from Lambeth Stayres to the horse ferry.

10. I visited Sir Robert Reading, where after supper we had musiq, but not comparable to that which Mrs. Bridgeman made us on the guittar with such extraordinary skill and dexterity.

16. The Thames was fill'd with people and tents, selling all sorts of wares as in the City.

24. The frost continuing more and more severe, the Thames before London was still planted with boothes in formal streetes, all sorts of trades and shops furnish'd and full of commodities, even to a printing presse, where the people and ladyes tooke a fancy to have their names-printed, and the day and yeare set down when printed on the Thames<sup>1</sup> ; this humour tooke so universally, that 'twas estimated the printer gain'd £5. a day, for printing a line onely, at sixpence a name, besides what he got by ballads, &c. Coaches plied from Westminster to the Temple, and from several other staires to and fro, as in the streetes, sleds, sliding with skeetes, a bull-baiting, horse and coach races, puppet plays and interludes, cookes, tipling, and other lewd places, so that it seem'd to be a bacchanalian triumph, or carnival on the water, whilst it was a severe judgment on the land, the trees not onely splitting as if by lightning-struck, but men and cattle perishing in divers places, and the very seas so lock'd up with ice, that no vessells could stir out or come in. The fowles, fish, and birds, and all our exotiq plants and greenes universally perishing. Many parkes of deer were destroyed, and all

<sup>1</sup> By favour of a gentleman possessed of innumerable literary curiosities, I have one of these cards now before me. Within a treble border, 'Monsieur et Madam Justel. Printed on the River of Thames being frozen. In the 36:h year of King Charles the II. Feb. 5, 1682.' v. s. is added with a pen, probably by Mr. Justell. Editor.

sorts of fuell so deare that there were greate contributions to preserve the poore alive. Nor was this severe weather much lesse intense in most parts of Europe, even as far as Spaine and the most Southern tracts. London, by reason of the excessive coldnesse of the aire hindering the ascent of the smoke, was so fill'd with the fuliginous steame of the sea-coale, that hardly could one see crosse the streetes, and this filling the lungs with its grosse particles, exceedingly obstructed the breast, so as one could scarcely breath. Here was no water to be had from the pipes and engines, nor could the brewers and divers other tradesmen worke, and every moment was full of disastrous accidents.

4 Feb. I went to Sayes Court to see how the frost had dealt with my garden, where I found many of the greenes and rare plantes utterly destroyed. The oranges and mirtills very sick, the rosemary and laurells dead to all appearance, but the cypress likely to indure it.

5. It began to thaw, but froze againe. My coach crossed from Lambeth to the Horseferry at Millbank, Westminster. The booths were almost all taken downe, but there was first a Map or Landskip cut in copper representing all the manner of the camp, and the several actions, sports, and pastimes thereon, in memory of so signal a frost<sup>1</sup>.

7. I dined with my Lord Keeper [North], and walking alone with him some time in his gallery, we had discourse of musiq. He told me he had ben brought up to it from a child, so as to sing his part at first sight. Then speaking of Painting, of which he was also a greate lover, and other ingenious matters, he desir'd me to come oftener to see him.

8. I went this evening to visite that greate and knowing virtuoso Monsieur Justell. The weather was set in to an absolute thaw and raine, but the Thames still frozen.

10. After eight weekes missing the foraine posts, there came abundance of intelligence from abroad.

12. The Earle of Danby, late Lord Treasurer, together with the Roman Catholic Lords impeach'd of High Treason in the Popish Plot, had now their Habeas Corpus, and came out upon baile, after five yeares imprisonment in the Tower. Then were also tried and deeply fin'd Mr. Hampden and others for being suppos'd of the late Plot, for which Lord Russell and Col. Sidney suffer'd; as also the person who went about to prove that the Earle of Essex had his throat cut in the Tower by others; likewise Mr. Johnson, the author of that famous piece called Julian.

15. Newes of the Prince of Orange having accus'd the Deputies of Amsterdam of Crimen lesæ Majestatis, and being Pensioners to France.

Dr. Tenison communicated to me his intention of erecting a Library in St. Martin's parish, for the publiq use, and desir'd my assistance with

<sup>1</sup> There are different representations of this curious scene, both in wood and copper-plate engravings.

Sir Christopher Wren about the placeing and structure thereof. A worthy and laudable designe. He told me there were 30 or 40 young men in Orders in his parish, either Governors to young gentlemen or Chaplains to noblemen, who being reprov'd by him on occasion for frequenting taverns or coffee-houses, told him they would study or employ their time better, if they had books. This put the pious Doctor on this designe ; and indeede a greate reproch it is that so greate a Citty as London should not have a publiq Library becoming it. There ought to be one at St. Paules ; the West end of that church (if ever finish'd) would be a convenient place.

23. I went to Sir John Chardin, who desired my assistance for the engraving the plates, the translation, and printing his History of that wonderfull Persian Monument neere Persepolis, and other rare antiquities, which he had caus'd to be drawne from the originals in his second journey into Persia, which we now concluded upon. Afterwards I went with Sir Christopher Wren to Dr. Tenison, where we made the drawing and estimate of the expence of the Library, to be begun this next Spring neere the Mewes <sup>1</sup>.

Greate expectation of the Prince of Orange's attempts in Holland to bring those to Amsterdam to consent to the new levies, to which we were no friends, by a pseudo-politic adherence to the French interest.

26. Came to visite me Dr. Turner, our new Bishop of Rochester.

28. I din'd at Lady Tuke's, where I heard Dr. Walgrave (Physitian to the Duke and Dutchesse) play excellently on the lute.

7 March. Dr. Meggot, Deane of Winchester, preached an incomparable sermon, (the King being now gone to New-market,) on 12 Heb. 15. shewing and pathetically pressing the care we ought to have lest we come short of the grace of God. Afterwards I went to visite Dr. Tenison at Kensington, whither he was retired to refresh after he had ben sick of the small-pox.

15. At White-hall preached Mr. Henry Godolphin, a prebend of St. Paules, and brother to my deare friend Sydnie, on 55 Isaiah 7. I dined at the Lord Keeper's, and brought to him Sir John Chardin, who shewed him his accurate draughts of his travells in Persia.

28. There was so greate a concourse of people with their children to be touch'd for the Evil, that six or seven were crush'd to death by pressing at the Chirurgeon's doore for tickets. The weather began to be more mild and tolerable, but there was not the least appearance of any Spring.

30 Easter day. The Bp. of Rochester [Dr. Turner] preach'd before the King ; after which his Majesty, accompanied with three of his

<sup>1</sup> There is now (1817) a handsome room well furnished with books, under the care of the Vicar of St. Martin's, in Castle-street, near the Mews gate. Sion College is more peculiarly appropriated to the Clergy in the City.

natural sonns, the Dukes of Northumberland, Richmond, and St. Albans, (sons of Portsmouth, Cleaveland, and Nelly), went up to the Altar ; the three boys entering before the King within the railes, at the right hand, and three Bishops on the left, viz. London (who officiated), Durham, and Rochester, with the Sub-dean Dr. Holder. The King kneeling before the Altar, making his offering, the Bishops first receiv'd, and then his Majesty ; after which he retir'd to a canopied seate on the right hand. Note, there was perfume burnt before the Office began. I had receiv'd the Sacrament at White-hall early with the Lords and Household, the Bishop of London officiating. Then went to St. Martin's, where Dr. Tenison preach'd (recovered from the small-pox) ; then went againe to White-hall as above. In the afternoone went to St. Martin's againe.

4 April. I return'd home with my family to my house at Sayes Court, after five months residence in London ; hardly the least appearance of any Spring.

30. A Letter of mine to the Royal Society concerning the terrible effects of the past winter being read, they desired it might be printed in the next Part of their Transactions.<sup>1</sup>

10 May. I went to visite my brother in Surrey. Call'd by the way at Ashted, where Sir Robert Howard (Auditor to the Exchequer) entertain'd me very civilly at his new built house, which stands in a Park on the Downe, the avenue South ; tho' downe hill to the house, which is not greate, but with the outhouses very convenient. The staire-case is painted by Verrio with the storie of Astrea ; amongst other figures is the Picture of the Painter himselfe, and not unlike him ; the rest is well done, onely the columns did not at all please me ; there is also Sir Robert's own Picture in an oval ; the whole in *fresca*. The place has this greate defect, that there is no water but what is drawn up by horses from a very deepe well.

11. Visited Mr. Higham, who was ill, and died 3 days after. His grandfather and father (who christen'd me), with himselfe, had now ben Rectors of this parish 101 yeares, viz. from May 1583.

12. I return'd to London, where I found the Commissioners of the Admiralty abolish'd, and the office of Admiral restor'd to the Duke, as to the disposal and ordering all Sea businesse ; but his Majesty sign'd all Petitions, Papers, Warrants, and Commissions, that the Duke, not acting as Admiral by commission or office, might not incur the penalty of the late Act against Papists and Dissenters holding offices, and refusing the Oath and Test. Every one was glad of this change, those in the late Commission being utterly ignorant in their duty, to the greate damage of the Navy.

The utter ruine of the Low Country was threatened by the siege of Luxemburgh, if not timely reliev'd, and by the obstinacy of the Hol-

<sup>1</sup> This was done in No. 158. See it in Dr. Kippis's Edit. Biog. Brit. vol. V. p. 623.

landers, who refus'd to assist the Prince of Orange, being corrupted by the French.

16. I received £.600 of Sir Charles Bickerstaff for the fee-farm of Pilton in Devon.

26. Lord Dartmouth was chosen Master of the Trinity Company, newly return'd with the fleete from blowing up and demolishing Tangier. In the sermon preach'd on this occasion Dr. Can observed that, in the 27th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, the casting anchor out of the fore-ship had been cavill'd at as betraying total ignorance : that it is very true our seamen do not do so, but in the Mediterranean their ships were built differently from ours, and to this day it was the practice to do so there.

Luxembergh was surrendered to the French, which makes them master of all the Netherlands, gives them entrance into Germany, and a fair game for universal monarchy ; which that we should suffer, who only and easily might have hinder'd, astonish'd all the world. Thus is the poor Prince of Orange ruin'd, and this nation and all the Protestant interest in Europe following, unlesse God in his infinite mercy, as by a miracle, interpose, and our greate ones alter their counsels. The French fleete were now besieging Genoa, but after burning much of that beautifull citty with their bombs, went off with disgrace.

12 June. I went to advise and give directions about the building two streetes in Berkeley Gardens, reserving the house and as much of the garden as the breadth of the house. In the meane time I could not but deplore that sweete place (by far the most noble gardens, courts, and accommodations, stately porticos, &c. any where about the towne) should be so much straighten'd and turn'd into tenements. But that magnificent pile and gardens contiguous to it, built by the late Lord Chancellor Clarendon, being all demolish'd, and design'd for Piazzas and buildings, was some excuse for my Lady Berkeley's resolution of letting out her ground also for so excessive a price as was offer'd, advancing neere £.1000 per ann. in mere ground-rents ; to such a mad intemperance was the age come of building about a citty, by far too disproportionate already to the nation<sup>1</sup> ; I having in my time seene it almost as large again as it was within my memory.

11. My cousin Verney, to whom a very greate fortune was fallen, came to take leave of us, going into the country ; a very worthy and virtuous young gentleman.

22. Last Friday Sir Tho. Armstrong was executed at Tyburn for treason, without tryal, having been outlaw'd and apprehended in Holland, on the conspiracy of the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russell, &c. which gave occasion of discourse to people and lawyers, in regard it was on an outlawry that judgment was given and execution<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> What would Mr. Evelyn think if he saw what is now called London ?

<sup>2</sup> When brought up for judgement Armstrong insisted on his right to a trial, the act giving

2 July. I went to the Observatory at Greenwich, where Mr. Flamsted took his observations of the eclipse of the sun, now almost three parts obscured.

There had been an excessive hot and dry Spring, and such a drought still continu'd as never was in my memorie.

13 July. Some small sprinkling of raine ; the leaves dropping from the trees as in Autumn.

25. I din'd at Lord Falkland's, Treasurer of the Navy, where after dinner we had rare musiq, there being, amongst others, Signior Pietro Reggio and Signior John Battist, both famous, one for his *voice*, the other for playing on the *harpsichord*, few if any in Europe exceeding him. There was also a Frenchman who sung an admirable basse.

26. I return'd home where I found my Lord Cheife Justice [Jefferies], the Countesse of Clarendon, and Lady Cath. Fitz-Gerald, who dined with me.

10 August. We had now rain after such a drowth as no man in England had known.

24. Excessive hot. We had not had above one or two considerable showers, and those storms, these 8 or 9 months. Many trees died for the want of refreshment.

31. Mr. Sidney Godolphin was made Baron Godolphin.

26 Sept. The King being return'd from Winchester, there was a numerous Court at White-hall.

At this time the Earle of Rochester was remov'd from the Treasury to the Presidentship of the Council ; Lord Godolphin was made first Commissioner of the Treasury in his place ; Lord Middleton (a Scot) made Secretary of State, in the room of Lord Godolphin. These alterations being very unexpected and mysterious, gave greate occasion of discourse.

There was now an Ambassador from the King of Siam in the East Indies to his Majesty.

22. Oct. I went with Sir William Godolphin to see the Rhinoceros, or Unicorn, being the first that I suppose was ever brought into England. She belong'd to some East India merchants, and was sold (as I remember) for above £.2000.

At the same time I went to see a Crocodile, brought from some of the West India islands, resembling the Egyptian Crocodile.

24 Oct. I din'd at Sir Stephen Fox's with the Duke of Northumberland. He seem'd to be a young gentleman of good capacity, well bred, civil, and modest : newly come from travell, and had made his

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that right to those who came in within a year, and the year was not expired. Jefferies refused it ; and when Armstrong insisted that he asked nothing but law, Jefferies told him he should have it to the full, and ordered his execution in six days. When Jefferies went to the King at Windsor soon after the trial, the King took a ring from his finger, and gave it to Jefferies. Burnet II. 989.

campaigne at the siege of Luxemburg. Of all his Majesty's children (of which he had now six Dukes) this seem'd the most accomplish'd and worth the owning. He is extraordinary handsome and well shap'd. What the Dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's will prove, their youth does not yet discover ; they are very pretty boys.

26. Dr. Goodman preach'd before the King on 2 James 12. concerning the law of liberty : an excellent discourse and in good method. He is author of 'The Prodigal Son,' a treatise worth reading, and another of the old Religion.

28. I carried Lord Clarendon thro' the Citty, amidst all the squibbs and Bacchanalia of the Lord Maior's shew, to the Royal Society [at Gresham Coll.] where he was propos'd a member ; and then treated him at dinner.

I went to St. Clements, that pretty built and contriv'd church, where a young divine gave us an eloquent Sermon on 1 Cor. 6. 20. inciting to gratitude and glorifying God for the fabriq of our bodys & the dignitie of our nature.

27. I visited the Lord Chamberlaine, where din'd the *black Baron* and Monsicur Flamerin, who had so long ben banish'd France for a duel.

2 Nov. A suddaine change from temperate warme weather to an excessive cold raine, frost, snow, and storm, such as had seldome ben known. This Winter weather began as early and fierce as the past did late ; till about Christmas there had ben hardly any Winter.

4. Dr. Turner, now translated from Rochester to Ely upon the death of Dr. Peter Gunning, preached before the King at White-hall on 3 Romans 8, a very excellent sermon, vindicating the Church of England against the pernicious doctrines of the Church of Rome. He challenged the producing but of 5 Cleargymen who forsooke our Church and went over to that of Rome, during all the troubles & rebellion in England, which lasted neere twenty yeares ; and this was to my certaine observation a greate truth.

15. Being the Queene's birth-day, there were fire-works on the Thames before White-hall, with pageants of castles, forts, and other devices of gyron-dolas, serpents, the King and Queene's armes and mottos, all represented in fire, such as had not ben seen here. But the most remarkable was the severall fires and skirmishes in the very water, which actually mov'd a long way, burning under the water, now and then appearing above it, giving reports like muskets and cannon, with granados and innumerable other devices. It is said it cost £.1500. It was concluded with a ball, where all the young ladys and gallants daunced in the greate hall. The Court had not ben seene so brave and rich in apparell since his Majesty's Restauration.

30. In the morning Dr. Fiennes, sonn of the Lord Say & Seale, preached before the King on 21 Joshua 11.

3 Dec. I carried Mr. Justell and Mr. Slingsby (Master of the Mint), to see Mr. Sheldon's collection of Medaills. The series of Popes was rare, and so were several amongst the modernes, especialy that of John Husse's martyrdome at Constance ; of the Roman Emp. Consulars ; some Greeke, &c. in copper, gold, and silver ; not many truly antique ; a medallion of Otho, P. Æmil. &c. hardly antient. They were held at a price of £.1000, but not worth, I judge, above £.200.

7. I went to see the new church at St. James's, elegantly built ; the altar was especialy adorn'd, the white marble inclosure curiously and richly carved, the flowers and garlands about the walls by Mr. Gibbons in wood ; a pelican with her young at her breast, just over the altar in the carv'd compartment and border, invironing the purple velvet fring'd with I. H. S. richly embroider'd, and most noble plate, were given by Sir R. Geere, to the value (as was said) of £.200. There was no altar any where in England, nor has there ben any abroad, more handsomely adorn'd.

17. Early in the morning I went into St. James's Park to see three Turkish or Asian horses, newly brought over, and now first shewed to his Majesty. There were foure, but one of them died at sea, being three weekes coming from Hamborow. They were taken from a Bashaw at the siege of Vienna, at the late famous raising that leaguer. I never beheld so delicate a creature as one of them was, of somewhat a bright bay, two white feet, a blaze ; such a head, eyes, eares, neck, breast, belly, haunches, legs, pasterns, and feete, in all regards beautifull and proportion'd to admiration ; spirited, proud, nimble, making halt, turning with that swiftnesse, and in so small a compasse, as was admirable. With all this so gentle and tractable as call'd to mind what I remember Busbequius speakes of them, to the reproch of our groomes in Europe, who bring up their horses so churlishly as makes most of them retain their ill habits. They trotted like does, as if they did not feele the ground. 500 ginnies was demanded for the first ; 300 for the second ; and 200 for the third, which was browne. All of them were choicely shap'd, but the two last not altogether so perfect as the first. It was judg'd by the spectators, among whom was the King, Prince of Denmark, Duke of Yorke, and several of the Court, noble persons, skill'd in horses, especialy Mons. Faubert and his sonn, (provost masters of the Academie, and esteem'd of the best in Europe,) that there were never seene any horses in these parts to be compar'd with them. Add to all this, the furniture, consisting of embroidery on the saddle, houseings, quiver, bow, arrows, scymeter, sword, mace, or battle-axe *à la Turcisq* ; the Bashaw's velvet mantle furr'd with the most perfect ermine I ever beheld ; all which, yron worke in common furniture, being here of silver, curiously wrought and double gilt, to an incredible value. Such and so extraordinary was the embroidery, that I never saw any thing approaching it. The reins and headstall were of

crimson silk, cover'd with chaines of silver gilt. There was also a Turkish royal standard of an horse's taile, together with all sorts of other caparisons belonging to a general's horse, by which one may estimate how gallantly and magnificently those infidels appeare in the field, for nothing could be seene more glorious. The gentleman (a German) who rid the horse was in all this garb. They were shod with yron made round and closed at the heele, with a hole in the middle about as wide as a shilling. The hooves most intire.

18 Dec. I went with Lord Cornwallis to see the young gallants do their exercise, Mr. Faubert having newly rail'd in a manage, and fitted it for the academy. There were the Dukes of Norfolk and Northumberland, Lord Newburgh, and a nephew of (Duras) Earle of Feversham. The exercises were, 1. running at the ring; 2. flinging a javelin at a Moor's head; 3. discharging a pistol at a mark; lastly, taking up a gauntlet with the point of a sword; all these perform'd in full speede. The D. of Northumberland hardly miss'd of succeeding in every one, a dozen times, as I think. The D. of Norfolk did exceeding bravely. Lords Newburgh and Duras seem'd nothing so dextrous. Here I saw the difference of what the French call "*bel homme à cheval*," and "*bon homme à cheval*;" the Duke of Norfolk being the first, that is, rather a fine person on a horse, the Duke of Northumberland being both in perfection, namely, a graceful person and excellent rider. But the Duke of Norfolk told me he had not ben at this exercise these 12 yeares before. There were in the field the Prince of Denmark, and the Lord Landsdown; sonn of the Earle of Bath, who had ben made a Count of the Empire last Summer for his service before Vienna.

20. A villainous murder was perpetrated by Mr. St. John, eldest son to Sir Walter St. John, a worthy gentleman, on a knight of quality<sup>1</sup>, in a tavern. The offender was sentenc'd and repriev'd. So many horrid murders and duels were committed about this time as were never before heard of in England, which gave much cause of complaint and murmurings.

1685. 1 Jan. It prov'd so sharp weather, and so long and cruel a frost, that the Thames was frozen acrossed, but the frost was often dissolv'd, and then froze again.

11. A young man preached upon 13 St. Luke 5. after the Presbyterian tedious method and repetition.

24. I din'd at Lord Newport's, who has some excellent pictures, especially that of *Sir Tho. Hanmer*, by Van Dyke, one of the best he ever painted; another of our English Dobson's painting; but above

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Estcourt. It was in a sudden quarrel, and there was doubt whether it was more than manslaughter; but he was advised to plead guilty, and then had a pardon, for which he paid £1,600. Exactly 100 years before, one of his family was tried for a similar offence, acquitted, but obliged to go abroad, though he was afterwards employed. Manning and Bray's Hist. of Surrey, III. 333, App. cxx.

all, *Christ in the Virgin's lap* by Poussin, an admirable piece, with something of most other famous hands.

25. Dr. Dove preach'd before the King. I saw this evening such a scene of profuse gaming, and the King in the midst of his three concubines, as I had never before seen. Luxurious dallying and prophanesne.

27. I din'd at Lord Sunderland's, being invited to heare that celebrated voice of Mr. Pordage, newly come from Rome; his singing was after the Venetian recitative, as masterly as could be, and with an excellent voice both treble and basse; Dr. Walgrave accompanied it with his *theorba lute*, on which he perform'd beyond imagination, and is doubtlesse one of the greatest masters in Europe on that charming instrument. Pordage is a priest, as Mr. Bernard Howard told me in private.

There was in the roome where we din'd, and in his bed-chamber, those incomparable pieces of *Columbus a Flagellation*, the *Grammar-school*, the *Venus and Adonis* of Titian; and of Vandyke's that picture of the late *E. of Digby* (father of the Countess of Sunderland), and *Earle of Bedford*, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, and two Ladys of incomparable performance; besides that of *Moses and the burning bush* of Bassano, and several other pieces of the best masters. A marble head of M. Brutus, &c.

28. I was invited to my Lord Arundel of Wardour, (now newly releas'd of his 6 yeares confinement in the Tower on suspicion of the Plot call'd Oates's Plot,) where after dinner the same Mr. Pordage entertain'd us with his voice, that excellent and stupendous artist Signior Jo. Baptist playing to it on the harpsichord. My daughter Mary being with us, she also sung to the greate satisfaction of both the masters, and a world of people of quality present.

She did so also at my Lord Rochester's the evening following, where we had the French Boy so fam'd for his singing, and indeede he had a delicate voice, and had ben well taught. I also heard Mrs. Packer (daughter to my old friend) sing before his Majesty and the Duke, privately, that stupendous basse Gosling accompanying her, but hers was so loud as tooke away much of the sweetnesse. Certainly never woman had a stronger or better eare, could she possibly have govern'd it. She would do rarely in a large church among the nunns.

4 Feb. I went to London, hearing his Majesty had ben the Monday before (2 Feb.) surpriz'd in his bed-chamber with an apoplectic fit, so that if, by God's providence, Dr. King (that excellent chirurgeon as well as physitian) had not ben accidentally present to let him blood (having his lancet in his pocket) his Majesty had certainly died that moment, which might have ben of direful consequence, there being nobody else present with the King save this Doctor and one more, as I am assur'd. It was a mark of the extraordinary dexterity, resolution,

and presence of mind in the Doctor, to let him blood in the very paroxysm, without staying the coming of other physicians, which regularly should have been done, and for want of which he must have a regular pardon, as they tell me<sup>1</sup>. This rescued his Majesty for the instant, but it was only a short reprieve. He still complained, and was relapsing, often fainting, with sometimes epileptic symptoms, till Wednesday, for which he was cupped, let blood in both jugulars, had both vomit and purges, which so relieved him that on Thursday hopes of recovery were signified in the public Gazette, but that day, about noon, the physicians thought him feverish. This they seemed glad of, as being more easily allayed and methodically dealt with than his former fits; so as they prescribed the famous Jesuits powder: but it made him worse, and some very able Doctors who were present did not think it a fever, but the effect of his frequent bleeding and other sharp operations used by them about his head, so that probably the powder might stop the circulation, and renew his former fits, which now made him very weak. Thus he passed Thursday night with great difficulty, when complaining of a pain in his side, they drew 12 ounces more of blood from him; this was by 6 in the morning on Friday, and it gave him relief, but it did not continue, for being now in much pain, and struggling for breath, he lay dozing, and after some conflicts, the physicians despairing of him, he gave up the ghost at half an hour after eleven in the morning, being 6 Feb. 1685, in the 36th year of his reign, and 54th of his age.

Prayers were solemnly made in all the Churches, especially in both the Court Chapels, where the Chaplains relieved one another every half quarter of an hour from the time he began to be in danger till he expired, according to the forms prescribed in the Church Offices. Those who assisted his Majesty's devotions were, the Abp. of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Ely, but more especially Dr. Ken, the Bp. of Bath and Wells<sup>2</sup>. It is said they exceedingly

<sup>1</sup> The Privy Council approved of what he had done, and ordered him £1000, but which was never paid him. Burnet, II. 1010\*.—There are two fine portraits of Dr. King engraved, and in mezzotinto, in which the above instance of his skill and promptitude is noticed.

<sup>2</sup> The account given of this by King James II. is, that when the King's life was wholly despaired of, and it was time to prepare for another world, two Bishops came to do their function, who reading the prayers appointed in the Common Prayer Book on that occasion, when they came to the place where usually they exhort a sick person to make a confession of his sins, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was one of them, advertized him, *It was not of obligation*; and after a short exhortation asked him, if he were sorry for his sins? which the King saying he was, the Bishop pronounced the absolution, and then asked him if he pleased to receive the Sacrament? to which the King made no reply, and being pressed by the Bishop several times, gave no other answer but that it was time enough, or that he would think of it. King James says that he stood all the while by the bed-side, and seeing the King would not receive the Sacrament from them, and knowing his sentiments, he desired the company to stand a little from the bed, and then asked the King whether he should send for a Priest, to which the King replied, 'For God's sake, brother, do, and lose no time.' The Duke said he would bring one to him; but none could be found except father Huddleston, who had been so assistant in the King's escape from Worcester; he was brought up by a back staircase, and the company were desired to withdraw, but he (the Duke of York) not thinking fit that he

urg'd the receiving the Holy Sacrament, but his Majesty told them he would consider of it, which he did so long 'till it was too late. Others whisper'd that the Bishops and Lords, except the Earles of Bath and Feversham, being order'd to withdraw the night before, Hurlston, the Priest, had presumed to administer the Popish Offices. He gave his breeches and keys to the Duke, who was almost continually kneeling by his bed-side, and in teares. He also recommended to him the care of his natural children, all except the Duke of Monmouth, now in Holland, and in his displeasure. He intreated the Queene to pardon him (not without cause); who a little before had sent a Bishop to excuse her not more frequently visiting him, in regard of her excessive grieffe, and withall, that his Majesty would forgive it if at any time she had offended him. He spake to the Duke of York to be kind to the Dutchesse of Cleaveland, and especialy Portsmouth, and that Nelly might not starve.

Thus died King Charles II. of a vigorous and robust constitution, and in all appearance promising a long life. He was a Prince of many virtues, and many greate imperfections; debonnaire, easy of accesse, not bloody nor cruel; his countenance fierce, his voice greate, proper of person, every motion became him; a lover of the sea, and skilfull in shipping; not affecting other studies, yet he had a laboratory, and knew of many empirical medicines, and the easier mechanical mathematics; he lov'd planting and building, and brought in a politer way of living, which pass'd to luxury and intolerable expense. He had a particular talent in telling a story, and facetious passages, of which he had innumerable; this made some buffoons and vitious wretches too presumptuous and familiar, not worthy the favour they abus'd. He tooke delight in having a number of little spaniels follow him and lie in his bed-chamber, where he often suffer'd the bitches to puppy and give suck, which render'd it very offensive, and indeede made the whole Court nasty and stinking. He would doubtlesse have ben an excellent Prince, had he ben less addicted to women, who made him uneasy, and allways in want to supply their unmeasurable profusion, to the detriment of many indigent persons who had signaly serv'd both him and his father. He frequently and easily chang'd favorites, to his greate prejudice. As to other publiq transactions and unhappy miscarriages, 'tis not here I intend to number them; but certainly never had King more glorious opportunities to have made himselfe, his people, and all Europe happy, and prevented innumerable mischiefs, had not his too easy nature resign'd him to be manag'd by crafty men, and some abandon'd and profane wretches who corrupted his othe wise sufficient parts, disciplin'd as he had ben by many afflictions during his banish-

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should be left alone with the King, desired the Earl of Bath, a Lord of the Bedehamber, and the Earl of Faversham, Captain of the Guard, should stay; the rest being gone father Huddleston was introduced, and administered the Sacrament. *Life of James II. p. 747.*

ment, which gave him much experience and knowledge of men and things ; but those wicked creatures took him off from all application becoming so greate a King. The history of his reigne will certainly be the most wonderfull for the variety of matter and accidents, above any extant in former ages : the sad tragical death of his father, his banishment and hardships, his miraculous restauration, conspiracies against him, parliaments, wars, plagues, fires, comets, revolutions abroad happening in his time, with a thousand other particulars. He was ever kind to me, and very gracious upon all occasions, and therefore I cannot, without ingratitude, but deplore his losse, which for many respects as well as duty I do with all my soul.

His Majesty being dead, the Duke, now K. James II. went immediately to Council, and before entering into any businesse, passionately declaring his sorrow, told their Lordships that since the succession had fallen to him, he would endeavour to follow the example of his predecessor in his clemency and tendernesse to his people ; that, however he had ben misrepresented as affecting arbitrary power, they should find the contrary, for that the laws of England had made the King as greate a monarch as he could desire ; that he would endeavor to maintain the Government both in Church and State, as by Law establish'd, its principles being so firme for monarchy, and the members of it shewing themselves so good and loyal subjects ;<sup>1</sup> and that as he would never

<sup>1</sup> This is the substance and very nearly in the words given by King James II. in his MSS. printed in his Life ; but in that MSS. are some words which Mr. Evelyn has omitted, viz. after speaking of the Members of the Church of England as good and loyal subjects, the King adds, *and therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it.* The King then goes on to say, that being desired by some present to allow copies to be taken, he said he had not committed it to writing ; on which Mr. Finch [then Solicitor General, afterwards Earl of Aylesford] replied, that what his Majesty had said had made so deep an impression on him, that he believed he could repeat the very words, and if his Majesty would permit him, he would write them down ; which the King agreeing to, he went to a table and wrote them down, and this being shewn to the King, he approved of it, and it was immediately published.

The King then goes on to say ; No one can wonder that Mr. Finch should word the speech as strong as he could in favour of the Established Religion, nor that the King in such a hurry should pass it over without reflection ; for though his Majesty intended to promise both security to their religion and protection to their persons, he was afterwards convinced it had been better expressed by assuring them he never would endeavour to alter the established Religion, rather, than that he would endeavour to preserve it, and that he would rather support and defend the professors of it, rather than the Religion itself ; they could not expect he should make a conscience of supporting what in his conscience he thought erroneous ; his engaging not to molest the professors of it, nor to deprive them or their successors of any spiritual dignity, revenue, or employment, but to suffer the ecclesiastical affairs to go on in the track they were in, was all they could wish or desire from a Prince of a different persuasion ; but having once approved that way of expressing it which Mr. Finch had made choice of, he thought it necessary not to vary from it in the declarations or speeches he made afterwards, not doubting but the world would understand it in the meaning he intended.—'Tis true afterwards *it was pretended* he kept not up to this engagement, but had they deviated no further from the duty and allegiance which both nature and repeated oaths obliged them to, *than he did from his word,*<sup>\*</sup> they had still remained as happy a people as they really were during his short reign in England. Vol. II. 435.

<sup>\*</sup> The words in italics were afterwards interlined by the son of King James the Second. EDIT.

depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, so would he never invade any man's property ; but as he had often adventur'd his life in defence of the nation, so he would still proceede, and preserve it in all its lawful rights and liberties.

This being the substance of what he said, the Lords desir'd it might be publish'd, as containing matter of greate satisfaction to a jealous people upon this change, which his Majesty consented to. Then were the Council sworn, and a Proclamation order'd to be publish'd, that all Officers should continue in their stations, that there might be no failure of public justice, till his further pleasure should be known. Then the King rose, the Lords accompanying him to his bed-chamber, where, whilst he repos'd himselfe, tired indeede as he was with grieve and watching, they return'd againe into the Council-chamber to take order for the *proclaiming* his Majesty, which (after some debate) they consented should be in the very forme his grandfather K. James I. was, after the death of Queene Elizabeth ; as likewise that the Lords, &c. should proceede in their coaches thro' the Citty for the more solemnity of it. Upon this was I, and severall other Gentlemen waiting in the Privy-gallerie, admitted into the Council-chamber to be witnesse of what was resolv'd on. Thence with the Lords, the Lord Marshall and Heralds, and other Crowne Officers being ready, we first went to White-hall-gate, where the Lords stood on foote bare-headed, whilst the Herald proclaim'd his Majesty's title to the Imperial Crowne and Succession according to the forme, the trumpets and kettle-drums having first sounded 3 times, which ended with the people's acclamations. Then a Herald call'd the Lords' coaches according to rank, myselfe accompanying the solemnity in my Lord Cornwallis's coach, first to Temple Barr, where the Lord Maior and his brethren met us on horseback, in all their formalities, and proclaim'd the King ; hence to the Exchange in Cornhill, and so we return'd in the order we set forth. Being come to White-hall, we all went and kiss'd the King and Queenes hands. He had ben on the bed, but was now risen and in his undresse. The Queene was in bed in her apartment, but put forth her hand, seeming to be much afflicted, as I believe she was, having deported herselfe so decently upon all occasions since she came into England, which made her universally belov'd.

Thus concluded this sad and not joyfull day.

I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and prophanenesse, gaming and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfullnesse of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day se'nnight I was witnesse of, the King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleaveland, and Mazarine, &c. a French boy singing love songs, in that glorious gallery, whilst about 20 of the greate courtiers and other dissolute persons were at Basset round a large table, a bank of at least

2000 in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflexions with astonishment. Six days after was all in the dust !

It was enjoyn'd that those who put on mourning should wear it as for a father, in the most solemn manner.

10 Feb. Being sent to by the Sheriff of the County to appeare and assist in proclayming the King, I went the next day to Bromely, where I met the Sheriff and the Commander of the Kentish Troop, with an appearance, I suppose, of above 500 horse, and innumerable people, two of his Majesty's trumpets and a Serjeant with other officers, who having drawn up the horse in a large field neere the towne, march'd thence, with swords drawne, to the market-place, where making a ring, after sound of trumpets and silence made, the High Sheriff read the proclaiming titles to his Bailiffe, who repeated them aloud, and then after many shouts of the people, his Majesty's health being drunk in a flint glasse of a yard long, by the Sheriff, Commander, Officers and cheife Gentlemen, they all dispers'd, and I return'd.

13. I pass'd a fine on selling of Honson Grange in Staffordshire, being about £.20 *per ann.*, which lying so greate a distance I thought fit to part with it to one Burton, a farmer there. It came to me as part of my daughter-in-law's portion, this being but a fourth part of what was divided betweene the mother and three sisters.

14. The King was this night very obscurely buried<sup>1</sup> in a vault under Hen. 7th's Chapell at Westminster, without any manner of pomp, and soone forgotten after all this vanity, and the face of the whole Court was exceedingly chang'd into a more solemn and moral behaviour ; the new King affecting neither prophanenesse nor buffoonery. All the greate Officers broke their staves over the grave, according to form.

15. Dr. Tenison preach'd to the Household. The second sermon should have ben before the King ; but he, to the greate grieve of his subjects, did now for the first time go to masse publicly in the little Oratorie at the Duke's lodgings, the doors being set wide open.

16. I din'd at Sir Robert Howard's, Auditor of the Exchequer, a gentleman pretending to all manner of arts and sciences, for which he had ben the subject of Comedy, under the name of Sir Positive ; not ill-natur'd, but insufferably boasting. He was sonn to the late Earl of Berkshire.

<sup>1</sup> The funeral could not be performed with so great solemnity as some persons expected, because his late Majesty dying in, and his present Majesty professing, a different Religion from that of his people, it had been a difficult matter to reconcile the greater ceremonies which must have been performed according to the Rites of the Church of England, with the obligation of not communicating with it in spiritual things ; to avoid, therefore, either disputes on one hand, or scandal on the other, it was thought more prudent to do it in a more private manner, though at the same time there was no circumstance of state and pomp omitted, which possibly could be allowed of. All the Privy Council, all the household, and all the Lords about towne attended at the funeral. Life of King James II. vol. II. p. 6.

17. This morning his Majesty restor'd the staffe and key to Lord Arlington, Chamberlaine ; to Mr. Savill, Vice-chamberlaine ; to Lords Newport and Mainard, Treasurer and Comptroler of the Household ; Lord Godolphin made Chamberlaine to the Queene ; Lord Peterborow Groome of the Stole in place of the Earle of Bath ; the Treasurer's staff to the Earle of Rochester ; and his brother the Earle of Clarendon Lord Privie Seale in place of the Marquis of Halifax, who was made President of the Council ; the Secrētarys of State remaining as before.

19. The Lord Treasurer and the other new Officers were sworne at the Chancery Barr and the Exchequer.

The late King having the revenue of Excise, Costoms, and other late duties granted for his life only, they were now farmed and lett to severall persons, upon an opinion that the late King might lett them for three yeares after his decease ; some of the old Commissioners refus'd to act. The lease was made but the day before the King died<sup>1</sup> ; the major part of the Judges (but as some think not the best Lawyers) pronounc'd it legal, but four dissented.

The Clerk of the Closet had shut up the late King's private Oratorie next the Privy-chamber above, but the King caus'd it to be open'd againe, and that prayers should be said as formerly.

22. Several most useful Tracts against Dissenters, Papists, and Fanatics, and Resolutions of Cases, were now publish'd by the London Divines.

4 Mar. Ash-Wednesday ; after evening prayers I went to London.

5. To my grieve I saw the new pulpit set up in the Popish Oratorie at White-hall for the Lent preaching, masse being publicly said, and the Romanists swarming at Court with greater confidence than had ever ben seene in England since the Reformation, so as every body grew jealous to what this would tend.

A Parliament was now summon'd, and greate industry us'd to obtaine elections which might promote the Court interest, most of the Corporations being now by their new Charters impower'd to make what returns of members they pleas'd.

There came over divers envoys and greate persons to condole the death of the late King, who were receiv'd by the Queene Dowager on a bed of mourning, the whole chamber, cieling and floore hung with black, and tapers were lighted, so as nothing could be more lugubrious and solemne. The Queene Consort sat out under a state on a black foot-cloth, to entertaine the circle (as the Queene us'd to do), and that very decently.

6. Lent Preachers continu'd as formerly in the Royal Chapell.

<sup>1</sup> King James, in his Life, makes no mention of this lease, but only says *he* continued to collect them, which conduct was not blamed ; but on the contrary, he was thanked for it in an address from the Middle Temple, penned by Sir Bartholomew Shore, and presented by Sir Humphrey Mackworth, carrying great authority with it, nor did the Parliament find fault. Vol. II. pp. 16, 17.

7. My daughter Mary was taken with the small pox, and there soon was found no hope of her recovery. A very greate affliction to me: but God's holy will be done.

10. She receiv'd the blessed Sacrament ; after which, disposing herself to suffer what God should determine to inflict, she bore the remainder of her sicknesse with extraordinary patience and piety, and more than ordinary resignation and blessed frame of mind. She died the 14th, to our unspeakable sorrow and affliction, and not to ours onely, but that of all who knew her, who were many of the best quality, greatest and most virtuous persons. The justnesse of her stature, person, comelinesse of countenance, gracefullnesse of motion, unaffected tho' more than ordinary beautifull, were the least of her ornaments compared with those of her mind. Of early piety, singularly religious, spending a part of every day in private devotion, reading and other vertuous exercises : she had collected and written out many of the most usefull and judicious periods of the books she read in a kind of common-place, as out of Dr. Hammond on the New Testament, and most of the best practical treatises. She had read and digested a considerable deale of history and of places. The French tongue was as familiar to her as English ; she understood Italian, and was able to render a laudable account of what she read and observed, to which assisted a most faithful memory and discernment ; and she did make very prudent and discrete reflections upon what she had observed of the conversations among which she had at any time ben, which being continually of persons of the best quality, she thereby improved. She had an excellent voice, to which she play'd a thorough bass on the harpsichord, in both which she arived to that perfection, that of the schollars of those two famous masters Signiors Pietro and Bartholomeo she was esteem'd the best ; for the sweetnesse of her voice and management of it added such an agreeablenesse to her countenance, without any constraint or concerne, that when she sung, it was as charming to the eye as to the eare ; this I rather note, because it was a universal remarke, and for which so many noble and judicious persons in musiq desired to heare her, the last being at Lord Arundel's of Wardour. What shall I say, or rather not say, of the cheerefullness and agreeablenesse of her humour ? condescending to the meanest servant in the family, or others, she still kept up respect, without the least pride. She would often reade to them, examine, instruct, and pray with them if they were sick, so as she was exceedingly beloved of every body. Piety was so prevalent an ingredient in her constitution (as I may say) that even amongst equals and superiors she no sooner became intimately acquainted, but she would endeavour to improve them, by insinuating something of religious, and that tended to bring them to a love of devotion ; she had one or two confidants with whom she used to passe whole dayes in fasting, reading, and prayers, especialy before the monethly communion and other

solemn occasions. She abhorr'd flattery, and tho' she had abundance of witt, the raillery was so innocent and ingenuous that it was most agreeable ; she sometimes would see a play, but since the stage grew licentious, express'd herself weary of them, and the time spent at the theater was an unaccountable vanity. She never play'd at cards without extreme importunity and for the company, but this was so very seldome that I cannot number it among any thing she could name a fault. No one could read prose or verse better or with more judgment ; and as she read, so she writ, not only most correct orthography, with that maturitie of judgment and exactnesse of the periods, choice of expressions, and familiarity of stile, that some letters of hers have astonish'd me and others to whom she has occasionally written. She had a talent of rehearsing any comical part or poeme, as to them she might be decently free with was more pleasing than heard on the theater ; she daunc'd with the greatest grace I had ever seene, and so would her master say, who was Monsieur Isaac ; but she seldome shew'd that perfection, save in the gracefullnesse of her carriage, which was with an aire of spritely modestie not easily to be described. Nothing affected, but natural and easy as well in her deportment as in her discourse, which was always materiall, not trifling, and to which the extraordinary sweetness of her tone, even in familiar speaking, was very charming. Nothing was so pretty as her descending to play with little children, whom she would caresse and humour with greate delight. But she most affected to be with grave and sober men, of whom she might learne something, and improve herselfe. I have ben assisted by her in reading and praying by me ; comprehensive of uncommon notions, curious of knowing every thing to some excesse, had I not sometimes repressed it. Nothing was so delightfull to her as to go into my study, where she would willingly have spent whole dayes, for as I sayd she had read abundance of history, and all the best poets, even Terence, Plautus, Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid ; all the best romances and modern poemes ; she could compose happily, and put in pretty symbols, as in the *Mundus Muliebris*, (a poem of Evelyn's) wherein is an enumeration of the immense variety of the modes and ornaments belonging to the sex ; but all these are vaine trifles to the virtues which adorn'd her soule ; she was sincerely religious, most dutifull to her parents, whom she lov'd with an affection temper'd with greate esteeme, so as we were easy and free, and never were so well pleas'd as when she was with us, nor needed we other conversation ; she was kind to her sisters, and was still improving them by her constant course of piety. Oh deare, sweete, and desireable child, how shall I part with all this goodness and virtue without the bitterness of sorrow and reluctancy of a tender parent ! Thy affection, duty, and love to me was that of a friend as well as a child. Nor lesse deare to thy mother, whose example and tender care of thee was unparelled, nor was thy returne

to her lesse conspicuous ; Oh ! how she mourns thy loss ! how desolate hast thou left us ! To the grave shall we both carry thy memory !

God alone (in whose bosom thou art at rest and happy !) give us to resign thee and all our contentments (for thou indeede wert all in this world) to his blessed pleasure ! Let him be glorified by our submission, and give us grace to blesse him for the graces he implanted in thee, thy virtuous life, pious and holy death, which is indeede the onely comfort of our soules, hastening thro' the infinite love and mercy of the Lord Jesus to be shortly with thee, deare child, and with thee and those blessed saints like thee, glorifye the Redeemer of the world to all eternity ! Amen !

It was in the 19th year of her age that this sicknesse happen'd to her. An accident contributed to this disease ; she had an apprehension of it in particular, and which struck her but two days before she came home, by an imprudent gentlewoman whom she went with Lady Falkland to visite, who after they had ben a good while in the house, told them she had a servant sick of the small pox (who indeede died the next day) ; this my poore child acknowledg'd made an impression on her spirits. There were foure gentlemen of quality offering to treat with me about marriage, and I freely gave her her owne choice knowing her discretion. She showed great indifference to marrying at all, for truly, says she to her mother (the other day), were I assur'd of your life and my deare father's, never would I part from you ; I love you and this home, where we serve God, above all things, nor ever shall I be so happy : I know and consider the vicissitudes of the world, I have some experience of its vanities, and but for decency more than inclination, and that you judge it expedient for me, I would not change my condition, but rather add the fortune you designe me to my sisters, and keepe up the reputation of our family. This was so discreetly and sincerely utter'd that it could not but proceede from an extraordinary child and one who lov'd her parents beyond example.

At London she tooke this fatal disease, and the occasion of her being there was this ; my Lord Viscount Falkland's Lady having ben our neighbour (as he was Treasurer of the Navy), she tooke so greate an affection to my daughter, that when they went back in the autumn to the Citty, nothing would satisfie their incessant importunity but letting her accompany my Lady, and staying sometime with her ; it was with the greatest reluctance I complied. Whilst she was there, my Lord being musical, when I saw my Lady would not part with her till Christmas, I was not unwilling she should improve the opportunity of learning of Signior Pietro, who had an admirable way both of composure and teaching. It was the end of February before I could prevail with my Lady to part with her ; but my Lord going into Oxfordshire to stand for Knight of the Shire there, she express'd her wish to come home, being tir'd of the vain and empty conversation of the towne, the

theatres, the court, and trifling visites which consum'd so much precious time, and made her sometimes misse of that regular course of piety that gave her the greatest satisfaction. She was weary of this life, and I think went not thrice to Court all this time, except when her mother or I carried her. She did not affect shewing herselfe, she knew the Court well, and pass'd one summer in it at Windsor with Lady Tuke one of the Queene's women of the bed chamber (a most virtuous relation of hers); she was not fond of that glittering scene, now become abominably licentious, though there was a designe of Lady Rochester and Lady Clarendon to have made her a maid of honour to the Queene as soon as there was a vacancy. But this she did not set her heart upon, nor indeede on any thing so much as the service of God, a quiet and regular life, and how she might improve herselfe in the most necessary accomplishments, and to which she was arriv'd at so great a measure.

This is the little history and imperfect character of my deare child, whose piety, virtue, and incomparable endowments deserve a monument more durable than brasse and marble. Precious is the memorial of the just. Much I could enlarge on every period of this hasty account, but that I ease and discharge my overcoming passion for the present, so many things worthy an excellent Christian and dutifull child crowding upon me. Never can I say enough, oh deare, my deare child, whose memory is so precious to me!

This deare child was born at Wotton in the same house and chamber in which I first drew my breath, my wife having retired to my brother there in the great sicknesse that yeare upon the first of that moneth, and neere the very houre that I was borne, upon the last: *viz.* October.

16 March. She was interr'd in the South-east end of the Church at Deptford, neere her grandmother and severall of my younger children and relations. My desire was she should have ben carried and layed among my own parents and relations at Wotton, where I desire to be interr'd mysele, when God shall call me out of this uncertaine transitory life, but some circumstances did not permit it. Our Vicar Dr. Holden preach'd her funeral sermon on 1 Phil. 21. 'For to me to live is Christ and to die is gaine,' upon which he made an apposite discourse, as those who heard it assur'd me (for grieve suffer'd me not to be present), concluding with a modest recital of her many virtues and signal piety, so as to draw both teares and admiration from the hearers. I was not altogether unwilling that something of this sort should be spoken for the edification and encouragement of other young people.

Divers noble persons honour'd her funeral, some in person, others sending their coaches, of which there were six or seven with six horses, *viz.* the Countesse of Sunderland, Earle of Clarendon, Lord Godolphin, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir William Godolphin, Viscount Falkland, and others. There were distributed amongst her friends about sixty rings.

Thus liv'd, died, and was buried the joy of my life, and ornament of her sex and of my poore family ! God Almighty of his infinite mercy grant me the grace thankfully to resigne my selfe and all I have, or had, to his divine pleasure, and in his good time, restoring health and comfort to my family: 'teach me so to number my days that I may apply my heart to wisdom,' be prepar'd for my dissolution, and that into the hands of my blessed Saviour I may recommend my spirit ! Amen !

On looking into her closet, it is incredible what a number of collections she had made from historians, poetes, travellers, &c. but above all devotions, contemplations, and resolutions on these contemplations, found under her hand in a booke most methodically dispos'd ; prayers, meditations, and devotions on particular occasions, with many pretty letters to her confidants ; one to a divine (not nam'd) to whom she writes that he would be her ghostly father, and would not despise her for her many errors and the imperfections of her youth, but beg of God to give her courage to acquaint him with all her faults, imploring his assistance and spiritual directions. I well remember she had often desir'd me to recommend her to such a person, but I did not think fit to do it as yet, seeing her apt to be scrupulous, and knowing the great innocency and integrity of her life.

It is astonishing how one who had acquir'd such substantial and practical knowledge in other ornamental parts of education, especially music both vocal and instrumental, in dauncing, paying and receiving visites, and necessary conversation, could accomplish halfe of what she has left ; but she never affected play or cards, which consume a world of precious time, so she was in continual exercise, which yet abated nothing of her most agreeable conversation. But she was a little miracle while she liv'd, and so she died !

16 Mar. I was invited to the funerall of Capt. Gunman, that excellent pilot and seaman, who had behav'd himselfe so valiantly in the Dutch warr. He died of a gangrene, occasion'd by his fall from the pier of Calais. This was the Captain of the yatcht carrying the Duke (now King) to Scotland, and was accus'd for not giving timely warning when she split on the sands, where so many perish'd ; but I am most confident he was no ways guilty, either of negligence or designe, as he made appeare not onely at the examination of the matter of fact, but in the Vindication he shew'd me, and which must needs give any man of reason satisfaction. He was a sober, frugal, cheerfull and temperate man ; we have few such seamen left.

8 April. Being now somewhat compos'd after my greate affliction, I went to London to hear Dr. Tenison (it being on a Wednesday in Lent) at White-hall. I observ'd that tho' the King was not in his seate above in the chapell, the Doctor made his three congees, which they were not us'd to do when the late King was absent, making then

one bowing onely. I ask'd the reason ; it was sayd he had a special order so to do. The Princesse of Denmark was in the King's Closet, but sat on the left hand of the chaire, the Clearke of the Closet standing by His Majesty's chaire, as if he had ben present.

I met the Queene Dowager going now first from White-hall to dwell at Somerset-house.

This day my brother of Wotton and Mr. Onslow were candidates for Surrey against Sir Adam Brown and my cousin Sir Edward Evelyn, and were circumvented in their election by a trick of the Sheriff's<sup>1</sup> taking advantage of my brother's party going out of the small village of Leatherhead to seek shelter and lodging, the afternoone being tempestuous, proceeding to the Election when they were gon ; they expecting the next morning ; whereas before and then they exceeded the other party by many hundreds, as I am assur'd. The Duke of Norfolk led Sir Edw. Evelyn's and Sir Adam Brown's party. For this Parliament, very meane and slight persons (some of them gentlemen's servants, clearkes, and persons neither of reputation nor interest) were set up, but the country would choose my brother whether he would or no, and he miss'd it by the trick above mention'd. Sir Adam Brown was so deafe that he could not heare one word. Sir Edw. Evelyn<sup>2</sup> was an honest gentleman much in favour with his Majesty.

10. I went early to White-hall to heare Dr. Tillotson, Deane of Canterbury, preaching on 9 Eccles. 18. I returned in the evening, and visited Lady Tuke, and found with her Sir Geo. Wakeman, the physician, whom I had seene tried and acquitted, amongst the plotters for poisoning the late King, on the accusation of the famous Oates ; and surely I believ'd him guiltlesse.

14. According to my costome I went to London to passe the holy weeke there.

17. Good Friday. Dr. Tenison preached at the new church at St. James's, on 1 Cor. 16, 22, upon the infinite love of God to us, which he illustrated in many instances. The holy Sacrament followed, at which I participated. The Lord make me thankfull. In the afternoone Dr. Spratt, Bp. of Rochester, preached in Whitehall Chapell, the auditory very full of Lords, the two Archbishops, and many others, now drawne to towne upon the occasion of the Coronation and ensuing Parliament. I supp'd with the Countesse of Sunderland and Lord Godolphin, and returned home.

23. Was the Coronation of the King and Queene. The solemnity was magnificent, as is set forth in print. The Bp. of Ely preach'd ;

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Samuel Lewen. His name does not appear in the History of Surrey amongst the landowners, but it is there stated that in 1709 Sir William Lewen purchased the rectory of Ewel, and that he was Lord Mayor of London in 1717. Vol. I. 470.

<sup>2</sup> His seat was at Long Ditton, near Kingston, which town had surrendered their charter to King Charles II. about a month before his death. King James appointed Sir Edward Evelyn one of the new Corporation.

but, to the greate sorrow of the people, no Sacrament, as ought to have ben. However the King begins his reigne with greate expectations, and hopes of much reformation as to the late vices and prophanenesse both of Court and Country. Having ben present at the late King's Coronation, I was not ambitious of seeing this ceremonie.

3 May. A young man preach'd, going chaplain with Sir Jo. Wilmburn, Governor of Bombay in the East Indies.

7. I was in Westminster Hall when Oates, who had made such a stir in the kingdom, on his revealing a Plot of the Papists, and alarm'd several Parliaments, and had occasioned the execution of divers Priests, Noblemen, &c. was tried for perjurie at the King's Bench ; but being very tedious, I did not endeavour to see the issue, considering that it would be published. Aboundance of Roman Catholics were in the Hall in expectation of the most gratefull conviction and ruine of a person who had ben so obnoxious to them, and, as I verily believe, had don much mischief and greate injury to several by his violent and ill-grounded proceedings ; whilst he was at first so unreasonably blowne up and encouraged, that his insolence was no longer sufferable.

Mr. Roger L'Estrange (a gentleman whom I had long known, and a person of excellent parts abating some affectations) appearing first against the Dissenters in several Tracts, had now for some yeares turn'd his style against those whom (by way of hateful distinction) they call'd Whiggs and Trimmers, under the title of Observator, which came out 3 or 4 days every weeke, in which sheets, under pretence to serve the Church of England, he gave suspicion of gratifying another party, by several passages which rather kept up animosities than appeas'd them, especialy now that nobody gave the least occasion.<sup>1</sup>

10. The Scots valueing themselves exceedingly to have ben the first Parliament call'd by his Majesty, gave the Excise and Costomes to him and his successors for ever ; the D. of Queensberry making eloquent speeches, and especialy minding them of a speedy suppression of those late desperate Field-Conventiclors who had done such unheard-of assassinations. In the meane time elections for the ensueing Parliament in England were thought to be very indirectly carried on in most places. God grant a better issue of it than some expect !

16. Titus Oates was sentenced to be whipped and pilloried with the utmost severity.

21 May. I din'd at my Lord Privy Seale's with Sir William Dugdale, Garter King at Armes, author of the Monasticon and other learned workes : he told me he was 82 yeares of age, and had his sight

<sup>1</sup> In the first Dutch war, whilst Mr. Evelyn was one of the Commissioners for sick and wounded, Mr. L'Estrange in his Gazette mentioned the barbarous usage of the Dutch prisoners of war ; Mr. Evelyn wrote him a very spirited letter, desiring that the Dutch Ambassador (who was then in England) and his friends would visit the prisoners, and examine their provisions ; and he desir'd Mr. L'Estrange would publish his vindication in his next number.

and memory perfect.<sup>1</sup> There was shewn a draught of the exact shape and dimensions of the Crowne the Queene had been crowned withall, together with the jewells and pearles; their weight and value, which amounted to £.100,658 sterling, attested at the foote of the paper by the jeweller and goldsmith who sett them.

22. In the morning I went with a French gentleman, and my Lord Privy Seale, to the House of Lords, where we were plac'd by his lordship next the Bar, just below the Bishops, very commodiously both for hearing and seeing. After a short space came in the Queene and Princesse of Denmark, and stood next above the Archbishops, at the side of the House on the right hand of the throne. In the interim divers of the Lords, who had not finish'd before, took the Test and usual Oathes, so that her Majesty, the Spanish and other Ambassadors, who stood behind the throne, heard the Pope and worship of the Virgin Mary, &c. renounc'd very decently, as likewise the prayers which follow'd, standing all the while. Then came in the King, the Crowne on his head, and being seated, the Commons were introduced, and the House being full, he drew forth a paper containing his speech, which he read distinctly enough, to this effect: 'That he resolv'd to call a Parliament from the moment of his brother's decease, as the best meanes to settle all the concernes of the Nation, so as to be most easy and happy to himselfe and his subjects; that he would confirme whatever he had said in his declaration at the first Council concerning his opinion of the principles of the Church of England, for their loyaltie, and would defend and support it, and preserve its government as by law now establish'd; that, as he would invade no man's property, so he would never depart from his owne prerogative; and as he had ventur'd his life in defence of the Nation, so he would proceede to do still; that, having given this assurance of his care of our Religion (his word was *your* Religion) and Property (which he had not said by chance but solemnly), so he doubted not of suitable returnes of his subjects duty and kindnesse, especialy as to settling his Revenue for life, for the many weighty necessities of government, which he would not suffer to be precarious; that some might possibly suggest that it were better to scede and supply him from time to time only, out of their inclination to frequent Parliaments, but that that would be a very improper method to take with him, since the best way to engage him to meete oftener would be always to use him well, and therefore he expected their compliance speedily, that this Session being but short, they might meet againe to satisfaction.' At every period of this the House gave loud shouts. Then he acquainted them with that morning's news of Argyle's being landed in the West Highlands of Scotland from Holland, and the treasonous declaration he had published, which he would communicate

<sup>1</sup> Sir Isaac Heard, the present Garter King at Arms, is about the same age, and in equal possession of his faculties (1816).

to them, and that he should take the best care he could it should meete with the reward it deserv'd, not questioning the Parliament's zeale and readinesse to assist him as he desir'd ; at which theré follow'd another *Vive le Roi*, and so his Majesty retir'd.

So soone as the Commons were return'd and had put themselves into a grand Committee, they immediately put the question, and unanimously voted the Revenue to his Majesty for life. Mr. Seymour made a bold speech against many Elections, and would have had those members who (he pretended) were obnoxious, to withdraw, till they had clear'd the matter of their being legally return'd ; but no one seconded him. The truth is, there were many of the new members whose Elections and Returns were universally censur'd, many of them being persons of no condition or interest in the Nation, or places for which they serv'd, especially in Devon, Cornwall, Norfolk, &c. said to have ben recommended by the Court and from the effect of the new charters changing the electors. It was reported that Lord Bath carried down with him [into Cornwall] no fewer than 15 charters, so that some call'd him the Prince Elector : whence Seymour told the House in his speech that if this was digested, they might introduce what religion and lawes they pleas'd, and that tho' he never gave heed to the feares and jealousies of the people before, he now was really apprehensive of Popery. By the printed list of Members of the House 505 there did not appeare to be above 135 who had ben in former Parliaments, especialy that lately held at Oxford.

In the Lords House Lord Newport made an exception against two or three young Peeres, who wanted some moneths, and some only four or five daies of being of age.

The Popish Lords who had ben sometime before releas'd from their confinement about the Plot, were now discharg'd of their impeachment, of which I gave Lord Arundel of Wardour joy.

Oates, who had but two dayes before ben pilloried at severall places and whipt at the carts taile from Newgate to Aldgate, was this day plac'd on a sledge, being not able to go by reason of so late scourging, and dragg'd from prison to Tyburn, and whipt againe all the way, which some thought to be very severe and extraordinary ; but if he was guilty of the perjuries, and so of the death of many innocents, as I feare he was, his punishment was but what he deserv'd. I chanc'd to pass just as execution was doing on him. A strange revolution !

Note : there was no speech made by the Lord Keeper [Bridgeman] after his Majesty, as usual.

It was whisper'd he would not be long in that situation, and many believe the bold Cheif Justice Jefferies, who was made Baron of Wem in Shropshire, and who went thorough stitch in that tribunal, stands fair for that office. I gave him joy the morning before of his new honour, he having always ben very civil to me.

24 May. We had hitherto not any raine for many moneths, so as the caterpillars had already devour'd all the winter fruite thro' the whole land, and even kill'd severall greater old trees. Such two winters and summers I had never knowne.

4 June. Came to visite and take leave of me Sir Gab. Sylvius, now going Envoy extraordinary into Denmark, with his Secretary and Chaplaine, a Frenchman, who related the miserable persecution of the Protestants in France; not above 10 Churches left them, and those also threaten'd to be demolish'd; they were commanded to christen their children within 24 houres after birth, or else a Popish Priest was to be call'd, and then the infant brought up in Popery. In some places they were 30 leagues from any minister or opportunity of worship. This persecution had displeas'd the most industrious part of the nation, and dispers'd those into Swisse, Burgundy, Holland, Germany, Denmark, England, and the Plantations. There were with Sir Gabriel, his lady, Sir Wm. Godolphin and sisters, and my Lord Godolphin's little son, my charge. I brought them to the water side where Sir Gabriel embark'd, and the rest return'd to London.

14. There was now certaine intelligence of the Duke of Monmouth landing at Lyme in Dorsetshire, and of his having set up his standard as King of England. I pray God deliver us from the confusion which these beginnings threaten!

Such a dearth for want of raine was never in my memory.

17. The Duke landed with but 150 men, but the whole Kingdom was alarm'd, fearing that the disaffected would joyn them, many of the train'd bands flocking to him. At his landing he publish'd a declaration, charging his Majesty with usurpation and several horrid crimes, on pretence of his owne title, and offering to call a free Parliament. This declaration was order'd to be burnt by the hangman, the Duke proclaim'd a traytor, and a reward of £.5,000 to any man who should kill him.

At this time the words engraved on the monument in London, intimating that the Papists fir'd the Citty, were erased and cut out.

The exceeding drowth still continues.

18. I received a warrant to send out a horse with 12 dayes provision, &c.

28. We had now plentifull raine after 2 yeares excessive drowth and severe winters.

Argyle taken in Scotland and executed, and his party dispers'd.

2 July. No considerable account of the troops sent against the Duke of Monmouth, tho' greate forces sent. There was a smart skirmish, but he would not be provok'd to come to an encounter, but still kept in the fastnesses.

Dangerfield whipp'd, like Oates, for perjurie.

8 July. Came news of Monmouth's utter defeate, and the next day

of his being taken by Sir William Portman and Lord Lumley with the militia of their counties. It seemes the horse, commanded by Lord Grey, being newly rais'd and undisciplin'd, were not to be brought in so short a time to endure the fire, which expos'd the foote to the King's, so as when Monmouth had led the foote in greate silence and order, thinking to surprize Lieutenant General Lord Feversham newly encamp'd and given him a smart charge, interchanging both greate and small shot, the horse, breaking their owne ranks, Monmouth gave it over, and fled with Grey, leaving their party to be cut in pieces to the number of 2000. The whole number reported to be above 8,000, the King's but 2,700. The slaine were most of them *Mendip-miners*, who did greate execution with their tooles, and sold their lives very dearely, whilst their leaders flying were pursu'd and taken the next morning, not far from one another. Monmouth had gone 16 miles on foote, changing his habite for a poore coate, and was found by Lord Lumley in a dry ditch cover'd with fern-brakes, but without sword, pistol, or any weapon, and so might have pass'd for some countryman, his beard being grown so long and so grey as hardly to be known, had not his George discover'd him, which was found in his pocket. 'Tis said he trembl'd exceedingly all over, not able to speake. Grey was taken not far from him. Most of his party were anabaptists and poore cloth-workers of the country, no gentleman of account being come in to him. The arch-boutefeu Ferguson Matthews, &c. were not yet found. The £5.000 to be given to whoever should bring Monmouth in, was to be distributed among the militia by agrement between Sir William Portman and Lord Lumley. The battail ended, some words, first in jest, then in passion, pass'd between Sherrington Talbot (a worthy gentleman, son to Sir John Talbot, and who had behav'd himselfe very handsomely) and one Capt. Love, both commanders of the militia, as to whose souldiers fought best, both drawing their swords and passing at one another. Sherrington was wounded to death on the spot, to the greate regret of all who knew him. He was Sir John's only son.

9 July. Just as I was coming into the lodgings at White-hall, a little before dinner, my Lord of Devonshire standing very neere his Majesty's bed-chamber doore in the lobby, came Col. Culpeper, and in a rude manner looking my Lord in the face, asked whether this was a time and place for excluders to appeare; my Lord at first tooke little notice of what he said, knowing him to be a hot-headed fellow, but he reiterating it, my Lord ask'd Culpeper whether he meant him; he said, yes, he meant his Lordship. My Lord told him he was no excluder (as indeed he was not); the other affirming it againe, my Lord told him he lied, on which Culpeper struck him a box on the eare, which my Lord return'd and fell'd him. They were soone parted, Culpeper was seiz'd, and his Majesty, who was all the while in his bed-chamber, order'd him to be carried to the Green Cloth Officer, who sent him to the

Marshalsea, as he deserv'd. My Lord of Devonshire had nothing said to him.

I supp'd this night at Lambeth at my old friend's, Mr. Elias Ashmole's, with my Lady Clarendon, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and Dr. Tenison, where we were treated at a greate feast.

10 July. The Count of Castel Mellor, that greate favourite and prime minister of Alphonso, late King of Portugal, after several yeeres banishment, being now receiv'd to grace and call'd home by Don Pedro the present King, as having ben found a person of the greatest integrity after all his sufferings, desir'd me to spend part of this day with him, and assist him in a collection of books and other curiosities, which he would carry with him into Portugal.

Mr. Hussey, a young gentleman who made love to my late deare child, but whom she could not bring herself to answer in affection, died now of the same cruel disease, for which I was extreamly sorry, because he never enjoy'd himselfe after my daughter's decease, nor was I averse to the match, could she have overcome her disinclination.

15. I went to see Dr. Tenison's Library [in St. Martin's.]

Monmouth was this day brought to London and examin'd before the King, to whom he made greate submission, acknowledg'd his seduction by Ferguson the Scot, whom he nam'd the bloody villain. He was sent to the Tower, had an interview with his late Dutchesse, whom he receiv'd coldly, having liv'd dishonestly with the Lady Henrietta Wentworth for two yeares. He obstinately asserted his conversation with that debauch'd woman to be no sin, whereupon, seeing he could not be persuaded to his last breath, the divines who were sent to assist him thought not fit to administer the Holy Communion to him. For the rest of his faults he profess'd greate sorrow, and so died without any apparent feare; he would not make use of a cap or other circumstance, but lying downe bid the fellow do his office better than to the late Lord Russell, and gave him gold; but the wretch made five chopps before he had his head off; which so incens'd the people, that had he not been guarded and got away, they would have torn him to pieces.

The Duke made no speech on the scaffold (which was on Tower Hill) but gave a paper containing not above 5 or 6 lines, for the King, in which he disclaims all title to the Crown, acknowledges that the late King, his father, had indeede told him he was but his base sonn, and so desir'd his Majesty to be kind to his wife and children. This relation I had from Dr. Tenison (Rector of St. Martin's), who, with the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, were sent to him by his Majesty, and were at the execution.

Thus ended this quondam Duke, darling of his father and the ladies, being extreamly handsome and adroit; an excellent souldier and dancer, a favourite of the people, of an easy nature, debauch'd by lusts, seduc'd by crafty knaves who would have set him up only to make a

property, and took the opportunity of the King being of another religion, to gather a party of discontented men. He fail'd & perish'd.

He was a lovely person, had a virtuous and excellent lady that brought him greates riches, and a second dukedom in Scotland. He was Master of the Horse, General of the King his father's Army, Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, Knight of the Garter, Chancellor of Cambridge, in a word, had accumulations without end. See what ambition and want of principles brought him to ! He was beheaded on Tuesday 14th July. His mother, whose name was Barlow, daughter of some very meane creatures, was a beautiful strumpet, whom I had often seene at Paris ; she died miserably without any thing to bury her ; yet this Perkin had ben made to believe that the King had married her ; a monstrous and ridiculous forgerie ; and to satisfy the world of the iniquity of the report, the King his father (if his father he really was, for he most resembl'd one Colonel Sydney,<sup>1</sup> who was familiar with his mother) publickly and most solemnly renounc'd it, to be so enter'd in the Council Booke some yeares since, with all the Privy Councillor's attestation.<sup>2</sup>

Had it not pleas'd God to dissipate this attempt in the beginning, there would in all appearance have gather'd an irresistible force which would have desperately proceeded to the ruine of the Church and Government, so general was the discontent and expectation of the opportunity. For my owne part I look'd upon this deliverance as most signal. Such an inundation of phanatics and men of impious principles must needs have caus'd universal disorder, cruelty, injustice, rapine, sacrilege, and confusion, an unavoidable civil war and misery without end. Blessed be God the knot was happily broken, and a faire prospect of tranquillity for the future if we reforme, be thankfull, and make a right use of this mercy.

18 July. I went to see the muster of the 6 Scotch and English regiments whom the Prince of Orange had lately sent to his Majesty out of Holland upon this rebellion, but which were now returning, there

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Robert Sidney, commonly called handsome Sidney, related to the Earl of Leicester of that name.

<sup>2</sup> Ross, tutor to the Duke of Monmouth, proposed to Bishop Cosens to sign a certificate of the King's marriage to Mrs. Barlow, though her own name was Walters ; this the Bishop refused. She was born of a gentleman's family in Wales, but having little means and less grace, came to London to make her fortune. Algernon Sidney, then a Colonel in Cromwell's army, had agreed to give her 50 broad pieces (as he told the Duke of York) ; but being ordered hastily away with his regiment, he missed his bargain. She went into Holland, where she fell into the hands of his brother Colonel Robert Sidney, who kept her for some time, till the King hearing of her, got her from him. On which the Colonel was heard to say, Let who will have her she is already sped ; and after being with the King she was so soon with child that the world had no cause to doubt whose child it was, and the rather that when he grew to be a man, he very much resembled the Colonel both in stature and countenance, even to a wart on his face. However the King owned the child. In the King's absence she behaved so loosely, that on his return from his escape at Worcester, he would have no further commerce with her, and she became a common prostitute at Paris. Life of King James II. vol. I. 491.

having ben no occasion for their use. They were all excellently clad and well disciplin'd, and were incamped on Blackbeath with their tents: the King and Queene came to see them exercise, and the manner of their incampment, which was very neate and magnificent.

By a grosse mistake of the Secretary of his Majesty's forces, it had ben order'd that they should be quarter'd in private houses, contrary to an Act of Parliment, but on my informing his Majesty timely of it, it was prevented.

The two horsemen which my son and myselfe sent into the county troopes, were now come home, after a moneth's being out to our greate charge.

20. The Trinity Company met this day, which should have ben on the Monday after Trinity, but was put off by reason of the Royal Charter being so large that it could not be ready before. Some immunities were super-added. Mr. Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty, was a second time chosen Master. There were present the Duke of Grafton, Lord Dartmouth, Master of the Ordnance, the Commissioners of the Navy, and brethren of the Corporation. We went to Church according to costome, and then took barge to the Trinity House, in London, where we had a great dinner, above 80 at one table.

7 Aug. I went to see Mr. Wats, keeper of the Apothecaries Garden of Simples at Chelsea, where there is a collection of innumerable rarities of that sort particularly, besides many rare annuals, the tree bearing jesuits bark, which had don such wonders in quartan agues. What was very ingenious was the subterranean heate, conveyed by a stove under the conservatory, which was all vaulted with brick, so as he has the doores and windowes open in the hardest frosts, secluding only the snow.

15. Came to visite us Mr. Boscawen with my Lord Godolphin's little son, with whose education hither his father had intrusted me.

27. My daughter Elizabeth died of the small pox, soon after having married a young man, nephew of Sir John Tippet, surveyor of the Navy, and one of the Commissioners. The 30th she was buried in the Church at Deptford. Thus in lesse than six moneths were we deprived of two children for our unworthinesse and causes best knowne to God, whom I beseeche from the bottome of my heart that he will give us grace to make that right use of all these chastisements, that we may become better, and entirely submitt in all things to his infinite wise disposal. Amen.

3 Sept. Lord Clarendon (Lord Privy Seale) wrote to let me know that the King being pleas'd to send him Lord Lieutenant into Ireland, was also pleas'd to nominate me one of the Commissioners to execute the office of Privy Seale during his Lieutenantancy there, it behoving me to wait upon his Majesty to give him thanks for this greate honour.

5. I accompanied his Lordship to Windsor (dining by the way at

Sir Henry Capel's at Kew), where his Majesty receiving me with extraordinary kindnesse, I kiss'd his hand. I told him how sensible I was of his Majesty's gracious favour to me, that I would endeavour to serve him with all sincerity, diligence, and loyalty, not more out of my duty than inclination. He said he doubted not of it, and was glad he had the opportunity to shew me the kindnesse he had for me. After this came abundance of greate men to give me joy.

6 Sunday. I went to prayer in the Chapell. and heard Dr. Standish. The second sermon was preach'd by Dr. Creighton, on 1 Thess. 4, 11, persuading to unity and peace, and to be mindfull of our owne businesse, according to the advice of the Apostle. Ther. I went to heare a Frenchman who preached before the King and Queene in that splendid Chapell next St. George's Hall. Their Majesties going to masse, I withdrew to consider the stupendous painting of the Hall, which, both for the art and invention, deserve the inscription in honour of the painter, Signior Verrio. The history is Edward the 3d receiving the Black Prince, coming towards him in a Roman triumph. The whole roofe is the history of St. George. The throne, the carvings, &c. are incomparable, and I think equal to any, and in many circumstances exceeding any, I have scene abroad.

I din'd at Lord Sunderland's, with (amongst others) Sir William Soames, design'd Ambassador to Constantinople.

About 6 o'clock came Sir Dudley and his brother Roger North, and brought the greate seale from my Lord Keeper, who died the day before at his house in Oxfordshire. The King went immediately to Council; every body guessing who was most likely to succeed this greate officer; most believing it could be no other than my Lord Chief Justice Jefferies, who had so vigorously prosecuted the late rebels, and was now gone the Western circuit, to punish the rest that were secur'd in the several counties, and was now neere upon his returne. I tooke my leave of his Majesty, who spake very graciously to me, and supping that night at Sir S. Fox's, I promis'd to dine there the next day.

15 Sept. I accompanied Mr. Pepys to Portsmouth, whither his Majesty was going the first time since his coming to the Crowne, to see in what state the fortifications were. We tooke coach and six horses, late after dinner, yet got to Bagshot (26 m.) that night. Whilst supper was making ready I went and made a visit to Mrs. Graham, some time maid of honour to the Queene Dowager, now wife to James Graham, Esq. of the privy purse to the King; her house being a walke in the forest, within a little of a quarter mile from Bagshot towne. Very importunate she was that I would sup, and abide there that night, but being oblig'd by my companion, I return'd to our inn, after she had shew'd me her house, which was very commodious and well furnish'd, as she was an excellent housewife, a prudent and virtuous lady. There is a parke full of red deere about it. Her eldest

son was now sick there of the small-pox, but in a likely way of recovery, and other of her children run about, and among the infected, which she said she let them do on purpose that they might whilst young pass that fatal disease she fancied they were to undergo one time or other, and that this would be for the best: the severity of this cruell disease so lately in my poore family confirming much of what she affirmed.

16. The next morning setting out early, we ariv'd soon enough at Winchester to waite on the King, who was lodg'd at the Dean's (Dr. Meggot). I found very few with him besides my Lords Feversham, Arran, Newport, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells. His Majesty was discoursing with the Bishops concerning miracles, and what strange things the Saludadors<sup>1</sup> would do in Spaine, as by creeping into heated ovens without hurt, and that they had a black crosse in the roofe of their mouthes, but yet were commonly notorious and profane wretches; upon which his Majesty further said, that he was so extreemly difficult of miracles, for feare of being impos'd upon, that if he should chance to see one himselfe, without some other witness, he should apprehend it a delusion of his senses. Then they spake of the boy who was pretended to have a wanting leg restor'd him, so confidently asserted by Fr<sup>re</sup> de Sta. Clara and others. To all which the Bishop added a greate miracle happening in Westminster to his certaine knowledge, of a poor miserably sick and decrepit child (as I remember long kept unbaptiz'd), who immediately on his baptism recover'd; as also of the salutary effect of K. Charles his Majesty's father's blood, in healing one that was blind.

There was something said of the second sight happening to some persons, especially Scotch; upon which his Majesty, and I think Lord Arran, told us that Mons. . . . . a French nobleman, lately here in England, seeing the late Duke of Monmouth come into the play-house at London, suddenly cried out to somebody sitting in the same box, *Voilà Monsieur comme il entre sans tête*. Afterwards his Majesty spoke of some reliques that had effected strange cures, particularly a piece of our BL Saviour's Crosse, and heal'd a gentleman's rotten nose by onely touching; and speaking of the golden crosse and chaine taken out of the coffin of St. Edward the Confessor at Westminster, by

<sup>1</sup> As to that of the Saludador (of which likewise I remember Sir Arthur Hopton, formerly Ambassador at Madrid, has told me many like wonders) Mr. Pepys passing through Spaine, and being extreemly inquisitive of the truth of these pretended miracles of the Saludadors, found a very famous one at last, to whom he offered a considerable reward if he would make a trial of the oven, or any other thing of that kind, before him; the fellow ingeniously told him that finding he was a more than ordinary curious person, he would not deceive him, and so acknowledged that he could do none of the feates really, but that what they pretended was all a cheate, which he would easily discover, though the poore superstitious people were easily imposed upon: yet have these imposters an allowance of the Bishops to practice their jugglings. This Mr. Pepys affirmed to me, but, said he, I did not conceive it fit to interrupt his Majesty, who so solemnly told what they pretended to do. J. E.

one of the singing men, who, as the scaffolds were taking down after his Majesty's coronation, espying a hole in the tomb, and something glisten, put his hand in and brought it to the Deane, and he to the King ; his Majesty began to put the Bishop in mind how earnestly the late King (his brother) call'd upon him, during his agonie, to take out what he had in his pocket. I had thought, said the King, it had ben for some keys, which might lead to some cabinet that his Majesty would have me secure ; but, says he, you well remember that I found nothing in any of his pockets but a crosse of gold, and a few insignificant papers ; and thereupon he shew'd us the crosse, and was pleas'd to put it into my hand. It was of gold, about three inches long, having on one side a crucifix enamell'd and emboss'd, the rest was grav'd and garnish'd with goldsmiths' work, and two pretty broad table amethysts (as I conceiv'd), and at the bottom a pendant pearle ; within was inchas'd a little fragment, as was thought, of the true Crosse, and a Latine inscription in gold and Roman letters.<sup>1</sup> More company coming in, this discourse ended. I may not forget a resolution which his Majesty made, and had a little before enter'd upon it at the Council Board at Windsor or White-hall, that the Negroes in the Plantations should all be baptiz'd, exceedingly declaiming against that impiety of their masters prohibiting it, out of a mistaken opinion that they would be *ipso facto* free ; but his Majesty persists in his resolution to have them christen'd, which piety the Bishop blessed him for.

I went out to see the new Palace the late King had began, and brought almost to the covering. It is plac'd on the side of the hill where formerly stood the old Castle. It is a stately fabric, of three sides and a corridor, all built of brick, and cornish'd, windows and columns at the break and entrance of free-stone. It was intended for a hunting-house when his Majesty should come to these parts, and has an incomparable prospect. I believe there had already been £20,000 and more expended, but now his Majesty did not seeme to encourage the finishing it, at least for a while.

Hence I went to see the cathedral, a reverend pile, and in good re-paire. There are still the coffins of the six Saxon Kings, whose bones had ben scatter'd by the sacrilegious Rebels of 1641, in expectation, I suppose, of finding some valuable reliques, and afterwards gather'd up againe and put into new chests, which stand above the stalls of the Choir.

17 Sept. Early next morning we went to Portsmouth, something before his Majesty arriv'd. We found all the way full of people, the women in their best dress, in expectation of seeing the King pass by, which he did riding on horseback a good part of the way. We found the Maior and Aldermen with their mace, and in their formalities,

<sup>1</sup> There is a pamphlet giving an account of this finding and presenting to the King, under the name of George Taylour ; but his name was Henry Keepe.

standing at the entrance of the fort, a mile on this side of the towne, where the Maior made a speech to the King, and then the guns of the fort were fired, as were those of the garrison so soone as the King was come into Portsmouth. All the souldiers (neere 3000) were drawn up, and lining the streetes and platforme to God's-house (the name of the Governor's house), where, after he had view'd the new fortifications and ship-yard, his Majesty was entertain'd at a magnificent dinner by Sir . . Slingsby the Lieut. Governor, all the gentlemen in his traine setting down at table with him, which I also had don had I not ben before engag'd to Sir Robert Holmes, Governor of the Isle of Wight, to dine with him at a private house, where likewise we had a very sumptuous and plentiful repast of excellent venison, fowle, fish, and fruit.

After dinner I went to wait on his Majesty againe, who was pulling on his bootes in the Towne-hall, adjoyning the house where he din'd, and then having saluted some ladys, who came to kiss his hand, he tooke horse for Winchester, whither he returned that night. This hall is artificially hung round with armes of all sorts, like the Hall and Keep at Windsor.

I went hence to see the ship-yard and dock, the fortifications, and other things.

Portsmouth when finish'd will be very strong, and a noble key. There were now 32 men of war in the harbour. I was invited by Sir R. Beach the Commissioner, where, after a greate supper, Mr. Secretary and mysele lay that night, and the next morning set out for Guildford, where we ariv'd in good hour, and so the day after to London.

I had twice before ben at Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, &c. many yeares since. I found this part of Hampshire bravely wooded, especially about the house and estate of Col. Norton, who, tho' now in being, having formerly made his peace by means of Col. Legg, was formerly a very fierce commander in the first Rebellion. His house is large, and standing low, on the road from Winchester to Portsmouth.

By what I observ'd in this journey, is that infinite industry, sedulity, gravity, and greate understanding and experience of affaires, in his Majesty, that I cannot but predict much happiness to the Nation, as to its political government; and if he so persist, there could be nothing more desir'd to accomplish our prosperity but that he was of the National Religion.

30. The Commission of Lord Clarendon for Lieutenant of Ireland was seal'd this day.

2 Oct. Having a letter sent me by Mr. Pepys with this expression at the foote of it, 'I have something to shew you that I may not have another time,' and that I would not faile to dine with him, I accordingly went. After dinner he had me and Mr. Houblon (a rich and considerable merchant, whose father had fled out of Flanders on the persecution of the Duke of Alva) into a private roome, and told us that being

lately alone with his Majesty, and upon some occasion of speaking concerning my late Lord Arlington dying a Roman Catholic, who had all along seem'd to profess himselfe a Protestant, taken all the tests, &c. till the day (I think) of his death, his Majesty sayd that as to his inclinations he had known him long wavering, but from feare of looseing his places he did not think it convenient to declare himself. There are, says the King, those who believe the Church of Rome gives dispensations for going to church, and many like things, but that is not so ; for if that might have ben had, he himselfe had most reason to make use of it. *Indeede*, he said, as to *some matrimonial cases, there are now and then dispensations*, but hardly in any cases else. This familiar discourse encourag'd Mr. Pepys to beg of his Majesty, if he might ask it without offence, and for that his Majesty could not but observe how it was whisper'd among many, whether his late Majesty had ben reconcil'd to the Church of Rome ; he againe humbly besought his Majesty to pardon his presumption if he had touch'd upon a thing which did not befit him to looke into : the King ingenuously told him that he both was and died a Roman Catholic, and that he had not long since declar'd it was upon some politic and state reasons, best known to himselfe (meaning the King his brother) but that he was of that persuasion : he bid him follow him into his closet, where opening a cabinet, he shew'd him two papers, containing about a quarter of a sheete, on both sides written, in the late King's owne hand, severall arguments opposite to the doctrine of the Church of England, charging her with heresy, novelty and the fanaticism of other Protestants, the chief whereof was, as I remember, our refusing to acknowledge the Primacy and Infallibility of the Church of Rome ; how impossible it was that so many ages should never dispute it, till of late ; how unlikely our Saviour would leave his Church without a visible head and guide to resort to, during his absence ; with the like usual topics ; so well penn'd as to the discourse as did by no means seeme to me to have ben put together by the late King, yet written all with his owne hand, blotted and interlin'd, so as, if indeede it was not given him by some priest, they might be such arguments and reasons as had ben inculcated from time to time, and here recollected ; and in the conclusion shewing his looking on the Protestant Religion (and by name the Church of England) to be without foundation, and consequently false and unsafe. When his Majesty had shewn him these originals, he was pleas'd to lend him the copies of those two papers, attested at the bottom in 4 or 5 lines, under his owne hand.

These were the papers I saw and read. This nice and curious passage I thought fit to set downe. Tho' all the arguments and objections were altogether weake, and have a thousand times ben answer'd by our Divines ; they are such as their Priests insinuate among their proselites, as if nothing were Catholique but the Church of Rome, no salvation out

of that, no reformation sufferable, bottoming all their errors on St. Peter's successors unerrable dictatorship, but proving nothing with any reason, or taking notice of any objection which could be made against it. Here all was taken for granted, and upon it a resolution and preference implied. I was heartily sorry to see all this, tho' it was no other than was to be suspected, by his late Majesty's too greate indifference, neglect, and course of life, that he had ben perverted, and for secular respects onely profess'd to be of another believe, and thereby giving greate advantage to our adversaries, both the Court and generally the youth and greate persons of the Nation becoming dissolute and highly profane. God was incens'd to make his reign very troublesome and unprosperous, by warrs, plagues, fires, losse of reputation by an universal neglect of the publique for the love of a voluptuous and sensual life, which a vicious Court had brought into credit. I think of it with sorrow and pity when I consider of how good and debonaire a nature that unhappy Prince was, what opportunities he had to have made himselfe the most renown'd King that ever sway'd the British scepter, had he ben firm to that Church for which his martyr'd and blessed father suffer'd ; and had he ben gratefull to Almighty God, who so miraculously restor'd him, with so excellent a Religion ; had he endeavour'd to owne and propagate it as he should have don, not onely for the good of his Kingdom, but of all the Reformed Churches in Christendom, now weaken'd and neere ruin'd thro' our remissnesse and suffering them to be suplanted, persecuted and destroy'd, as in France, which we tooke no notice of. The consequence of this time will shew, and I wish it may proceed no further. The emissaries and instruments of the Church of Rome will never rest till they have crush'd the Church of England, as knowing that alone to be able to cope with them, and that they can never answer her fairly, but lie abundantly open to the irresistible force of her arguments, antiquity and purity of her doctrine, so that albeit it may move God, for the punishment of a Nation so unworthy, to eclipse againe the profession of her here, and darknesse and superstition prevaile, I am most confident the doctrine of the Church of England will never be extinguish'd, but remaine visible, if not eminent, to the consummation of the world. I have innumerable reasons that confirm me in this opinion, which I forbear to mention here.

In the mean time as to the discourse of his Majesty with Mr. Pepys, and those papers, as I do exceedingly prefer his Majesty's free and ingenuous profession of what his own Religion is, beyond concealment upon any politic accounts, so I thinke him of a most sincere and honest nature, one on whose word one may relie, and that he makes a conscience of what he promises, to performe it. In this confidence I hope that the Church of England may yet subsist, and when it shall please God to open his eyes and turne his heart (for that is peculiarly in the Lord's hands) to flourish also. In all events whatever do become

of the Church of England, it is certainly, of all the Christian professions on the earth, the most primitive, apostolical and excellent.

8 Oct. I had my picture drawn this week by the famous Kneller.

14. I went to London about finishing my lodgings at White-hall.

15. Being the King's birth day, there was a solemne ball at Court, and before it musiq of instruments and voices. At the musiq I happen'd by accident to stand the very next to the Queene and the King, who talk'd with me about the musick.

18. The King was now building all that range from East to West by the Court and Garden to the streete, and making a new Chapel for the Queene, whose lodgings were to be in this new building, as also a new Council chamber and offices next the South end of the Banquetting house. I returned home next morning to London.

22. I accompanied my Lady Clarendon to her house at Swallowfield in Berks, dining by the way at Mr. Graham's lodge at Bagshot; the house, new repair'd and capacious enough for a good family, stands in a Park.

Hence we went to Swallowfield; this house is after the antient building of honourable gentlemen's houses, when they kept up antient hospitality, but the gardens and waters as elegant as 'tis possible to make a flat, by art and industrie, and no meane expence, my lady being so extraordinarily skill'd in the flowery part, and my lord in diligence of planting; so that I have hardly seene a seate which shews more tokens of it than what is to be found here, not only in the delicious and rarest fruits of a garden, but in those innumerable timber trees in the ground about the seate, to the greatest ornament and benefit of the place. There is one orchard of 1000 golden, and other cider pippins; walks and groves of elms, limes, oaks, and other trees. The garden is so beset with all manner of sweete shrubbs, that it perfumes the aire. The distribution also of the quarters, walks, and parterres, is excellent. The nurseries, kitchin garden full of the most desireable plants; two very noble Orangeries well furnished; but above all, the canall and fishponds, the one fed with a white, the other with a black running water, fed by a quick and swift river, so well and plentifully stor'd with fish, that for pike, carp, breame and tench, I never saw any thing approching it. We had at every meale carp and pike of size fit for the table of a Prince, and what added to the delight was to see the hundreds taken by the drag, out of which, the cooke standing by, we pointed out what we had most mind to, and had carp that would have ben worth at London twenty shillings a piece. The waters are flagg'd about with *Calamus aromaticus*, with which my lady has hung a closet, that retains the smell very perfectly. There is also a certaine sweete willow and other exotics: also a very fine bowling-greene, meadow, pasture, and wood; in a word, all that can render a country seate delightful. There is besides a well furnish'd library in the house.

26. We return'd to London, having ben treated with all sorts of cheere and noble freedom by that most religious and vertuous lady. She was now preparing to go for Ireland with her husband, made Lord Deputy, and went to this country-house and antient seate of her father and family,<sup>1</sup> to set things in order during her absence ; but never were good people and neighbours more concern'd than all the country (the poor especialy) for the departure of this charitable woman ; every one was in teares, and she as unwilling to part from them. There was amongst them a maiden of primitive life, the daughter of a poore labouring man, who had sustain'd her parents (sometime since dead) by her labour, and has for many years refus'd marriage, or to receive any assistance from the parish, besides the little hermitage my lady gives her rent-free ; she lives on foure pence a day, which she gets by spinning ; says she abounds and can give almes to others, living in greate humility and content, without any apparent affectation or singularity ; she is continually working, praying or reading, gives a good account of her knowledge in religion, visites the sick ; is not in the least given to talke ; very modest, of a simple not unseemly behaviour ; of a comely countenance, clad very plaine, but cleane and tight. In sum, she appeares a saint of an extraordinary sort, in so religious a life as is seldom met with in villages now-a-daies.

27. I was invited to dine at Sir Ste. Fox's with my Lord Lieutenant, where was such a dinner for variety of all things as I had seldome seene, and it was so for the trial of a master cooke whom Sir Stephen had recommended to go with his Lordship into Ireland ; there were all the dainties not onely of the season, but of what art could add, venison, plaine solid meate, fowle, bak'd and boil'd meates, banquet [desert], &c. in exceeding plenty and exquisitely dress'd. There also din'd my Lord Ossory and Lady (the Duke of Beaufort's daughter), my Lady Treasurer, Lord Cornbery, &c.

28. At the Royal Society an urn full of bones was presented, dug up in an highway, whilst repairing it, in a field in Camberwell in Surrey ; it was found intire with its cover, amongst many others, believ'd to be truly Roman and antient.

Sir Richard Bulkeley described to us a model of a charriot he had invented, which it was not possible to overthrow in whatever uneven way it was drawn, giving us a wonderfull relation of what it had perform'd in that kind, for ease, expedition, and safety ; there were some inconveniences yet to be remedied—it would not contain more than one person ; was ready to take fire every 10 miles, and being plac'd, and playing on no fewer than 10 rollers, it made a most prodigious noise, almost intolerable. A remedy was to be sought for these inconveniences.

<sup>1</sup> She was daughter and heiress of Wm. Backhouse, Esq. ; and widow of Sir Wm Backhouse, Bart. Collins's Peerage.

31. I din'd at our greate Lord Chancellor Jefferies, who us'd me with much respect. This was the late Chief Justice who had newly ben the Western Circuit to try the Monmouth conspirators, and had formerly don such severe justice amongst the obnoxious in Westminster Hall, for which his Majesty dignified him by creating him first a Baron, and now Lord Chancellor. He had some years past ben conversant at Deptford; is of an assur'd and undaunted spirit, and has serv'd the Court interest on all the hardest occasions; is of nature cruel and a slave of the Court.

3 Nov. The French persecution of the Protestants raging with the utmost barbarity, exceeded even what the very heathens us'd: innumerable persons of the greatest birth and riches leaving all their earthly substance, and hardly escaping with their lives, dispers'd thro' all the countries of Europe. The French tyrant abrogated the Edict of Nantes which had ben made in favour of them, and without any cause; on a suddaine demolishing all their Churches, banishing, imprisoning, and sending to the gallies all the ministers; plundering the common people, and exposing them to all sorts of barbarous usage by souldiers sent to ruine and prey on them; taking away their children; forcing people to the Masse, and then executing them as relapsers; they burnt their libraries, pillag'd their goods, eate up their fields and substance, banish'd or sent the people to the gallies, and seiz'd on their estates. There had now ben number'd to passe thro' Geneva onely (and that by stealth, for all the usual passages were strictly guarded by sea and land) 40,000 towards Swisserland. In Holland, Denmark, and all about Germany, were dispers'd some hundred thousands; besides those in England, where though multitudes of all degrees sought for shelter and wellcome as distressed Christians and Confessors, they found least encouragement, by a fatality of the times we were fallen into, and the uncharitable indifference of such as should have embrac'd them; and I pray it be not laid to our charge. The famous Claude fled to Holland, Allix<sup>1</sup> and severall more came to London, and persons of greate estates came over, who had forsaken all. France was almost dispeopled, the bankers so broaken that the Tyrant's revenue was exceedingly diminish'd, manufactures ceas'd, and every body there, save the Jesuites, abhorr'd what was don, nor did the Papists themselves approve it. What the further intention is time will shew, but doubtlesse portending some revolution. I was shew'd the harangue which the Bishop of Valentia on Rhone made in the name of the Cleargie, celebrating the French King, as if he was a God, for persecuting the poore Protestants,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Peter Allix, a minister of the Reform'd Church at Charenton, came over with his whole family, and met with great encouragement here. He was the author of several learned discourses in defence of the Christian Religion in general, and of Protestantism in particular. His eldest son John Peter Allix became D. D., and after passing through different preferments, was in 1730 made Dean of Ely, and died in 1758, and was buried in his church of Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire.

with this expression in it, 'That as his victory over heresy was greater than all the conquests of Alexander and Cæsar, it was but what was wish'd in England; and that God seem'd to raise the French King to this power and magnanimous action, that he might be in capacity to assist in doing the same here.' This paragraph is very bold and remarkable: severall reflecting on Archbishop Usher's prophecy as now begun in France, and approaching the orthodox in all other reform'd churches. One thing was much taken notice of, that the Gazettes which were still constantly printed twice a weeke, informing us what was don all over Europe, never spake of this wonderfull proceeding in France, nor was any relation of it publish'd by any, save what private letters and the persecuted fugitives brought: whence this silence I list not to conjecture, but it appear'd very extraordinary in a Protestant countrie that we should know nothing of what Protestants suffer'd, whilst greate collections were made for them in forreine places, more hospitable and Christian to appearance.

5 Nov. It being an extraordinary wett morning, and myself indisposed by a very greate rheume, I did not go to church, to my very greate sorrow, it being the first Gunpowder Conspiracy anniversary that had ben kept now these 80 yeares under a prince of the Roman religion. Bonfires were forbidden on this day; what does this portend!

9. Began the Parliament: the King in his speech required continuance of a standing force instead of a militia, and indemnity and dispensation to Popish officers from the Test; demands very unexpected and displeasing to the Commons. He also requir'd a supply of revenue, which they granted, but return'd no thanks to the King for his speech, till farther consideration.

12. The Commons postpon'd finishing the bill for the supply, to consider the Test, and the Popish officers; this was carried but by one voice.

14. I dined at Lambeth, my Lord Archbishop carrying me with him in his barge: there were my Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Bp. of Ely, and St. Asaph, Dr. Sherlock, and other divines; Sir William Hayward, Sir Paule Rycaut, &c.

20. The Parliament was adjourn'd to February, severall both of Lords and Commons excepting against some passage of his Majesty's speech relating to the Test, and continuance of Popish officers in command. This was a greate surprize in a Parliament which people believ'd would have complied in all things.

Popish pamphlets and pictures sold publickly; no books nor answers to them appearing till long after.

21. I resign'd my trust for composing a difference between Mr. Thynn and his wife.

22. Hitherto was a very wett warme season.

4 Dec. Lord Sunderland was declar'd President of the Counsel, and

yet to hold his Secretarie's place. The forces dispos'd into severall quarters thro' the kingdome are very insolent, on which there are greate complaints.

Lord Brandon tried for the late conspiracy, was condemn'd and pardon'd; so was Lord Grey, his accuser and witnesse.

Persecution in France raging, the French insolently visite our vessels, and take away the fugitive Protestants; some escape in barrells.

10. To Greenwich, being put into the new Commission of Sewers.

13. Dr. Patrick, Dean of Peterborough, preach'd at Whitehall, before the Princesse of Denmark; who since his Majesty came to the Crown, allways sate in the King's closet, and had the same bowings and ceremonies applied to the place where she was, as his Majesty had when there in person.

Dining at Mr. Pepys's, Dr. Slayer shewed us an experiment of a wonderful nature, pouring first a very cold liquor into a glass, and super-fusing on it another, to appearance cold and cleare liquor also; it first produced a white cloud, then boiling, divers corruscations and actual flames of fire mingled with the liquor, which being a little shaken together, fixed divers sunns and starrs of real fire, perfectly globular, on the sides of the glasse, and which there stuck like so many constellations, burning most vehemently, and resembling starrs and heavenly bodies, and that for a long space. It seemed to exhibite a theorie of the eduction of light out of the chaos, and the fixing or gathering of the universal light into luminous bodys. This matter or phosphorus was made out of human blood and urine, elucidating the vital flame or heate in animal bodys. A very noble experiment.

16. I accompanied my Lord Lieutenant as far as St. Alban's, there going out of towne with him neere 200 coaches of all the greate officers and nobilitie. The next morning on taking leave, I return'd to London.

18. I din'd at the greate entertainment his Majesty gave the Venetian Ambassadors, Signiors Zenno and Justiniani, accompanied with 10 more noble Venetians of their most illustrious families, Cornaro, Maccenigo, &c. who came to congratulate their Majesties coming to the Crowne. The dinner was most magnificent and plentifull, at four tables, with music, kettle drums, and trumpets, which sounded upon a whistle at every health. The banquet [desert] was 12 vast chargers pil'd up so high that those who sat one against another could hardly see each other. Of these sweetmeates, which doubtless were some days piling up in that exquisite manner, the Ambassadors touch'd not, but leaving them to the spectators who came out of curiosity to see the dinner, were exceedingly pleas'd to see in what a moment of time all that curious work was demolish'd, the comfitures voided, and the tables clear'd. Thus his Majesty entertain'd them three days, which (for the table only) cost him £600, as the Cleark of the Greene

cloth (Sir William Boreman) assur'd me. Dinner ended, I saw their procession or cavalcade to White-hall, innumerable coaches attending. The two Ambassadors had 4 coaches of their owne and 50 footemen (as I remember), besides other equipage as splendid as the occasion would permitt, the Court being still in mourning. Thence I went to the audience which they had in the Queene's presence chamber, the Banquetting house being full of goods and furniture till the galleries on the garden side, Council chamber, and new Chapell now in building, were finish'd. They went to their audience in those plain black gownes and caps which they constantly weare in the City of Venice. I was invited to have accompanied the 2 Ambassadors in their coach to supper that night, returning now to their own lodgings, as no longer at the King's expence ; but being weary I excus'd myself.

19 Dec. My Lord Treasurer made me dine with him, where I became acquainted with Monsieur Barillon, the French Ambassador, a learned and crafty advocate.

20. Dr. Turner, brother to the Bp. of Ely, and sometime Tutor to my son, preach'd at White-hall on 8 Mark 38, concerning the submission of Christians to their persecutors, in which were some passages indiscreete enough, considering the time, and the rage of the inhumane French tyrant against the poore Protestants.

22. Our patent for executing the office of Privy Seal during the absence of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, being this day seal'd by the Lord Chancellor, we went afterwards to St. James's, where the Court then was on occasion of building at White-hall ; his Majesty deliver'd the seale to my Lord Tiviot and myselfe, the other Commissioners not being come, and then gave us his hand to kisse. There were the two Venetian Ambassadors, and a world of company ; amongst the rest the first Popish Nuncio<sup>1</sup> that had ben in England since the Reformation, so wonderfully were things chang'd, to the universal jealousy.

24. We were all three Commissioners sworne on our knees by the Cleark of the Crowne, before my Lord Chancellor, three severall oathes ; allegiance, supremacy, and the oath belonging to the Lord Privy Seal, which last we tooke standing. After this the Lord Chancellor invited us all to dinner, but it being Christmas-eve we desir'd to be excus'd, intending at three in the afternoone to seale divers things which lay ready at the office ; so attended by three of the Clearks of the Signet, we met and seal'd. Amongst other things was a pardon to West, who being privy to the late conspiracy had reveal'd the accomplices to save his owne neck. There were also another pardon and two indenizations ; and so agreeing to a fortnight's vacation, I return'd home.

31. Recollecting the passages of the yeare past, and made up accounts, humbly besought Almighty God to pardon those my sinns which had provoked him to discompose my sorrowfull family ; that he

<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand Count D'Ada, afterwards a Cardinal. There is a good mezzotinto print of him.

would accept of our humiliation, and in his good time restore comfort to it. I also blest God for all his undeserved mercies and preservations, begging the continuance of his grace and preservation.—The winter had hitherto been extraordinary wett and mild.

1686. 1 Jan. Imploring the continuance of God's providential care for the yeare now entered, I went to the publiq devotions. The Deane of the Chapell and Cleark of the Closet put out, viz. Bp. of London and . . . , and Rochester (Sprat) and Durham (Crewe) put into their places; the former had oppos'd the toleration intended, and shewn a worthy zeale for the Reform'd Religion as establish'd.

6. I din'd with the Abp. of York, where was Peter Walsh, that Romish Priest so well known for his moderation, professing the Church of England to be a true member of the Catholic Church; he is us'd to go to our publiq prayers without scruple, and did not acknowledge the Pope's infallibility, onely primacy of order.

19. Passed the Privie Seale, amongst others, the creation of Mrs. Sedley<sup>1</sup> (concubine to ———) Countesse of Dorchester, which the Queene took very grievously, so as for two dinners, standing neere her I observed she hardly eate one morsel, nor spake one word to the King, or to any about her, tho' at other times she us'd to be extreamly pleasant, full of discourse and good humour. The Roman Catholics were also very angry, because they had so long valu'd the sanctity of their religion and proselytes.

Dryden the famous playwright, and his two sonns, and Mrs. Nelly (Misse to the late —) were said to go to masse; such proselytes were no greate losse to the church.

This night was burnt to the ground my Lord Montague's palace in Bloomsbury, than which for painting and furniture there was nothing more glorious in England. This happen'd by the negligence of a servant airing, as they call it, some of the goods by the fire in a moist season; indeede so wet and mild a winter had scarce ben seene in man's memory.

At this Seale there also pass'd the creation of Sir. H. Walgrave to be a Peere. He had married one of the King's natural daughters by Mrs. Churchill. These two Seales my brother Commissioners pass'd in the morning before I came to towne, at which I was not displeas'd. We likewise pass'd Privy Seales for £276,000 upon severall accounts, pensions, guards, wardrobes, privie purse, &c. besides divers pardons, and one more which I must not forget (and which by Providence I was

<sup>1</sup> Catharine, daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, Bart. one of the famous knot of wits and courtiers of King Charles's time—he was also a poet, and wrote some dramatic pieces. She had a daughter by King James II. and was afterwards married to David Earl of Portmore, by whom she had two sons, and died in 1717. Lord Dorset's well known verses, 'Tell me, Dorinda, why so gay,' &c. are addressed to this lady. Her father's sarcasm when he voted for filling up the vacant throne with the Prince and Princess of Orange is well known: 'King James made my daughter a Countess, and I have been helping to make his daughter a Queen.'

not present at) one Mr. Lytcott to be Secretary to the Ambassador to Rome. We being three Commissioners, any two were a quorum.

21. I din'd at my Lady Arlington's, groome of the stole to the Queene Dowager, at Somerset House, where din'd the Countesses of Devonshire, Dover, &c. in all 11 ladys of quality, no man but myselve being there.

24. Unheard of cruelties to the persecuted Protestants of France, such as hardly any age has seene the like, even among the Pagans.

6 Feb. Being the day on which his Majesty began his reign, by order of Council it was to be solemniz'd with a particular Office and Sermon, which the Bp. of Ely (Dr. Fr. Turner), preach'd at Whitehall on 11 Numb. 12; a Court oration upon the Regal office. It was much wonder'd at that this day, which was that of his late Majesty's death, should be kept as a festival, and not [instead of] the day of the present King's coronation. It is said to have been formerly the custom, tho' not till now since the reigne of King James I.

The Dutchesse of Monmouth being in the same seate with me at church, appear'd with a very sad and afflicted countenance.

8. I tooke the Test in Westminster Hall, before the Lord Cheif Justice. I now came to lodge at Whitehall in the Lord Privy Seal's lodgings.

12. My greate cause was heard by my Lord Chancellor, who granted me a re-hearing. I had 6 eminent lawyers, my antagonists 3, whereof one was the smooth-tong Solicitor,<sup>1</sup> whom my Lord Chancellor reprov'd in greate passion for a very small occasion. Blessed be God for his greate goodnesse to me this day.

19. Many bloody and notorious duels were fought about this time. The Duke of Grafton kill'd Mr. Stanley, brother to the Earle of [Derby], indeede upon an almost insufferable provocation. It is to be hop'd his Majesty will at last severely remedy this unchristian custome.

Lord Sunderland was now Secretary of State, President of the Council, and Premier Minister.

1 March. Came Sir Gilbert Gerrard to treat with me about his sonn's marrying my daughter Susanna. The father being obnoxious, and in some suspicion and displeasure of the King, I would receive no proposal till his Majesty had given me leave, which he was pleas'd to do; but after severall meetings we brake off on his not being willing to secure any thing competent for my daughter's children; besides that I found most of his estate was in the coal pits as far off as Newcastle, and on leases from the Bishop of Durham, who had power to make concurrent leases, with other difficulties.

7. Dr. Frampton, Bp. of Gloucester, preach'd on 44 Psalm, 17, 18, 19, shewing the severall afflictions of the Church of Christ from the primitives to this day, applying exceedingly to the present conjuncture,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Finch, called *Silver-Tongue*, from his manner of speaking.

when many were wavering in their minds, and greates temptations appearing thro' the favour now found by the Papists, so as the people were full of jealousies and discouragement. The Bp. magnified the Church of England, exhorting to constancy and perseverance.

10. A Council of the Royal Society about disposing of Dr. Ray's book of Fishes, which was printed at the expence of the Society.

12. A docquet was to be seal'd importing a lease of 21 yeares to one Hall, who styl'd himselfe his Majesty's printer (he lately turn'd Papist) for the printing Missalls, Offices, Lives of Saints, Portals Primers, &c. books expressly forbidden to be printed or sold, by divers Acts of Parliament ; I refus'd to put the seale to it, making my exceptions, so it was laied by.

14. The Bp. of Bath and Wells (Dr. Ken) preach'd on 6 John 17, a most excellent and pathetic discourse: after he had recommended the duty of fasting and other penitential duties, he exhorted to constancy in the Protestant religion, detestation of the unheard-of cruelties of the French, and stirring up to a liberal contribution. This Sermon was the more acceptable, as it was unexpected from a Bishop who had undergon the censure of being inclin'd to Popery, the contrary whereof no man could shew more. This indeede did all our Bishops, to the disabusing and reproch of all their delators ; for none were more zealous against Popery than they were.

16. I was at a review of the Army about London, in Hide Park, about 6000 horse and foote, in excellent order ; his Majesty and infinity of people being present.

17. I went to my house in the country, refusing to be present at what was to passe at the Privy Seale the next day. In the morning Dr. Tenison preached an incomparable discourse at White-hall, on 2 Timothy 3, 4.

24. Dr. Cradock (Provost of Eaton) preached at the same place on 49 Psalm 13. shewing the vanity of earthly enjoyments.

28. Dr. White, Bp. of Peterboro', preach'd in a very eloquent style, on 26 Matthew, 29, submission to the will of God on all accidents and at all times.

29. The Duke of Northumberland (a natural son of the late King by the Dutchess of Cleaveland) marrying very meanly, with the helpe of his brother Grafton, attempted to spirit away his wife.

A Briefe was read in all Churches for relieving the French Protestants who came here for protection from the unheard-of cruelties of their King.

Aprill 2. Sir Edward Hales, a Papist, made Governr of Dover Castle.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not taking the Test his coachman was set up to inform against him, and claim the £500 penalty. When this was to be brought to trial the Judges were secretly asked their opinions, and such as were not clear with the Court, were turned out. Half of them were dismissed. Burnet, III. 1110, 1111.

15. The Abp. of York (Dr. John Dolben) now died of the small pox, aged 62, a corpulent man. He was my special loving friend, and whilst Bp. of Rochester (from whence he was translated) my excellent neighbour. He was an unexpressible losse to the whole church, and that province especialy, he being a learned, wise, stoute, and 'most worthy prelate; I looke on this as a greate stroke to the poore Church of England, now in this defecting period.

18. In the afternoone I went to Camberwell to visit Dr. Parr. After Sermon I accompanied him to his house, where he shew'd me the Life and Letters of the late learned Primate of Armagh (Usher) and among them that letter of Bp. Bramhal's to the Primate, giving notice of the Popish practices to pervert this Nation, by sending an hundred priests into England, who were to conforme themselves to all sectaries and conditions for the more easily dispersing their doctrine amongst us. This letter was the cause of the whole impression being seiz'd, upon pretence that it was a political or historical account of things not relating to theology, tho' it had ben licens'd by the Bishop; which plainely shew'd what an interest the Papists now had, that a Protestant booke, containing the life and letters of so eminent a man, was not to be publish'd. There were also many letters to and from most of the learned persons his correspondents in Europe. The book will, I doubt not, struggle through this unjust impediment.

Several Judges were put out, and new complying ones put in.

25. This day was read in our church the Briefe for a collection for reliefe of the Protestant French, so cruelly, barbarously, and inhumanly oppress'd without any thing laied to their charge. It had ben long expected, and at last was with difficulty procur'd to be publish'd, the interest of the French Ambassador obstructing it.

5 May. There being a Seale it was fear'd we should be requir'd to passe a doquett dispensing with Dr. Obadiah Walker and four more, whereof one was an apostate curate of Putney<sup>1</sup>, the others officers of University College, Oxford, to hold their masterships, fellowships, and cures, and keepe publiq schooles, and enjoy all former emoluments, notwithstanding they no more frequented or us'd the public formes of prayers or communion with the Church of England, or tooke the test and oathes of allegiance and supremacy, contrary to 20 Acts of Parliament; which dispensation being also contrary to his Majesty's owne gracious declaration at the beginning of his reigne, gave umbrage (as well it might) to every good Protestant, nor could we safely have pass'd it under the Privy Seale, wherefore it was done by immediate warrant, sign'd by Mr. Solicitor.

This Walker was a learned person, of a monkish life, to whose tuition

<sup>1</sup> Edw. Sclater. From a Protestant he became a Roman Catholic; and in 1689 he read his recantation from that church, and again became a Protestant. Manning and Bray's Surrey, III. 300.

I had more than 30 yeares since recommended the sonns of my worthy friend Mr. Hyldyard of Horsley in Surrey, believing him to be far from what he prov'd, an hypocritical conceal'd Papist, by which he perverted the eldest sonn of Mr. Hyldyard, Sir Edward Hale's eldest sonn, and severall more, to the greate disturbance of the whole Nation, as well as of the University, as by his now publiq defection appear'd. All engines being now at work to bring in Popery, which God in mercy prevent !

This day was burnt in the old Exchange, by the common hangman, a translation of a booke written by the famous Monsieur Claude, relating onely matters of fact concerning the horrid massacres and barbarous proceedings of the French King against his Protestant subjects, without any refutation of any facts therein ; so mighty a power and ascendant here had the French Ambassador, who was doubtlesse in greate indignation at the pious and truly generous charity of all the Nation, for the reliefe of those miserable sufferers who came over for shelter.

About this time also the Duke of Savoy, instigated by the French King to extirpate the Protestants of Piedmont, slew many thousands of those innocent people, so that there seem'd to be an universal designe to destroy all that would not go to masse, throughout Europe. *Quod avertat D. O. M !* No faith in Princes !

12. I refus'd to put the Privy Seale to Dr. Walker's licence for printing and publishing divers Popish books, of which I complain'd both to my Lord of Canterbury (with whom I went to advise in the Council Chamber), and to my Lord Treasurer that evening at his lodgings. My Lord of Canterbury's advice was, that I should follow my owne conscience therein<sup>1</sup> ; Mr. Treasurer's, that if in conscience I could dispense with it, for any other hazard he believ'd there was none. Notwithstanding this I persisted in my refusal.

29. - There was no sermon on this anniversary, as there usually had ben ever since the reigne of the present King.

2 June. Such storms, raine and foul weather, seldom known at this time of the yeare. The camp at Hounslow Heath, from sicknesse and other inconveniences of weather, forc'd to retire to quarters ; the storms being succeeded by excessive hot weather, many grew sick. Greate feasting there, especialy in Lord Dunbarton's quarters. There were many jealousies and discourses of what was the meaning of this incampment.

A Seale this day, mostly pardons and discharges of Knight Baronets fees, which having ben pass'd over for so many yeares, did greatly disoblige several families who had serv'd his Majestie. Lord Tirconnell gon to Ireland, with greate powers and commissions, giving as much cause of talke as the camp, especialy 19 new privy councillors and judges being now made, amongst which but three Protestants, and Tirconnell made Generall.

<sup>1</sup> Sancroft. Burnet describes him as a timid man.

New Judges also here, amongst which was Milton, a Papist (brother to that Milton who wrote for the Regicides), who presum'd to take his place without passing the Test.<sup>1</sup> Scotland refuses to grant liberty of masse to the Papists there.

The French persecution more inhuman than ever. The Protestants in Savoy successfully resist the French dragoons sent to murder them.

The King's chiefe physician in Scotland apostatizing from the Protestant religion, does of his own accord publish his recantation at Edinburgh.<sup>2</sup>

11. I went to see Middleton's receptacle of water at the New River, and the new Spa Wells neere.

20. An extraordinary season of violent and sudden raine. The camp still in tents.

24. My Lord Treasurer settled by greate businesse with Mr. Pretymen, to which I hope God will at last give a prosperous issue.

25. Now his Majesty, beginning with Dr. Sharp and Tully, proceeded to silence and suspend divers excellent divines for preaching against Popery.

27. I had this day ben married 39 yeares—blessed be God for all his mercies.

The new very young Lord Cheif Justice Herbert declared on the bench that the governmnet of England was entirely in the King; that the Crown was absolute; that penal laws were powers lodged in the Crown to enable the King to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to bind the King's power; that he could pardon all offences against the law, and forgive the penalties, and why could he not dispense with them? by which the Test was abolish'd. Every one was astonish'd. Greate jealousies as to what would be the end of these proceedings.

6 July. I supp'd with the Countesse of Rochester, where was also the Dutchesse of Buckingham and Madame de Governé, whose daughter was married to the Marquess of Halifax's sonn. She made me a character of the French King and Dauphin, and of the persecution. That they kept much of the cruelties from the King's knowledge; that the Dauphin was so afraid of his father, that he durst not let any thing appeare of his sentiments; that he hated letters and priests, spent all his time in hunting, and seem'd to take no notice of what was passing.

<sup>1</sup> Christopher Milton, made a Baron of the Exchequer. He did not hold his situation long, and Dr. Johnson admits that from weakness of constitution he retired before he had done any disreputable act.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Robert Sibbald, who was the most learned antiquary in Scotland, had lived in a course of philosophical virtue, but in great doubt as to revealed religion, was prevailed on by the Earl of Perth to turn Papist; but he soon became ashamed of having done so on so little inquiry. He went to London for some months, retiring from all company, and went into a deep course of study, by which he came to see into the errors of Popery. He then returned to Scotland, and published his recantation openly in a church. *Burnett's Own Times*, III. 1128.

This lady was of a greate family and fortune, and had fled hither for refuge.

8. I waited on the Abp. at Lambeth, where I din'd and met the famous preacher and writer, Dr. Allix, doubtlesse a most excellent and learned person. The Abp. and he spoke Latin together, and that very readily.

11. Dr. Meggot, Deane of Winchester, preach'd before the Household in St. George's chapell at Windsor, the late King's glorious chapell now seiz'd on by the masse priests. Dr. Cartwright, Deane of Ripon, preach'd before the greate men of the Court in the same place.

We had now the sad news of the Bishop of Oxford's death,<sup>1</sup> an extraordinary losse to the poore Church at this time. Many candidates for his Bishoprick and Deanry, Dr. Parker, South, Aldrich, &c. Dr. Walker (now apostatizing) came to Court, and was doubtlesse very buisy.

13. Note, that standing by the Queene at Bassett (Cards) I observ'd that she was exceedingly concern'd for the losse of £.80. ; her outward affability much chang'd to statelinesse, since she has ben exalted.

The season very rainy and inconvenient for the Camps. His Majesty very cherefull.

14. Was seal'd at our office the Constitution of certaine Commissioners to take upon them the full power of all Ecclesiastical affairs, in as unlimited a manner, or rather greater, than the late High Commission Court, abrogated by Parliament ; for it had not onely faculty to inspect and visite all Bishops dioceses, but to change what laws and statutes they should think fit to alter among the Colledges, tho' founded by private men ; to punish, suspend, fine, &c. give oathes and call witnesses. The maine drift was to suppress zealous preachers. In sum, it was the whole power of a Vicar General—note the consequence ! Of the Cleargy the Commissioners were the Abp. of Canterbury [Sancroft], Bishops of Durham [Crew] and Rochester [Sprat] ; of the Temporals, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chancellor [Jefferies] (who alone was ever to be of the quorum), the Cheife Justice [Herbert], and Lord President [Earl of Sunderland].

18. I went to see Sir John Chardin at Greenwich.

4 August. I din'd at Signior Verrio's, the famous Italian Painter, now settled in his Majesty's garden at St. James's, which he had made a very delicious Paradise.

8. Our Vicar gone to dispose of his country living in Rutlandshire, having St. Dunstan in the East given him by the Abp. of Canterbury.

I went to visite the Marquess Ravigné, now my neighbour at Greenewich, retir'd from the persecution in France. He was the Deputy of all the Protestants of that Kingdom in the Parliament of Paris,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. John Fell, also Deane of Christ Church.

and severall times Ambassador in this and other Courts ; a person of greate learning and experience<sup>1</sup> . .

8 Sept. Dr. Compton Bp. of London was on Monday suspended, on pretence of not silencing Dr. Sharp of St. Giles's for something of a sermon in which he zealously reprov'd the doctrine of the Roman Catholics. The Bishop having consulted the Civilians, they told him he could not by any Law proceed against Dr. Sharp without producing witnesses, and impleading according to forme : but it was over-rul'd by my Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop sentenc'd without so much as being heard to any purpose. This was thought a very extraordinary way of proceeding, and was universally resented, and so much the rather for that 2 Bishops, Durham (Crewe) and Rochester (Sprat), sitting in the Commission and giving their suffrages, the Abp. of Canterbury refus'd to sit amongst them. He was only suspended *ab officio*, and that was soone after taken off. He was brother to the Earl of Northampton, had once ben a Souldier, had travelled in Italy, but became a sober, grave, and excellent Prelate.

12. Buda now taken from the Turks, a Form of Thanksgiving was order'd to be us'd in the (as yet remaining) Protestant Chapells and Church of White-hall and Windsor.

The King of Denmark was besieging Hambrow, no doubt by the French contrivance, to embroile the Protestant Princes in a new warr, that Holland, &c. being ingag'd, matter for new quarrell might arise : the unheard-of persecution of the poore Protestants still raging more than ever.

22. The Danes retire from Hambrow, the Protestant Princes appearing for their succour, and the Emperor sending his Minatories to the King of Denmark, and also requiring the restoration of the D. of Saxe Gothorp. Thus it pleas'd God to defeate the French designes, which were evidently to kindle a new warr.

14 Oct. His Majestys birth-day ; I was at his rising in his bed-chamber, afterwards in the Parke, where 4 companies of Guards were drawn up. The officers, &c. wonderful rich and gallant ; they did not head their troops, but their next officers, the Colonels being on horse-back by the King whilst they march'd. The Ladys not lesse splendid at Court, where there was a Ball at night, but small appearance of qualitie. All the shops both in the Citty and Suburbs were shut up, and kept as solemnly as any holyday. Bonfires at night in Westminster, but forbidden in the Citty.

17. Dr. Patric, Deane of Peterborow, preached at Covent Garden Church on 5 Ephes. 18. 19. shewing the costome of the primitive Saints in serving God with Hymns, and their frequent use of them

<sup>1</sup> His son was with King William in Ireland, and was made Earl of Galway, but was dismissed by violence of party, as being a Frenchman, though his conduct had been in every respect most excellent, as will be mentioned hereafter.

upon all occasions : perstringing the profane way of mirth and intemperance of this ungodly age. Afterwards I visited my Lord Cheife Justice of Ireland, with whom I had long and private discourse concerning the miserable condition that kingdom was like to be in if Tyrconnell's Councils should prevaile at Court.

23. Went with the Countesse of Sunderland to Cranbourn, a lodge and walke of my Lord Godolphin's in Windsor Parke. There was one room in the house spared in the pulling downe the old one, because the late Dutchesse of York was borne in it ; the rest was built and added to it by Sir Geo. Cateret, Treasurer of the Navy ; and since the whole was purchas'd by my Lord Godolphin, who spake to me to go see it, and advise what trees were fit to be cut downe to improve the dwelling, it being environ'd with old rotten pollards, which corrupt the aire. It stands on a knowle, which tho' insensibly rising, gives it a prospect over the Keepe of Windsor, about three miles N. E. of it. The ground is clayey and moist : the water stark naught ; the park is pretty ; the house tolerable, and gardens convenient. After dinner we came back to London, having 2 coaches both going and coming, of 6 horses apiece, which we chang'd at Hounslow.

24 Oct. Dr. Warren preached before the Princesse at White-hall on 5 Matthew, of the blessedness of the pure in heart, most elegantly describing the blisse of the beatifical vision. In the afternoone Sir Geo. Wheeler, knight and bart. preach'd on the 4th Matt. upon the necessity of repentance, at St. Margaret's, an honest and devout discourse, and pretty tolerably perform'd. This gentleman coming from his travels out of Greece fell in love with the daughter of Sir Thomas Higgies, his Majesty's Resident at Venice, niece to the Earle of Bath, and married her. When they return'd into England, being honour'd with knighthood, he would needes turne Preacher, and tooke orders. He publish'd a learned and ingenious book of his travels, and is a very worthy person, a little formal and particular, but exceedingly devote<sup>1</sup>.

27. There was a triumphant shew of the Lord Maior both by land and water, with much solemnity, when yet his power has been so much diminish'd, by the losse of the Citty's former charter.

5 Nov. I went to St. Martin's in the morning, where Dr. Birch preach'd very boldly against the Papists, from 16 John 2. In the

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Wheeler was born whilst his parents were in exile at Breda for their attachment to King Charles I. He was of Lincoln College, Oxford. On his return from his travels in Asia and Greece he was knighted. Having presented several antiquities which he had collected to the University of Oxford in 1683, they gave him his degree of A. M. He took orders against the advice of powerful friends, but from an earnest desire to be useful as a Parish Priest ; and he well fulfilled his intentions. He became Rector of Houghton-le-Spring in Durham, the living which had been so exemplarily filled by the 'Northren Apostle' Bernard Gilpin, and whose example he worthily followed. Bishop Crew also gave him a stall in Durham Cathedral. He died on 18 Jan. 1723. His descendants are seated at Otterden in Kent. Surtees, 'History of Durham' (1816), where a large account is given of him.

afternoone I heard Dr. Tillotson in Lincoln's Inn Chapell, on the same text, but more cautiously.

16. I went with part of my family to passe the melancholy winter in London at my sonn's house in Arundel Buildings.

5 Dec. I dined at my Lady Arlington's, Groome of the Stole to the Queene Dowager at Somerset House, where dined divers French Noblemen, driven out of their Country by the persecution.

16. I carried the Countesse of Sunderland to see the rarities of one Mr. Charleton in the Middle Temple, who shew'd us such a collection as I had never seene in all my travels abroad, either of private gentlemen or princes. It consisted of miniatures, drawings, shells, insects, medailes, natural things, animals (of which divers, I think 100, were kept in glasses of spirits of wine), minerals, precious stones, vessells, curiosities in amber, christal, achat, &c. ; all being very perfect and rare in their kind, especialy his bookes of birds, fish, flowers, and shells, drawn and miniatur'd to the life. He told us that one book stood him in £300 ; it was painted by that excellent workman whom the late Gaston Duke of Orleans employed. This gentleman's whole collection, gather'd by himselfe travelling over most parts of Europe, is estimated at £8000. He appear'd to be a modest and obliging person<sup>1</sup>.

29. I went to heare the musiq of the Italians in the New Chapel, now first open'd publickly at White-hall for the Popish service. Nothing can be finer than the magnificent marble work and architecture at the end, where are four statues, representing St. John, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Church, in white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbons, with all the carving and pillars of exquisite art and greate cost. The altar-piece is the Salutation ; the volto in fresca, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin according to their tradition, with our Bl. Saviour, and a world of figures, painted by Verrio. The throne where the King and Queene sit is very glorious, in a closet above, just opposite to the altar. Here we saw the Bishop in his mitre and rich copes, with 6 or 7 Jesuits and others in rich copes, sumptuously habited, often taking off and putting on the Bishop's mitre, who sate in a chaire with armes pontificaly, was ador'd and cens'd by 3 Jesuits in their copes ; then he went to the altar and made divers cringes, then censsing the images and glorious tabernacle plac'd on the altar, and now and then changing place : the crosier, which was of silver, was put into his hand with a world of mysterious ceremony, the musiq playing, with singing. I could not have believ'd I should ever have seene such things in the King of England's Palace, after it had pleas'd God to enlighten this Nation ; but our greate sin has, for the present, eclips'd the blessing, which I hope He will in mercy and his good time restore to its purity.

<sup>1</sup> This collection was afterwards purchased by Sir Hans Sloane, and now forms part of the British Museum. *Gent. Mag.* Nov. 1816, p. 395, from Mr. Bagford's papers in the Brit Mus.

Little appearance of any Winter as yet.

1687. 1 Jan. Mr. Wake preach'd at St. Martin's on 1 Tim. 3. 16 concerning the mysterie of Godlinesse. He wrote excellently in answer to the Bishop of Meaux.

3. A seal to confirm a gift of £4000 *per annum* for 99 yeares to the Lord Treasurer out of the Post Office, and £1700 *per annum* for ever out of Lord Gray's estate.

There was now another change of the greate Officers. The Treasury was put into Commission, two profess'd Papists amongst them, *viz.* Lords Bellasis and Dover, joyn'd with the old ones, Lord Godolphin, Sir Stephen Fox, and Sir J. Earnley.

17. Much expectation of severall greate men declaring themselves Papists. Lord Tyrconnell gone to succed the Lord Lieutenant [Clarendon] in Ireland, to the astonishment of all sober men, and to the evident ruine of the Protestants in that Kingdom, as well as of its greate improvement going on. Much discourse that all the White Staff Officers and others should be dismiss'd for adhering to their Religion. Popish Justices of the Peace establish'd in all Counties, of the meanest of the people; Judges ignorant of the Law, and perverting it—so furiously do the Jesuits drive, and even compel Princes to violent courses, and destruction of an excellent Government both in Church and State. God of his infinite mercy open our eyes and turn our hearts, and establish his truth with peace! The Lord Jesus defend his little Flock, and preserve this threaten'd Church and Nation.

24. I saw the Queenes new apartment at White-hall, with her new bed, the embroidery of which cost £3000. The carving about the chimney-piece, by Gibbons, is incomparable.

30. I heard the famous eunuch Cifaccio sing in the new Popish Chapell this afternoone; it was indeede very rare, and with greate skill. He came over from Rome, esteemed one of the best voices in Italy. Much crowding—little devotion.

27 Feb. Mr. Chetwin preached at White-hall on 1 Rom. 18, a very quaint neate discourse of moral righteousness.

2 March. Came out a Proclamation for universal liberty of conscience in Scotland, and dispensation from all tests and lawes to the contrary, as also capacitating Papists to be chosen into all offices of trust. The mysterie operates.

3. Dr. Megot Deane of Winchester preached before the Princesse of Denmark on 14 Matt. 23. In the afternoone I went out of towne to meete my Lord Clarendon, returning from Ireland.

10. His Majesty sent for the Commissioners of the Privy Seale this morning into his bed-chamber, and told us that tho' he had thought fit to dispose of the seale into a single hand, yet he would so provide for us as it should appeare how well he accepted our faithfull and loyal service, with many gracious expressions to this effect; upon which we

deliver'd the seale into his hands. It was by all the world both hoped and expected that he would have restor'd it to my Lord Clarendon ; but they were astonish'd to see it given to Lord Arundel of Wardour, a zealous Roman Catholic. Indeede it was very hard, and look'd very unkindly, his Majesty (as my Lord Clarendon protested to me, on my going to visite him and long discoursing with him about the affaires of Ireland) finding not the least failure of duty in him during his government of that kingdom, so that his recall plainly appeared to be from the stronger influence of the Papists, who now got all the preferments.

Most of the greates Officers, both in the Court and Country, Lords and others, were dismiss'd, as they would not promise his Majesty their consent to the repeal of the Test and penal Statutes against Popish Recusants. To this end most of the Parliament men were spoken to in his Majestys closset, and such as refus'd, if in any place or office of trust, civil or military, were put out of their employments. This was a time of greates trial, but hardly one of them assented, which put the Popish interest much backward. The English Cleargy every where preach'd boldly against their superstition and errors, and were wonderfully follow'd by the People. Not one considerable proselyte was made in all this time. The party were exceedingly put to the worst by the preaching and writing of the Protestants in many excellent treatises, evincing the doctrine and discipline of the Reform'd Religion, to the manifest disadvantage of their adversaries. To this did not a little contribute the sermon preach'd at White-hall before the Princesse of Denmark and a great croud of People, and at least 30 of the greatest Nobility, by Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, on 8 John 46 (the Gospel of the day) describing thro' his whole discourse the blasphemies, perfidy, wresting of Scripture, preference of tradition before it, spirit of persecution, superstition, legends and fables of the Scribes and Pharisees, so that all the auditory understood his meaning of a parallel between them and the Romish Priests, and their new Trent Religion. He exhorted his audience to adhere to the written Word, and to persevere in the Faith taught in the Church of England, whose doctrine for Catholic and soundness he preferr'd to all the Communities and Churches of Christians in the world ; concluding with a kind of prophesy, that whatever it suffer'd, it should after a short trial emerge to the confusion of her adversaries, and the glory of God.

I went this evening to see the order of the boys and children at Christ's Hospital. There were neere 800 boys and girls so decently clad, cleanly lodg'd, so wholesomly fed, so admirably taught, some the Mathematics, especialy the 40 of the late King's foundation, that I was delighted to see the progresse some little youths of 13 and 14 yeares of age had made. I saw them at supper, visited their dormitories, and much admir'd the order, œconomy, and excellent government of this most charitable seminary. Some are taught for the Universities,

others design'd for Seamen, all for Trades and Callings. The girles are instructed in all such worke as becomes their sex and may fit them for good wives, mistresses, and to be a blessing to their generation. They sung a psalme before they sat downe to supper in the greate hall, to an organ, which play'd all the time, with such cheerfull harmony that it seem'd to me a vision of angels. I came from the place with infinite satisfaction, having never seene a more noble, pious and admirable Charity. All these consisted of orphans onely. The Foundation was of that pious Prince K. Edw. 6. whose picture (held to be an original of Holbein) is in the Court where the Governors meete to consult on the affaires of the Hospital, and his statue in white marble stands in a nich of the wall below, as you go to the Church, which is a modern, noble, and ample fabric. This Foundation has had, and still has, many Benefactors.

16 March. I saw a trial of those devilish murdering mischief-doing engines called Bombs, shot out of the mortar-piece on Black-heath. The distance that they are cast, the destruction they make where they fall, is prodigious.

20. The Bishop of Bath and Wells (Dr. Ken) preach'd at St. Martines to a crowd of people not to be express'd, nor the wonderful eloquence of this admirable preacher; the text was 26 Matt. 36 to verse 40. describing the bitterness of our Bl. Saviour's agony, the ardour of his love, the infinite obligations we have to imitate his patience and resignation: the means by watching against temptations, and over ourselves, with fervent prayer to attaine it, and the exceeding reward in the end. Upon all which he made most patheticall discourses. The Communion followed, at which I was participant. I afterwards din'd at Dr. Tenison's with the Bishop and that young, most learned, pious and excellent preacher, Mr. Wake.<sup>1</sup> In the afternoone I went to heare Mr. Wake at the new-built church of St. Anne, on 8 Mark 34. upon the subject of taking-up the Crosse, and strenuously behaving ourselves in time of persecution, as this now threaten'd to be.

His Majesty againe prorogu'd the Parliament, foreseeing it would not remitt the Laws against Papists, by the extraordinary zeale and bravery of its Members, and the free renunciation of the greate Officers both in Court and State, who would not be prevail'd with for any temporal concerne.

25. Good Friday. Dr. Tenison preached at St. Martines, on 1 Peter 2. 24. During the service a man came into neere the middle of the church, with his sword drawne, with severall others in that posture; in this jealous time it put the congregation into greate confusion; but it appear'd to be one who fled for sanctuary, being pursued by Bayliffs.

8 April. I had a re-hearing of my great Cause at the Chancery in Westminster Hall, having 7 of the most learned Council, my adversary

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

5. among which were the Attorney General and late Solicitor Finch, son to the Lord Chancellor Nottingham. The accompt was at last brought to one article of the surcharge, and referr'd to a Master. The Cause lasted two hours and more.

10. In the last weeke there was issu'd a Dispensation from all obligations and tests, by which Dissenters and Papists especialy had publiq liberty of exercising their severall ways of worship without incurring the penalty of the many Laws and Acts of Parliament to the contrary. This was purely obtain'd by the Papists, thinking thereby to ruine the Church of England, being now the onely Church which so admirably and strenuously oppos'd their superstition. There was a wonderful concourse of people at the Dissenters' Meeting-house in this parish, and the Parish Church [Deptford] left exceeding thin. What this will end in, God Almighty onely knows, but it looks like confusion, which I pray God avert.

11. To London about my suit, some terms of accommodation being propos'd.

19. I heard the famous singer Cifaccio, esteem'd the best in Europe. Indeed his holding out and delicateness in extending and looseing a note with incomparable softnesse and sweetnesse was admirable ; for the rest I found him a mere wanton, effeminate child, very coy, and proudly conceited to my apprehension. He touch'd the harpsichord to his voice rarely well. This was before a select number of particular persons whom Mr. Pepys invited to his house ; and this was obtain'd by particular favour and much difficulty, the Signor much disdaining to shew his talent to any but princes.

24. At Greenewich, at the conclusion of the Church service, there was a French sermon preach'd after the use of the English Liturgy translated into French, to a congregation of about 100 French Refugees, of whom Monsieur Ruvigny was the cheife, and had obtain'd the use of the Church after the Parish service was ended. The Preacher pathetically exhorted to patience, constancy, and reliance on God amidst all their sufferings, and the infinite rewards to come.

2 May. I din'd with Mynheer Diskvelts, the Holland Ambassador, a prudent and worthy person. There din'd Lord Middleton principal Secretary of State, Lord Pembroke, Lord Lumley, Lord Preston, Col. Fitz Patrick, and Sir John Chardin. After dinner the Ambassador discours'd of and deplor'd the stupid folly of our politics, in suffering the French to take Luxemburg, it being a place of the most concern to have ben defended, for the interest not onely of the Netherlands, but of England.

12. To London. Lord Sunderland being Lord President and Secretary of State, was made Knight of the Garter and prime favorite.— This day there was such a storme of wind as had seldome happen'd, being a sort of hurricane. It kept the flood out of the Thames, so that

people went on foote over several places above bridge. Also an earthquake in severall places in England about the time of the storme.

26. To London about my agreement with Mr. Pretymen after my tedious suit.

2 June. I went to London, it having pleas'd his Majesty to grant me a Privy Seal for £.6000, for discharge of the debt I had ben so many yeares persecuted for, it being indeede for mony drawne over by my father in law Sir R. Browne, during his residence in the Court of France, and so with a much greater sum due to Sir Richard from his Majesty; and now this part of the arreare being paid, there remains yet due to me, as executor of Sir Richard, above £6500 more; but this determining an expensive chancery suit has ben so great a mercy and providence to me (thro' the kindness and friendship to me of Lord Godolphin, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury) that I do acknowledge it with all imaginable thanks to my gracious God.

6 June. I visited my Lady Pierpoint, daughter to Sir John Evelyn, of Deane [in Wilts], now widow of Mr. Pierpoint, and mother of the Earl of Kingston. She was now engag'd in the marriage of my cousin Evelyn Pierpoint, her second son.

There was about this time brought into the Downs a vast treasure, which was sunk in a Spanish galloon about 45 years ago somewhere neere Hispaniola or the Bahama islands, and was now weigh'd up by some gentlemen, who were at the charge of divers, &c. to the enriching them beyond all expectation. The Duke of Albemarle's<sup>1</sup> share [Governor of Jamaica] came to, I believe, £50,000. Some private gentlemen who adventur'd £100 gain'd from 8 to £10,000. His Majesty's tenth was £10,000.

The Camp was now againe pitch'd at Hounslow, the Commanders profusely vying in the expence and magnificence of tents.

12. Our Vicar preached on 2 Peter 2, 21, upon the danger of relapsing into sin. After this I went and heard M. Lamot, an eloquent French preacher at Greenewich, on 30 Prov. 8, 9, a consolatory discourse to the poore and religious refugees who escaped out of France in the cruel persecution.

16. I went to Hampton Court to give his Majesty thanks for his late gracious favor, tho' it was but granting what was due. Whilst I was in the Council Chamber, came in some persons at the head of whom was a formal man with a large roll of parchment in his hand, being an *Adresse* (as he said, for he introduc'd it with a speech) of the people of Coventry giving his Majesty their greate acknowledgments for his granting a liberty of conscience; he added that this was not the application of one party onely, but the unanimous addresse of

<sup>1</sup> The Duke's share amounted to considerably more—it was said about £90,000. A medal was struck on this occasion, which is engrav'd in Mr. Evelyn's book on that subject, No. LXXXVII. p. 151.

Church of England men, Presbyterians, Independents and Anabaptists, to shew how extensive his Majesty's grace was, as taking in all parties, to his indulgence and protection, which had taken away all dissensions and animosities, which would not onely unite them in bonds of Christian charity, but exceedingly encourage their future industry, to the improvement of trade, and spreading his Majesty's glory throughout the world; and that now he had given to God his empire, God would establish his; with expressions of greate loyaltie and submission: and so he gave the roll to the King, which being return'd to him againe his Majesty caus'd him to read. The Adresse was short, but much to the substance of the Speech of their foreman, to whom the King, pulling off his hat, sayd, that what he had don in giving liberty of conscience, was, what was ever his judgment ought to be don; and that as he would preserve them in their enjoyment of it during his reigne, so he would indeavour to settle it by Law, that it should never be alter'd by his successors. After this he gave them his hand to kisse. It was reported the subscribers were above 1000.

But this is not so remarkable as an Adresse of the weeke before (as I was assur'd by one present) of some of the *Family of Love*. His Majesty ask'd them what this worship consisted in, and how many their party might consist of; they told him their custom was to reade the Scripture and then to preach, but did not give any farther account onely sayd that for the rest they were a sort of refin'd Quakers, but their number very small, not consisting, as they sayd, of above three-score in all, and those cheifly belonging to the Isle of Ely.

18. I din'd at Mr. Blathwaite's (2 miles from Hampton). This gentleman is Secretary of War, Clerk of the Counsel, &c. having rais'd himselfe by his industry from very moderate circumstances. He is a very proper, handsome person, and very dextrous in businesse, and besides all this, has married a greate fortune. His income by the Army, Counsel, and Secretary to the Committee of forraine plantations, brings him in above £2000 per ann.

23. The privy seale for £6000 was pass'd to me, so that this tedious affaire was dispatch'd.—Hitherto a very windy and tempestuous summer.—The French Sermons to the refugees were continu'd at Greenwich Church.

19 July. I went to Wotton. In the way I din'd at Ashsted with my Lady Mordaunt.

5 Aug. I went to see Albury, now purchas'd by Mr. Finch (the King's Solicitor, and son to the late Lord Chancellor); I found the garden which I first design'd for the Duke of Norfolk, nothing improv'd.

15. I went to visite Lord Clarendon at Swallow-field, where was my Lord Cornbery just arriv'd from Denmark, whither he had accompanied the Prince of Denmark two months before, and now come back. The miserable tyranny under which that nation lives he related to us;

the King keeps them under by an army of 40,000 men, all Germans, he not daring to trust his owne subjects. Notwithstanding this, the Danes are exceeding proud, the country very poore and miserable.

22. Returned home to Sayes Court from Wotton, having ben five weekes absent with my brother and friends, who entertained us very nobly. God be praised for his goodnesse, and this refreshment after my many troubles, and let his mercy and providence ever preserve me. Amen.

3 Sept. The Lord Mayor sent me an Officer with a Staff, to be one of the Governors of St. Thomas's Hospital.

*Persecution raging in France;* divers churches there fir'd by lightning, Priests struck, consecrated hosts, &c. burnt and destroy'd, both at St. Malo's and Paris, at the grand procession on Corpus Christi day.

13. I went to Lambeth, and din'd with the Abp. After dinner I retired into the library, which I found exceedingly improv'd; there are also divers rare manuscripts in a roome apart.

6 Oct. I was godfather to Sir John Chardin's sonn, christen'd at Greenewich Church, nam'd John. The Earle of Bath and Countesse of Carlisle, the other Sponsors.

29. An Anabaptist, Sir J. Peake, a very odd ignorant person, a mechanic I think, was Lord Mayor. The King and Queene, and Dadi<sup>1</sup> the Pope's Nuncio, invited to feast at Guildhall. A strange turne of affaires, that those who scandaliz'd the Church of England as favourers of Popery, should publiqly invite an emissary from Rome, one who represented the very person of their Antichrist!

10 Dec. My son was return'd out of Devon, where he had ben on a Commission from the Lords of the Treasury about a concealment of Land.

20. I went with my Lord Cheife Justice Herbert to see his house at Walton on Thames:<sup>2</sup> it is a barren place. To a very ordinary house he had built a very handsome library, designing more building to it than the place deserves in my opinion. He desir'd my advice about laying out his gardens, &c. The next day we went to Weybridge to see some pictures of the Dutchesse of Norfolk's, particularly the statue, or child in gremio, said to be of Mich. Angelo, but there are reasons to think it rather a copy, from some proportion in the figures ill taken. It was now expos'd to sale.

1688. 12 Jan. Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, being under very deplorable circumstances on account of his creditors, and especialy the King, I did my endeavor with the Lords of the Treasury to be favourable to him.

<sup>1</sup> Count D'Ada, made afterwards a Cardinal for his services in this embassy.

<sup>2</sup> This is a mistake; the house was Oatlands in Weybridge. He followed the fortunes of King James, who gave him his great seal. He was attainted, and Oatlands given to his brother Herbert. He published an apology for the judgment he had given in favour of the King's dispensing powers, which was answered by Mr. Atwood and Sir Robert Atkins Manning and Bray's Hist. of Surrey, II. 786.

My Lord Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Hamilton, being now married to Lady Ann Spencer, eldest daughter of the Earle of Sunderland, Lord President of the Council, I and my family had most glorious favours sent us, the wedding being celebrated with extraordinary splendour.

15. There was a solemne and particular Office us'd at our, and all the Churches of London and 10 miles round, for a thanksgiving to God, for her Majesty being with child.

22. This afternoone I went not to Church, being employed on a religious treatise I had undertaken.<sup>1</sup>

Post annum 1588—1660—1688, Annus Mirabilis Tertius.<sup>2</sup>

January 30. Being the Martyrdome day of K. Charles the First, our Curate made a florid oration against the murder of that excellent Prince, with an exhortation to obedience from the example of David, 1 Samuel 24, 6.

12 Feb. My daughter Evelyn going in the coach to visite in the Citty, a jolt (the doore being not fast shut) flung her quite out in such manner as the hind wheelles passed over her a little above her knees. Yet it pleased God, besides the bruises of the wheelles, she had no other harme. In two days she was able to walke, and soone after perfectly well; thro' God Almighty's greate mercy to an excellent wife and a most dutiful and discreete daughter-in-law.

17. I receiv'd the sad news of my niece Mountague's death at Woodcot on the 15th.

15 Mar. I gave in my account about the Sick and Wounded, in order to have my quietus.

23. Dr. Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who so lately publish'd his extravagant treatise about transubstantiation, and for abrogating the Test and Penal Laws, died. He was esteem'd a violent, passionate, haughty man, but yet being press'd to declare for the Church of Rome, he utterly refus'd it. A remarkable end.

The French *Tyrant* now finding he could make no proselytes amongst those Protestants of quality, and others, whom he had caus'd to be shut up in dungeons, and confin'd to nunneries and monasteries, gave them, after so long trial, a general releasement, and leave to go out of the kingdom, but utterly taking away their estates, and their children; so that greate numbers came daily into England and other places, where they were receiv'd and reliev'd with very considerate Christian charity. This Providence and goodnesse of God to those who thus constantly held out, did so work upon those miserable poore soules, who, to avoyd the persecution sign'd their renunciation, and to save their estates went to masse, that reflecting on what they had don, they grew so affected in their conscience, that not being able to support it,

<sup>1</sup> What this was does not appear; but there are several of his composition remaining in MS.

<sup>2</sup> This seems added after the page was written.

they in greate numbers thro' all the French provinces, acquainted the Magistrates and Lieutenants that, being sorry for their apostacy, they were resolved to return to their old religion ; that they would go no more to masse, but peaceably assemble when they could, to beg pardon and worship God, but so without weapons as not to give the least umbrage of rebellion or sedition, imploring their pity and commiseration ; and accordingly meeting so from time to time, the dragoon missionaries, Popish officers and priests, fell upon them, murder'd and put them to death, whoever they could lay hold on ; they without the least resistance embraced death, torture or hanging, with singing psalmes and praying for their persecutors to the last breath, yet still continuing the former assembling of themselves in desolate places, suffering with incredible constancy, that thro' God's mercy they might obtain pardon for this lapse. Such examples of Christian behaviour have not ben seen since the primitive persecutions ; and doubtlesse God will do some signal worke in the end, if we can with patience and resignation hold out, and depend on his Providence.

24 Mar. I went with Sir Charles Littleton to Sheene, an house and estate given him by Lord Brouncker ; one who was ever noted for a hard, covetous, vicious man, but for his worldly craft and skill in gaming, few exceeded him. Coming to die, he bequeath'd all his land, house, furniture, &c. to Sir Charles, to whom he had no manner of relation, but an ancient friendship contracted at the famous siege of Colchester, 40 yeares before. It is a pretty place, with fine gardens, and well planted, and given to one worthy of them, Sir Charles being an honest gentleman and souldier. He is brother to Sir Henry Littleton of Worcestershire, whose greate estate he is likely to inherit, his brother being without children. They are descendants of the great lawyer of that name, and give the same arms and motto. He is married to one Mrs. Temple, who was formerly maide of honour to the late Queene, a beautiful lady, and he has many fine children, so that none envy his good fortune.

After dinner we went to see Sir William Temple's neere to it ; the most remarkable things are his orangerie and gardens, where the wall fruit trees are most exquisitely nail'd and train'd, far better than I ever noted elsewhere.

There are many good pictures, especialy of Vandyke's in, both these houses, and some few statues and small busts in the latter.

From thence we went to Kew, to visite Sir Henry Capell's, whose orangerie and myrtelum are most beautifull and perfectly well kept. He was contriving very high palisados of reeds to shade his oranges during the summer, and painting those reeds in oil.

1 April. In the morning the first sermon was by Dr. Stillingfleet Dean of St. Paul's (at Whitehall) on 10 Luke 41, 42. The holy Communion follow'd but was so interrupted by the rude breaking in of mul-

titudes zealous to hear the second sermon, to be preach'd by the Bp. of Bath and Wells, that the latter part of that holy office could hardly be heard, or the sacred elements be distributed without greate trouble. The Princesse being come, he preach'd on 7 Mich. 8. 9. 10. describing the calamity of the Reform'd church of Judah under the Babylonian persecution, for her sins, and God's delivery of her on her repentance; that as Judah emerg'd so should the now Reform'd Church, wherever insulted and persecuted. He preach'd with his accustom'd action, zeal, and energy, so that people flock'd from all quarters to heare him.

15 April. A dry, cold, backward spring, easterly winds.

The persecution still raging in France, multitudes of Protestants, and many very considerable and greate persons flying hither, produc'd a second general contribution, the Papists, by God's Providence, as yet making small progress amongst us.

29. The weather was, till now, so cold and sharp, by an almost perpetual East wind which had continued many monthes, that there was little appearance of any Spring, and yet the Winter was very favourable as to frost and snow.

2 May. Went to London about my petition for allowances upon the account of Commissioner for sick and wounded in the former war with Holland.

8. His Majesty, alarm'd by the greate fleete of the Dutch (whilst we had a very inconsiderable one), went down to Chatham; their fleete was well prepar'd, and out, before we were in any readinesse, or had any considerable number to have encounter'd them had there ben occasion to the great reproch of the Nation; whilst being in profound peace, there was a mighty land army, which there was no neede of, and no force at sea, where only was the apprehension; but the army was doubtless kept and increas'd in order to bring in and countenance Popery, the King beginning to discover his intentions, by many instances pursued by the Jesuits, against his first resolution to alter nothing in the Church establishment, so that it appear'd there can be no reliance on Popish promises.

18. The King injoyning the ministers to read his Declaration for giving liberty of conscience (as it was styl'd) in all the Churches of England, this evening 6 Bishops, Bath and Wells (Thos. Ken), Peterborough (Thos. White), Ely (Fr. Turner), Chichester (John Lake), St. Asaph (Wm. Lloyd), and Bristol (Sir John Trelawney, Bart.), in the name of all the rest of the Bishops, came to his Majesty to petition him that he would not impose the reading of it to the several congregations within their dioceses; not that they were averse to the publishing of it for want of due tendernesse towards Dissenters, in relation to whom they should be willing to come to such a temper as should be thought fit, when that matter might be consider'd and settl'd in Parliament and Convocation; but that, the Declaration being founded on

such a dispensing power as might at pleasure set aside all Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, it appear'd to them illegal, as it had done to the Parliament in 1661 and 1672, and that it was a point of such consequence that they could not so far make themselves parties to it, as the reading of it in Church in time of divine service amounted to.

The King was so far incens'd at this addresse, that he with threatening expressions, commanded them to obey him in reading it at their perils, and so dismiss'd them.

20. I went to White-hall Chapell, where, after the morning lessons, the Declaration was read by one of the Choir who us'd to read the chapters. I heare it was read in the Abby Church, Westminster, but almost universally forborne throughout all London : the consequences of which a little time will shew.

25. All the discourse now was about the Bishops refusing to read the injunction for the abolition of the Test, &c. It seemes the injunction came so crudely from the Secretary's office, that it was neither seal'd nor sign'd in forme, nor had any Lawyer ben consulted, so as the Bishops, who took all imaginable advice, put the Court to greate difficulties how to proceede against them. Greate were the consults, and a proclamation expected all this day, but nothing was don. The action of the Bishops was universally applauded, and reconcil'd many adverse parties, Papists only excepted, who were now exceedingly perplex'd, and violent courses were every moment expected. The report was that the Protestant secular Lords and Nobility would abett the Clergy.

The Queene Dowager, hitherto bent on her returne into Portugal, now on the sudden, on allegation of a greate debt oweing her by his Majesty disabling her, declares her resolution to stay.

News ariv'd of the most prodigious earthquake that was almost ever heard of, subverting the City of Lima and country in Peru, with a dreadfull inundation following it.

8 June. This day the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, St. Asaph, Bristol, Peterborough, and Bath and Wells, were sent from the Privy Council prisoners to the Tower, for refusing to give baile for their appearance, on their not reading the Declaration for liberty of conscience ; they refus'd to give baile, as it would have prejudic'd their Peerage. The concern of the people for them was wonderfull, infinite crouds on their knees begging their blessing, and praying for them as they pass'd out of the barge along the Tower-wharfe.

10. A *young Prince* borne, which will cause disputes.

About 2 o'clock we heard the Tower ordnance discharg'd, and the bells ringing for the birth of a Prince of Wales. This was very surprising, it having ben universally given out that her Majesty did not look till the next moneth.

13. I went to the Tower to see the Bishops, visited the Abp. and Bps. of Ely, St. Asaph, and Bath and Wells.

14. Din'd with my Lord Chancellor.

15 June. Being the first day of Term, the Bishops were brought to Westminster on Habeas Corpus, when the Indictment was read, and they were called on to plead; their Council objected that the Warrant was illegal, but after long debate it was over-ruled, and they pleaded. The Court then offered to take bail for their appearance, but this they refused, and at last were dismissed on their own recognizances to appear that day fortnight; the Abp. in 200*l*. the Bishops 100*l*. each.

29. They appeared; the trial lasted from 9 in the morning to past 6 in the evening, when the Jury retired to consider of their verdict, and the Court adjourned to 9 the next morning. The Jury were locked up till that time, 11 of them being for an acquittal, but one (Arnold a brewer) would not consent. At length he agreed with the others. The Chief Justice Wright behaved with great moderation and civility to the Bishops. Alibone, a Papist, was strongly against them; but Holloway and Powell being of opinion in their favour, they were acquitted. When this was heard, there was great rejoicing; and there was a lane of people from the King's Bench to the water side, on their knees, as the Bishops pass'd and repass'd, to beg their blessing. Bonfires were made that night, and bells rung, which was taken very ill at Court, and an appearance of neere 60 Earls and Lords, &c. on the bench, did not a little comfort them, but indeede they were all along full of comfort and cheerfull.

Note, they denied to pay the Lieutenant of the Tower (Hales, who us'd them very surlily) any fees, alledging that none were due.

17. Was a day of Thanksgiving in London and 10 miles about for the young Prince's birth; a form of prayer made for the purpose by the Bp. of Rochester.

The night was solemnized with bonfires and other fire-works, &c.

2 July. The two Judges Holloway and Powell were displaced.

3. I went with Dr. Godolphin and his brother Sir William to St. Alban's to see a library he would have bought of the widow of Dr. Cartwrite, late Archdeacon of St. Alban's, a very good collection of books, especialy in divinity; he was to give £300 for them. Having seen the *greate Church*, now newly repair'd by a public contribution, we return'd home.

8. One of the King's Chaplains preach'd before the Princess on 14 Exodus 13, 'Stand still and behold the salvation of the Lord,' which he applied so boldly to the present conjuncture of the Church of England, that more could scarce be said to encourage desponders. The Popish Priests were not able to carry their cause against their learned adversaries, who confounded them both by their disputes and their writings.

12 July. The Camp now began at Hounslow, but the Nation was in high discontent.

Col. Titus, Sir Hen. Vane (son of him who was executed for his treason), and some other of the Presbyterians and Independent party, were sworne of the Privy Council, from hopes of thereby diverting that party from going over to the Bishops and Church of England, which now they began to do, foreseeing the designe of the Papists to descend and take in their most hateful of heretics (as they at other times expressed them to be), to effect their own ends, now evident; the utter extirpation of the Church of England first, and then the rest would follow.

17 July. This night the *Fireworks* were plaied off, that had ben prepar'd for the Queene's up-sitting. We saw them to great advantage; they were very fine, and cost some thousands of pounds, in the pyramids, statues, &c. but were spent too soone for so long a preparation.

26. I went to Lambeth to visit the Archbishop whom I found very cheerfull.

10 August. Dr. Tenison now told me there would suddenly be some greate thing discover'd. This was the Prince of Orange intending to come over.

15. I went to Althorp in Northamptonshire, 70 miles. A coach and 4 horses took up me and my sonn at White-hall, and carried us to Dunstable, where we ariv'd and din'd at noone, and from thence another coach and 6 horses carried us to Althorp, 4 miles beyond Northampton, where we ariv'd by 7 o'clock that evening. Both these coaches were hir'd for me by that noble Countesse of Sunderland, who invited me to her house at Althorp, where she entertain'd me and my sonn with extraordinary kindness; I stay'd till the Thursday.

18. Dr. Jeffryes, the minister of Althorp, who was my Lord's chaplain when Ambassador in France, preach'd the shortest discourse I ever heard; but what was defective in the amplitude of his sermon, he had supplied in the largeness and convenience of the Parsonage house, which the Dr. (who had at least £600 a year in spiritual advancement) had new built, and made fit for a person of quality to live in, with gardens and all accommodation according therewith.

My Lady carried us to see Lord Northampton's seat, a very strong large house, built with stone, not altogether modern. They were enlarging the garden, in which was nothing extraordinary, except the iron gate opening into the Park, which indeede was very good work, wrought in flowers, painted with blue and gilded. There is a noble walke of elmes towards the front of the house, by the bowling greene. I was not in any roome of the house besides a lobby looking into the garden, where my Lord and his new Countesse (Sir Ste. Fox's daughter, whom I had knowne from a child) entertain'd the Countesse and her daughter the Countesse of Arran (newly married to the son of the

Duke of Hamilton) with so little good grace, and so dully, that our visite was very short, and so we return'd to Althorp, twelve miles distant.

The house, or rather palace, at Althorp, is a noble uniform pile in form of a half H; built of brick and freestone, ballustred and *a la moderne*; the hall is well, the staircase excellent; the roomes of state, gallerys, offices and furniture, such as may become a greate Prince. It is situate in the midst of a garden, exquisitely planted and kept, and all this in a parke wall'd in with hewn stone, planted with rows and walkes of trees, canals and fish ponds, and stor'd with game. And what is above all this, govern'd by a lady, who without any shew of sollicitude, keepes every thing in such admirable order, both within and without, from the garret to the cellar, that I do not believe there is any in this nation, or in any other, that exceeds her in such exact order, without ostentation, but substantially greate and noble. The meanest servant is lodg'd so neat and cleanly; the service at the several tables, the good order and decency—in a word, the intire œconomy, is perfectly becoming a wise and noble person. She is one who for her distinguish'd esteeme of me from a long and worthy friendship, I must ever honour and celebrate. I wish from my soul the Lord her husband (whose parts and abilities are otherwise conspicuous) was as worthy of her, as by a fatal apostacy and court ambition he has made himself unworthy. This is what she deplores, and it renders her as much affliction as a lady of greate soul and much prudence is capable of. The Countesse of Bristol her mother, a grave and honourable lady, has the comfort of seeing her daughter and grandchildren under the same œconomy, especialy Mr. Charles Spencer,<sup>1</sup> a youth of extraordinary hopes, very learned for his age, and ingenious, and under a governor of greate worth. Happy were it could as much be said of the elder brother, the Lord Spencer, who, rambling about the world, dishonours both his name and his family, adding sorrow to sorrow to a mother who has taken all imaginable care of his education. There is a daughter very young married to the Earl of Clancartie, who has a greate and faire estate in Ireland, but who yet gives no greate presage of worth,—so universally contaminated is the youth of this corrupt and abandon'd age! But this is againe recompenc'd by my Lord Arran, a sober and worthy gentleman, who has espous'd the Lady Ann Spencer, a young lady of admirable accomplishments and virtue.

23. I left this noble place and conversation, my lady having provided carriages to convey us back in the same manner as we went, and a dinner being prepared at Dunstable against our arrival. Northampton, having ben lately burnt and re-edified, is now become a town that

<sup>1</sup> The eldest son dying without issue, this Charles succeeded to the title and estate, and marrying to his second wife one of the daughters and at length coheirs to John Duke of Marlborough, his son by her succeeded to that title.

for the beauty of the buildings, especially the church and town-house, may compare with the neatest in Italy itself.

Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, wrote a very honest and handsome letter to the Commissioners Ecclesiastical, excusing himself from sitting any longer among them, he by no means approving of their prosecuting the Clergy who refus'd to read the Declaration for liberty of conscience, in prejudice of the Church of England.

The Dutch make extraordinary preparations both at sea and land, which with the very small progresse Popery makes among us, puts us to many difficulties. The Popish Irish soldiers commit many murders and insults ; the whole Nation disaffected, and in apprehensions.

After long trials of the doctors to bring up the little Prince of Wales by hand (so many of her Majesty's children having died infants) not succeeding, a country nurse, the wife of a tile-maker, is taken to give the child suck.

18 Sept. I went to London, where I found the Court in the utmost consternation on report of the Prince of Orange's landing, which put White-hall into so panic a feare, that I could hardly believe it possible to find such a change.

Writs were issued in order to a Parliament, and a declaration to back the good order of elections, with greate professions of maintaining the Church of England, but without giving any sort of satisfaction to the people, who now shew'd their high discontent at several things in the Government.

Earthquakes had utterly demolish'd the ancient Smyrna, and several other places in Greece, Italy, and even in the Spanish Indies, forerunners of greater calamities. God Almighty preserve his Church and all who put themselves under the shadow of his wings, till these things be over-past !

30. The Court in so extraordinary a consternation on assurance of the Prince of Orange's intention to land, that the writs sent forth for a Parliament were recall'd.

7 Oct. Dr. Tenison preach'd at St. Martines, on 2 Tim. 3. 16. shewing the Scriptures to be our only rule of faith, and its perfection above all traditions. After which neere 1000 devout persons partook of the Communion. This sermon was chiefly occasion'd by a Jesuite, who in the Masse-house on the Sunday before had disparag'd the Scripture and rail'd at our translation, which some present contradicting, they pull'd him out of the Pulpit, and treated him very coarsely, insomuch that it was like to create a greate disturbance in the Citty.

Hourly expectation of the Prince of Orange's invasion heighten'd to that degree that his Majesty thought fit to abrogate the Commission for the dispensing power (but retaining his own right still to dispense with all laws) and restore the ejected Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford. In the mean time he call'd over 5000 Irish, and 4000 Scots,

and continued to remove Protestants and put in Papists at Portsmouth and other places of trust, and retained the Jesuites about him, increasing the universal discontent. It brought people to so desperate a passe, that they seem'd passionately to long for and desire the landing of that Prince whom they look'd on to be their deliverer from Popish tyranny, praying incessantly for an East wind, which was said to be the only hindrance of his expedition with a numerous army ready to make a descent. To such a strange temper, and unheard-of in former times, was this poore Nation reduc'd, and of which I was an eye-witness. The apprehension was (and with reason) that his Majesty's forces would neither at land or at sea oppose them with that vigour requisite to repel the invaders.

The late imprison'd Bishops were now call'd to reconcile matters, and the Jesuites hard at worke to foment confusion among the Protestants by their usual tricks. A letter was sent to the Abp. of Canterbury, informing him, from good hands, of what was contriving by them. A paper of what the Bishops advis'd his Majesty was publish'd. The Bishops were injoin'd to prepare a form of prayer against the

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. Evelyn. The letter was as follows :

'My Lord. The honor and reputation which your Grace's piety, prudence, and signal courage, have justly merited and obtain'd not onely from the Sons of the Church of England, but even universally from those Protestants amongst us who are Dissenters from her discipline ; God Almighty's providence and blessing upon your Grace's vigilancy and extraordinary endeavors will not suffer to be diminish'd in this conjuncture. The conversation I now and then have with some in place, who have the opportunity of knowing what is doing in the most seacret recesses and cabals of our Churches adversaries, obliges me to acquaint you, that the calling of your Grace and the rest of the Lords Bishops to Court, and what has there of late ben requir'd of you, is onely to create a jealousy and suspicion amongst well-meaning people of such compliances as it is certaine they have no cause to apprehend. The Plan of this and of all that which is to follow of seeming favour thence, is wholly drawn by the Jesuites, who are at this time more than ever buisy to make divisions amongst us, all other arts and mechanisms having hitherto failed them. They have, with other things, contriv'd that your Lordships the Bishops should give his Majesty advice separately, without calling any of the rest of the Peeres, which, tho' maliciously suggested, spreads generally about the Towne. I do not at all question but your Grace will speedily prevent the operation of this venome, and that you will thinke it highiy necessary so to do, that your Grace is also injoyn'd to compose a form of prayer, wherein the Pr. of O. is expressly to be named the Invader : of this I presume not to say any thing ; but for as much as in all the Declarations, &c. which have hitherto been published in pretended favour of the Church of England, there is not once the least mention of the *Reformed* or *Protestant Religion*, but onely of the *Church of England as by Law established*, which Church the Papists tell us is the *Church of Rome*, which is (say they) the Catholic Church of England that onely is establish'd by Law : the C. of England in the Reformed sense so established is but an usurp'd authority. The antiquity of *that* would by these words be explained, and utterly defeate this false and subdolous construction, and take off all exceptions whatsoever ; if in all extraordinary offices, upon these occasions, the words *Reformed* and *Protestant* were added to that of the *Church of England by Law established*. And whosoever threatens to invade or come against us, to the prejudice of that Church, in God's name, be they Dutch or Irish, let us heartily pray and fight against them. My Lord, this is, I confesse, a bold, but honest period ; and though I am well assured that your Grace is perfectly acquainted with all this before, and therefore may blame my impertinence, as that dos *αλλοτριοςπισκοπείν*, yet I am confident you will not reprove the zeale of one who most humbly begs your Grace's pardon, with your blessing. Lond. 10 Oct. 1688. (From a copy in Mr. Evelyn's hand-writing.)

fear'd invasion. A pardon publish'd. Souldiers and mariners are daily press'd.

14 Oct. The King's birth-day. No gunns from the Tower as usual. The sun eclips'd at its rising. This day signal for the victory of William the Conqueror against Harold, near Battel in Sussex. The wind, which had been hitherto West, was East all this day. Wonderfull expectation of the Dutch fleet. Public prayers order'd to be read in the Churches against invasion.

28. A tumult in London on the rabble demolishing a Popish Chapel that had ben set up in the Citty.

29. Lady Sunderland acquainted me with his Majesty's taking away the seales from Lord Sunderland, and of her being with the Queene to intercede for him. It is conceiv'd that he had of late grown remisse in pursuing the interest of the Jesuitical Counsells ; some reported one thing, some another ; but there was doubtless some secret betray'd which time may discover.

There was a Counsel call'd, to which were summon'd the Archbp. of Canterbury, the Judges, the Lord Maior, &c. The Queene Dowager, and all the Ladies and Lords who were present at the Queene Consort's labour, were to give their testimony upon oath of the Prince of Wales's birth, recorded both at the Counsel Board and at the Chancery a day or two after. This procedure was censur'd by some as below his Majesty to condescend to, on the talke of the people. It was remarkable that on this occasion the Abp., Marquess of Halifax, the Earles of Clarendon and Nottingham, refus'd to sit at the Counsel table amongst Papists, and their bold telling his Majesty that whatever was don whilst such sate amongst them was unlawfull and incurr'd *premunire* ;—at least if what I heard be true.

32. I din'd with Lord Preston, made Secretary of State in the place of the Earle of Sunderland.

Visited Mr. Boyle, when came in the Duke of Hamilton and Earle of Burlington. The Duke told us many particulars of Mary Queene of Scots, and her amours with the Italian favorite, &c.

31. My birth-day, being the 68th year of my age. O blessed Lord, grant as I grow in yeares, so may I improve in grace ! Be Thou my protector this following year, and preserve me and mine from those dangers and greate confusions that threaten a sad revolution to this sinfull Nation ! Defend thy Church, our Holy religion, and just Laws, disposing his Majesty to listen to sober and healing Counsels, that if it be Thy blessed will we may still enjoy that happy tranquillity which hitherto Thou hast continued to us ! Amen, Amen !

1 Nov. Din'd with Lord Preston with other company at Sir Stephen Fox's. Continual alarmes of the Prince of Orange, but no certainty. Reports of his greate losses of horse in the storme, but without any assurance. A man was taken wth divers papers and printed mani-

festos, and carried to Newgate after examination at the Cabinet Council. There was likewise a Declaration of the States for satisfaction of all Public Ministers at the Hague, except to the English and the French. There was in that of the Prince's an expression as if the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal had invited him over, with a deduction of the causes of his enterprize. This made his Majesty convene my Lord of Canterbury and the other Bishops now in towne, to give an account of what was in the Manifesto, and to enjoin them to clear themselves by some publiq writing of this disloyal charge.

2. It was now certainly reported by some who saw the fleete, and the Prince imbarke, that they sail'd from the Brill on Wednesday morning, and that the Princesse of Orange was there to take leave of her husband.

4. Fresh reports of the Prince being landed somewhere about Portsmouth or the Isle of Wight, whereas it was thought it would have ben Northward. The Court in greate hurry.

5. I went to London; heard the newes of the Prince having landed at Torbay, coming with a fleete of neere 700 saile, passing through the Channell with so favourable a wind that our navy could not intercept or molest them. This put the King and Court into greate consternation; they were now employ'd in forming an army to stop their further progresse, for they were got into Exeter, and the season and ways very improper for his Majesty's forces to march so greate a distance.

The Abp. of Canterbury and some few of the other Bishops and Lords in London were sent for to White-hall, and requir'd to set forth their abhorrence of this invasion. They assur'd his Majesty they had never invited any of the Prince's party, or were in the least privy to it, and would be ready to shew all testimonie of their loyalty; but as to a public Declaration, being so few, they desir'd that his Majesty would call the rest of their brethren and Peeres that they might consult what was fit to be don on this occasion, not thinking it right to publish any thing without them, and till they had themselves seen the Prince's Manifesto, in which it was pretended he was invited in by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. This did not please the King; and so they departed.

A Declaration was publish'd prohibiting all persons to see or reade the Prince's Manifesto, in which was set forth at large the cause of his expedition, as there had ben one before from the States.

These are the beginnings of sorrow, unlesse God in His mercy prevent it by some happy reconciliation of all dissensions amongst us. This, in all likelihood, nothing can effect except a free Parliament; but this we cannot hope to see whilst there are any forces on either side. I pray God to protect and direct the King for the best and truest interest of his People!—I saw his Majesty touch for the evil, Piten the Jesuit, and Warner officiating.

14 Nov. The Prince increases every day in force. Several Lords go in to him. Lord Cornburry carries some regiments, marches to Honiton, the Prince's head quarters. The City of London in disorder ; the rabble pull'd down the Nunnery newly bought by the Papists of Lord Berkeley at St John's. The Queene prepares to go to Portsmouth for safety, to attend the issue of this national commotion, which has a dreadfull aspect.

18. It was now very hard frost. The King goes to Salisbury to rendezvous the army, and returns to London. Lord Delamere appears for the Prince in Cheshire. The Nobility meete in Yorkshire. The Archbishop of Canterbury and some Bishops, and such Peeres as were in London, address his Majesty to call a Parliament. The King invites all Forraine Nations to come over. The French take all the Palatinate, and alarm the Germans more than ever.

29. I went to the Royal Society. We adjourn'd the election of a President to 23 April by reason of the public commotions, yet din'd together as of costome this day.

2 Dec. Dr. Tenison preached at St. Martines on 36 Psalm 5, 6, 7. concerning Providence. I received the blessed Sacrament. Afterwards visited my lord Godolphin, then going with the Marquess of Halifax and Earle of Nottingham as Commissioners to the Prince of Orange ; he told me they had little power. Plymouth declar'd for the Prince. Bath, York, Hull, Bristol, and all the eminent Nobility and Persons of Quality through England, declare for the Protestant Religion and Laws, and go to meete the Prince, who every day sets forth new Declarations against the Papists. The great favourites at Court, Priests and Jesuits, fly or abscond. Every thing, till now conceal'd, flies abroad in public print, and is cried about the streetes. Expectation of the Prince coming to Oxford. The Prince of Wales and greate treasure sent privily to Portsmouth, the Earle of Dover being Governor. Adresse from the Fleete not gratefull to his Majesty. The Papists in offices lay down their commissions, and fly. Universal consternation amongst them ; it looks like a Revolution.

7. My son went towards Oxford. I return'd home.

9. Lord Sunderland meditates flight. The rabble demolish'd all Popish Chapels, and severall Papist Lords and Gentlemen's houses, especialy that of the Spanish Ambassador, which they pillag'd, and burnt his Library.

13. The King flies to sea, puts in at Faversham for ballast ; is rudely treated by the people ; comes back to White-hall.

The Pr. of Orange is advanc'd to Windsor, is invited by the King to St. James's, the messenger sent was the Earle of Faversham, the General of the Forces, who going without trumpet or passeport is detain'd prisoner by the Prince, who accepts the invitation, but requires his Majesty to retire to some distant place, that his owne guards may be

quarter'd about the Palace and Citty. This is taken heinously, and the King goes privately to Rochester; is persuaded to come back; comes on the Sunday; goes to masse, and dines in publiq, a Jesuit saying grace (I was present).

17. That night was a Council; his Majesty refuses to assent to all the proposals; goes away again to Rochester.

18. I saw the King take barge to Gravesend at 12 o'clock—a sad sight! The Prince comes to St. James's, and fills White-hall with Dutch guards. A council of Peeres meete about an expedient to call a Parliament; adjourn to the House of Lords. The Chancellor, Earl of Peterboro', and divers others taken. The Earle of Sunderland flies; Sir Edward Hales, Walker and others, taken and secur'd.

All the world go to see the Prince at St. James's, where there is a greate Court. There I saw him, and severall of my acquaintance who came over with him. He is very stately, serious and reserv'd. The English soldiers sent out of towne to disband them; not well pleas'd.

24. The King passes into France, whither the Queene and Child were gon a few days before.

26. The Peeres and such Commoners as were Members of the Parliament at Oxford, being the last of Charles II. meeting, desire the Pr. of Orange to take on him the disposal of the publiq revenue till a Convention of Lords and Commons should meete in full body, appointed by his circular letters to the Shires and Burroughs, 22 Jan.—I had now quarter'd upon me a Lieutenant Col. and 8 horses.

30. This day Prayers for the Prince of Wales were first left off in our Church.

1689. 7 January. A long frost and deepe snow; the Thames almost frozen over.

15. I visited the Abp. of Canterbury, where I found the Bps. of St. Asaph (Lloyd), Ely (Turner), Bath and Wells (Ken), Peterborough (White), and Chichester (Lake), the Earles of Ailesbury and Clarendon, Sir Geo. Mackenzie Lord Advocate of Scotland, and then came in a Scotch Abp. &c. After prayers and dinner, divers serious matters were discours'd, concerning the present state of the public, and sorry I was to find there was as yet no accord in the judgments of those of the Lords and Commons who were to convene; some would have the Princesse made Queene without any more dispute, others were for a Regency; there was a Tory party (as then so call'd) who were for inviting his Majesty againe upon conditions; and there were Republicarians who would make the Pr. of Orange like a Statholder. The Romanists were busy among these several parties to bring them into confusion; most for ambition or other interest, few for conscience and moderate resolutions. I found nothing of all this in this Assembly of Bishops, who were pleased to admit me into their discourses; they were all for a Regency, thereby to salve their oathes, and so all public

matters to proceede in his Majesty's name, by that to facilitate the calling of a Parliament, according to the Laws in being. Such was the result of this meeting.

My Lord of Canterbury gave me great thanks for the advertisement I sent him in October, and assured me they took my counsell in that particular, and that it came very seasonably.

I found by the Lord Advocate that the Bishops of Scotland (who were indeed little worthy of that character, and had done much mischief in that Church) were now coming about to the true interest, in this conjuncture which threatened to abolish the whole Hierarchy in that kingdom; and therefore the Scottish Archbishop and Lord Advocate requested the Abp. of Canterbury to use his best endeavours with the Prince to maintain the Church there in the same state as by Law at present settled.

It now growing late, after some private discourse with his Grace I took my leave, most of the Lords being gone.

The Trial of the Bishops was now printed.

The greate Convention being assembled the day before, falling upon the question about the Government, resolved that K. James having by the advice of the Jesuits and other wicked persons endeavour'd to subvert the Laws of Church and State, and deserted the Kingdom, carrying away the seals, &c. without any care for the management of the Government, had by demise abdicated himself and wholly vacated his right; they did therefore desire the Lords concurrence to their vote, to place the crown on the next heir, the Pr. of Orange, for his life, then to the Princesse his wife, and if she died without issue, to the Princesse of Denmark, and she failing, to the heirs of the Prince, excluding for ever all possibility of admitting a Roman Catholic.

27 Jan. I din'd at the Admiralty, where was brought in a child not 12 yeares old, the son of one Dr. Clench, of the most prodigious maturity of knowledge, for I cannot call it altogether memory, but something more extraordinary.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pepys and myselfe examined him, not in any method, but with promiscuous questions, which required judgment and discernment to answer so readily and pertinently. There was not any thing in Chronology, History, Geography, the several Systems of Astronomy, Courses of the Stars, Longitude, Latitude, Doctrine of the Spheres, Courses and Sources of Rivers, Creeks, Harbours, eminent Cities, Boundaries and Bearings of Countries, not only in Europe but in any other part of the Earth, which he did not readily resolve and demonstrate his knowledge of, readily drawing out with a pen any thing he would describe. He was able not only to repeate the most famous things which are left us in any of the Greek or Roman

<sup>1</sup> See a similar account of the afterwards celebrated Rev. William Wotton under the year 1679, July. Dr. Clench was murdered in a hackney-coach, and one Harrison executed for it.

Histories, Monarchies, Republics, Wars, Colonies, Exploits by Sea and Land, but all the sacred Stories of the Old and New Testament ; the Succession of all the Monarchies, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, Roman, with all the lower Emperors, Popes, Heresiarchs, and Councils, what they were called about, what they determined, or in the Controversy about Easter, the Tenets of the Gnostics, Sabellians, Arians, Nestorians ; the difference between St. Cyprian and Stephen about Rebaptization ; the Schisms. We leap'd from that to other things totally different, to Olympic years, and Synochronismes ; we ask'd him questions which could not be resolved without considerable meditation and judgment, nay of some particulars of the Civil Laws, of the Digest and Code. He gave a stupendous account of both Natural and Moral Philosophy, and even in Metaphysics. Having thus exhausted ourselves, rather than this wonderfull child, or angel rather, for he was as beautifull and lovely in countenance as in knowledge, we concluded with asking him if in all he had read, or heard of, he had ever met with any thing which was like this expedition of the Pr. of Orange, with so small a force to obtain 3 greate Kingdoms without any contest. After a little thought he told us that he knew of nothing which did more resemble it than the coming of Constantine the Great out of Great Britain, thro' France and Italy, so tedious a march, to meet Maxentius, whom he overthrew at Pons Milvius with very little conflict, and at the very gates of Rome, which he enter'd and was receiv'd with triumph, and obtain'd the empire, not of 3 kingdoms only, but of all the then known world. He was perfect in the Latine Authors, spake French naturally, and gave us a description of France, Italy, Savoy, Spain, ancient and modernly divided ; as also of ancient Greece, Scythia, and Northern Countries and Tracts : we left questioning further. He did this without any set or formal repetitions, as one who had learn'd things without book, but as if he minded other things, going about the room, and toying with a parrot there, and as he was at dinner (*tanquam aliud agens*, as it were) seeming to be full of play, of a lively, sprightly temper, allways smiling, and exceeding pleasant, without the least levity, rudeness or childishness. His father assur'd us he never impos'd any thing to charge his memory by causing him to get things by heart, not even the rules of grammar ; but his tutor (who was a Frenchman) read to him, first in French, then in Latine ; that he usually play'd amongst other boys 4 or 5 hours every day, and that he was as earnest at his play as at his study. He was perfect in Arithmetic, and now newly enter'd into Greek. In sum (*horresco referens*) I had read of divers forward and precocce youths, and some I have known, but I never did either heare or read of any thing like to this sweete child, if it be right to call him child who has more knowledge than most men in the world. I counsell'd his father not to set his heart too much on this jewell, *Immodicis brevis est ætas, et*

*rara senectus*, as I myself learn'd by sad experience in my most deare child Richard,<sup>1</sup> many yeares since, who dying before he was 6 yeares old, was both in shape and countenance and pregnancy of learning next to a prodigy.

29 Jan. The Votes of the House of Commons being carried up by Mr. Hampden their chairman to the Lords, I got a station by the Prince's lodgings at the doore of the lobby to the House, and heard much of the debate, which lasted very long. Lord Derby was in the chair (for the House was resolv'd into a grand Committee of the whole House); after all had spoken, it came to the question, which was carried but by 3 voices against a Regency, which 51 were for, 54 against; the minority alledging the danger of dethroning Kings, and scrupling many passages and expressions in the Vote of the Commons, too long to set down particularly. Some were for sending to his Majesty with conditions; others that the King could do no wrong, and that the mal-administration was chargeable on his Ministers. There were not more than 8 or 9 Bishops, and but two against the Regency; the Abp. was absent, and the Cleargy now began to change their note, both in pulpit and discourse, on their old passive obedience, so as people began to talke of the Bishops being cast out of the House. In short, things tended to dissatisfaction on both sides; add to this the morose temper of the Pr. of Orange, who shew'd little countenance to the Noblemen and others, who expected a more gracious and cherefull reception when they made their Court. The English Army also was not so in order, and firme to his interest, nor so weaken'd but that it might give interruption. Ireland was in an ill posture as well as Scotland. Nothing was yet done towards a settlement. God of his infinite mercy compose these things, that we may be at last a Nation and a Church under some fixt and sober establishment!

30. The anniversary of K. Cha. I. *martyrdom*; but in all the publiq offices and pulpit prayers, the collects, and litany for the King and Queene were curtail'd and mutilated. Dr. Sharp preach'd before the Commons, but was disliked, and not thank'd for his sermon.

31. At our church (the next day being appointed a Thanksgiving for deliverance by the Pr. of Orange, with prayers purposely compos'd), our Lecturer preach'd in the afternoone a very honest sermon, shewing our duty to God for the many signal deliverances of our Church, without touching on politics.

6 February. The King's coronation day was ordered not to be observ'd, as hitherto it had been.

The Convention of the Lords and Commons now declare the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queene of England, France, and Ireland (Scotland being an independent kingdom), the Pr. and Princesse being to enjoy it jointly during their lives, but the executive

<sup>1</sup> See under the year 1658, January.

authority to be vested in the Prince during life, tho' all proceedings to run in both names, and that it should descend to their issue, and for want of such, to the Princesse Anne of Denmark and her issue, and in want of such, to the heirs of the body of the Prince if he survive, and that failing, to devolve to the Parliament as they should think fit. These produc'd a conference with the Lords, when also there was presented heads of such new laws as were to be enacted. It is thought that on these conditions they will be proclaim'd.

There was much contest about the King's abdication, and whether he had vacated the government. The Earle of Nottingham and about 20 Lords and many Bps. enter'd their protests, but the concurrence was greate against them.

The Princess hourly expected. Forces sending to Ireland, that kingdom being in greate danger by the Earle of Tyrconnell's army, and expectations from France coming to assist them, but that King is busy in invading Flanders, and encountering the German Princes. It is likely that this will be the most remarkable summer for action, which has happen'd in many yeares.

21 February. Dr. Burnett preach'd at St. James's, on the obligation to walke worthy of God's particular and signal deliverance of the Nation and Church.

I saw the *new Queene* and *King* proclaim'd the very next day after her coming to Whitehall, Wed. 13 Feb., with greate acclamation and generall good reception. Bonfires, bells, guns, &c. It was believ'd that both, especialy the Princesse, would have shew'd some (seeming) reluctance at least, of assuming her father's Crown, and made some apology, testifying by her regret, that he should by his mismanagement necessitate the Nation to so extraordinary a proceeding, which would have shew'd very handsomely to the world, and according to the character given of her piety; consonant also to her husband's first declaration, that there was no intention of deposing the King, but of succouring the Nation; but nothing of all this appear'd; she came into Whitehall laughing and jolly, as to a wedding, so as to seem quite transported. She rose early the next morning, and in her undresse, as it was reported, before her women were up, went about from roome to roome to see the convenience of Whitehall; lay in the same bed and apartment where the late Queene lay, and within a night or two sate down to play at basset, as the Queene her predecessor used to do. She smil'd upon and talk'd to every body, so that no change seem'd to have taken place at Court since her last going away, save that infinite crouds of people throng'd to see her, and that she went to our prayers. This carriage was censur'd by many. She seems to be of a good nature, and that she takes nothing to heart; whilst the Prince her husband has a thoughtful countenance, is wonderfull serious and silent, and seems to treat all

persons alike gravely, and to be very intent on affaires ; Holland, Ireland, and France calling for his care.

Divers Bishops and Noblemen are not at all satisfied with this so sudden an assumption of the Crown, without any previous sending, and offering some conditions to the absent King : or, on his not returning, or not assenting to those conditions, to have proclaim'd him Regent ; but the major part of both Houses prevail'd to make them King and Queene immediately, and a Crowne was tempting. This was oppos'd and spoken against with such vehemence by Lord Clarendon (her own uncle), that it put him by all preferment, which must doubtlesse have ben as great as could have ben given him. My Lord of Rochester, his brother, overshot himselfe by the same carriage and stiffnesse, which their friends thought they might have well spar'd when they saw how it was like to be over-rul'd, and that it had ben sufficient to have declared their dissent with lesse passion, acquiescing in due time.

The Abp. of Canterbury and some of the rest, on scruple of conscience and to salve the oathes they had taken, enter'd their Protests and hung off, especialy the Abp. who had not all this while so much as appear'd out of Lambeth. This occasion'd the wonder of many who observ'd with what zeale they contributed to the Prince's expedition, and all the while also rejecting any proposals of sending againe to the absent King ; that they should now raise scruples, and such as created much division among the people, greatly rejoicing the old Courtiers, and especialy the Papists.

Another objection was, the invalidity of what was don by a Convention onely, and the, as yet, unabrogated laws ; this drew them to make themselves on the 22nd [Feb.] a Parliament, the new King passing the Act with the Crowne on his head. The lawyers disputed, but necessity prevail'd, the government requiring a speedy settlement.

Innumerable were the crouds, who solicited for, and expected offices, most of the old ones were turn'd out. Two or three white staves were disposed of some days before, as, Lord Steward, to the Earl of Devonshire ; Treasurer of the Household, to Lord Newport ; Lord Chamberlaine to the King, to my Lord of Dorset ; but there were as yet none in offices of the Civil Government save the Marquiss of Halifax as Privy Seal. A Council of 30 was chosen, Lord Derby President, but neither Chancellor nor Judges were yet declar'd, the new Greate Seale not yet finish'd.

8 Mar. Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, made an excellent discourse on 5 Matt. 44, exhorting to charity and forgiveness of enemies. I suppose purposely, the new Parliament being furious about impeaching those who were obnoxious, and as their custom has ever ben, going on violently without reserve or moderation, whilst wise men were of opinion the most notorious offenders being nam'd and excepted, an Act of Amnesty would be more seasonable, to pacify the minds of men

in so general a discontent of the nation, especialy of those who did not expect to see the government assum'd without any regard to the absent King, or proving a spontaneous abdication, or that the birth of the Prince of Wales was an imposture ; five of the Bishops also still refusing to take the new oath.

In the mean time to gratify the people, the Hearth Tax was remitted for ever, but what was intended to supply it, besides present great taxes on land is not nam'd.

The King abroad was now furnish'd by the French King with money and officers for an expedition to Ireland. The greate neglect in not more timely preventing that from hence, and the disturbances in Scotland, give apprehensions of greate difficulties before any settlement can be perfected here, whilst the Parliament dispose of the greate offices amongst themselves. The Greate Seal, Treasury, and Admiralty put into Commission of many unexpected persons, to gratify the more ; so that by the present appearance of things (unless God Almighty graciously interpose and give success in Ireland and settle Scotland) more trouble seems to threaten the nation than could be expected. In the interim the new King refers all to the Parliament in the most popular manner, but is very slow in providing against all these menaces, besides finding difficulties in raiseing men to send abroad ; the former army which had never seen any service hitherto, receiving their pay, and passing their summer in an idle scene of a camp at Hounslow, unwilling to engage, and many disaffected, and scarce to be trusted.

29. The new King much blam'd for neglecting Ireland, now like to be ruin'd by the Lord Tyrconnell and his Popish party, too strong for the Protestants. Wonderfull uncertainty where King James was, whether in France or Ireland. The Scots seem as yet to favour K. William, rejecting K. James's letter to them, yet declaring nothing positively. Soldiers in England discontented. Parliament preparing the Coronation oath. Presbyterians and Dissenters displeas'd at the Vote for preserving the Protestant Religion as established by law, without mentioning what they were to have as to indulgence.

The Abp. of Canterbury and foure<sup>1</sup> other Bps. refusing to come to Parliament, it was deliberated whether they should incur Premunire ; but it was thought fit to let this fall, and be connived at, for feare of the people, to whom those Prelates were very deare, for the opposition they had given to Popery.

Court offices distributed amongst Parliament men. No considerable fleete as yet sent forth. Things far from settled as was expected, by reason of the slothfull, sickly temper of the new King, and the

<sup>1</sup> Burnet names only three besides the Abp. viz. Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells. He says that at the first landing of the Prince, Ken declared heartily for him, and advised all to go to him, but went with great heat into the notion of a Regent. After this he changed his mind, came to town with intent to take the oaths, but again changed, and never did take them. Burnet's Own Times, vol. II. p. 6.

Parliament's unmindfulness of Ireland, which is likely to prove a sad omission.

The Confederates beat the French out of the Palatinate, which they had most barbarously ruined.

11 April. I saw the Procession to and from the Abby Church of Westminster, with the greate Feast in Westminster Hall, at the Coronation of K. William and Queen Mary. What was different from former Coronations was some alteration in the Coronation oath. Dr. Burnet, now made Bishop of Sarum, preach'd with greate applause. The Parliament men had scaffolds and places which took up one whole side of the Hall. When the King and Queen had din'd, the ceremonie of the Champion, and other services by tenure were perform'd. The Parliament men were feasted in the Exchequer chamber, and had each of them a gold [Coronation] medal given them, worth five and forty shillings. On one side were the effigies of the King and Queene inclining one to the other ; on the reverse was Jupiter throwing a bolt at Phæton, the words 'Ne totus absumatur;' which was but dull, seeing they might have had out of the poet something as apposite. The sculpture was very meane.

Much of the splendor of the proceeding was abated by the absence of divers who should have contributed to it, there being but five Bishops, foure Judges (no more being yet sworn), and severall noblemen and greate ladys wanting ; the feast, however, was magnificent. The next day the House of Commons went and kiss'd their new Majesties' hands in the Banquetting House.

12. I went with the Bp. of St. Asaph to visit my Lord of Canterbury at Lambeth, who had excus'd himselfe from officiating at the Coronation, which was perform'd by the Bp. of London, assisted by the Abp. of York. We had much private and free discourse with his Grace concerning severall things relating to the Church, there being now a Bill of Comprehension to be brought from the Lords to the Commons. I urg'd that when they went about to reform some particulars in the Liturgy, Church discipline, Canons, &c. the baptizing in private houses without necessity might be reform'd, as likewise so frequent burials in Churches ; the one proceeding much from the pride of women, bringing that into custom which was only indulg'd in case of imminent danger, and out of necessity during the Rebellion, and persecution of the Clergy in our late civil wars ; the other from the avarice of ministers, who, in some opulent parishes, made almost as much of permission to bury in the chancel and the church, as of their livings, and were paid with considerable advantage and gifts for baptizing in chambers. To this they heartily assented, and promis'd their endeavour to get it reform'd, utterly disliking both practices as novel and indecent.

We discours'd likewise of the greate disturbance and prejudice it might cause, should the new oath, now on the anvil, be impos'd on any,

save such as were in new office, without any retrospect to such as either had no office, or had ben long in office, who it was likely would have some scruples about taking a new oath, having already sworn fidelity to the government as establish'd by law. This we all knew to be the case of my Lord Abp. of Canterbury, and some other persons who were not so fully satisfied with the Convention making it an abdication of K. James, to whom they had sworn allegiance.

King James was now certainly in Ireland with the Marshall d'Es-trades whom he made a Privy Counsellor ; and who caus'd the King to remove the Protestant Counsellors, some whereof, it seems, had continued to sit, telling him that the King of France his master would never assist him if he did not immediately do it, by which it is apparent how the poor Prince is manag'd by the French.

Scotland declares for K. William and Qu. Mary, with the reasons of their setting aside K. James, not as abdicating, but forfeiting his right by mal-administration ; they proceeded with much more caution and prudence than we did, who precipitated all things to the greate reproch of the Nation, all which had ben manag'd by some crafty ill-principled men. The new Privy Council have a Republican spirit, manifestly undermining all future succession of the Crown and prosperity of the Church of England, which yet I hope they will not be able to accomplish so soone as they expect, tho' they get into all the places of trust and of profit.

21 April. This was one of the most seasonable Springs, free from the usual sharp East winds, that I have observ'd since the year 1660 (the year of the Restoration) which was much such an one.

26. I heard the lawyers plead before the Lords the writ of error in the judgment of Oates, as to the charge against him of perjurie, which after debate they referr'd to the answer of Holloway, &c. who were his Judges. I then went with the Bp. of St. Asaph to the Abp. at Lambeth, where they enter'd into discourse concerning the final destruction of Antichrist, both concluding that the third trumpet and vial were now pouring out. My Lord St. Asaph consider'd the killing of the two witnesses, to be the utter destruction of the Cevennes Protestants by the French and Duke of Savoy, and the other the Waldenses and Pyrenean Christians, who by all appearance from good history had kept the primitive faith from the very Apostles' time till now. The doubt his Grace suggested was, whether it could be made evident that the present persecution had made so great an havoc of those faithfull people as of the other, and whether there were not yet some among them in being, who met together, it being stated from the text 11 Apoc. that they should both be slain together. They both much approv'd of Mr. Mede's way of interpretation, and that he only fail'd in resolving too hastily on the K. of Sweden's (Gustavus Adolphus) success in Germany. They agreed that it would be good to employ some intelligent

French minister to travel as far as the Pyrenees to understand the present state of the Church there, it being a country where hardly any one travels.

26 April. There now came certain news that K. James had not only landed in Ireland, but that he had surpriz'd Londonderry, and was become master of that kingdom, to the greate shame of our Government, who had ben so often solicited to provide against it by timely succour, and which they might so easily have don. This is a terrible beginning of more troubles, especialy should an army come thence into Scotland, people being generally disaffected here and every where else, so that the sea and land men would scarce serve without compulsion.

A new oath was now fabricating for all the Cleargy to take, of obedience to the present Government, in abrogation of the former oaths of allegiance, which it is foreseene many of the Bishops and others of the Cleargy will not take. The penalty is to be the losse of their dignitie and spiritual preferment. This is thought to have ben driven on by the Presbyterians, our new governors. God in mercy send us help, and direct the counsels to his glory and good of his Church !

Public matters went very ill in Ireland ; confusion and dissention amongst ourselves, stupidity, inconstancy, emulation, the governors employing unskilfull men in greatest offices, no person of public spirit and ability appearing, threaten us with a very sad prospect of what may be the conclusion, without God's infinite mercy.

A fight by Admiral Herbert with the French, he imprudently setting on them in a creek as they were landing men in Ireland, by which we came off with greate slaughter and little honour. So strangely negligent and remisse were we in preparing a timely and sufficient fleete. The Scots Commissioners offer the Crowne to the *new King and Queene* on conditions.—Act of Poll-money came forth, sparing none.—Now came forth the act of Indulgence for the Dissenters, but not exempting them paying dues to the Church of England Cleargy, or serving in office according to law, with severall other clauses.—A most splendid Ambassy from Holland to congratulate the K. and Queene on their accession to the Crowne.

4 June. A solemn Fast for success of the Fleete, &c.

6. I din'd with the Bishop of Asaph ; Monseur Capellus, the learned son of the most learned Ludovicus, presented to him his Father's works not publish'd till now.

7. I visited the Abp. of Canterbury, and stay'd with him till about seven o'clock. He read to me the Pope's excommunication of the French King.

9. Visited Dr. Burnet, now Bishop of Sarum ; got him to let Mr. Kneller draw his picture.

16. King James's Declaration was now dispers'd, offering pardon to

all, if on his landing, or within 20 days after, they should return to their obedience.

Our fleete not yet at sea, thro' some prodigious sloth, and men minding onely their present interest; the French riding masters at sea, taking many greate prizes to our wonderfull reproch. No certaine newes from Ireland; various reports of Scotland; discontents at home. The King of Denmark at last joins with the confederates, and the two Northern Powers are reconcil'd. The East India Company likely to be dissolv'd by Parliament for many arbitrary actions. Oates acquitted of perjurie, to all honest men's admiration.

20. Newes of *a Plot* discover'd, on which divers were sent to the Tower and secured.

23. An extraordinary drowth, to the threatening of greate wants as to the fruits of the earth.

8. I sat for my picture to Mr. Kneller, for Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, holding my 'Sylva' in my right hand<sup>1</sup>. It was on his long and earnest request, and is plac'd in his library. Kneller never painted in a more masterly manner.

11. I din'd at Lord Clarendon's, it being his lady's wedding-day, when about 3 in the afternoone, there was an unusual and violent storm of thunder, rain, and wind; many boats on the Thames were overwhelm'd, and such was the impetuosity of the wind as to carry up the waves in billows and spouts most dreadfull to behold, rooting up trees and ruining some houses. The Countess of Sunderland afterwards told me that it extended as far as Althorp at the very time, which is 70 miles from London. It did no harm at Deptford, but at Greenwich it did much mischeife.

16 July. I went to Hampton Court about buisnesse, the Council being there. A greate apartment and spacious garden with fountaines was beginning in the parke at the head of the canal.

19. The Marshall de Schomberg went now as General towards Ireland, to the reliefe of Londonderry. Our fleete lie before Brest. The Confederates passing the Rhine, besiege Bonn and Mayence, to obtain a passage into France. A greate victory got by the Muscovites, taking and burning Precop. A new rebel against the Turks threatens the destruction of that tyranny. All Europe in armes against France, and hardly to be found in history so universal a face of war.

The Convention (or Parliament as some call'd it) sitting, exempt the Duke of Hanover from the succession to the Crowne, which they seeme to confine to the present new King, his wife, and Princesse Ann of Denmark, who is so monstrously swollen that its doubted whether her being thought with child may prove a tympany onely, so that the unhappy family of the Stuarts seems to be extinguishing, and then what

<sup>1</sup> Now at Wotton. A copy of it was given by the late Sir Frederick Evelyn to the Earl of Harcourt a few years ago.

government is likely to be next set up is unknown, whether regal and by election, or otherwise, the Republicans and Dissenters from the Church of England evidently looking that way.

The Scots have now againe voted down Episcopacy there.—Greate discontents thro' this nation at the slow proceedings of the King, and the incompetent instruments and officers he advances to the greatest and most necessary charges.

23 August. Came to visite me Mr. Firmin<sup>1</sup>.

25. Hitherto it has ben a most seasonable summer.—Londonderry reliev'd after a brave and wonderfull holding out.

21 September. I went to visit the Abp. of Canterbury since his suspension, and was receiv'd with greate kindness.—A dreadful fire happen'd in Southwark.

2 Oct. Came to visite us the Marquiss de Ruvigné, and one Monsieur le Coque, a French refugee, who left greate riches for his religion; a very learned, civil person; he married the sister of the Dutchess de la Force.—Ottobone, a Venetian Cardinal, 80 yeares old, made Pope<sup>2</sup>.

31. My birth-day, being now 69 years old. Blessed Father, who hast prolonged my years to this great age, and given me to see so great and wonderfull revolutions, and preserv'd me amidst them to this moment, accept I beseech thee the continuance of my prayers and thankfull acknowledgments, and grant me grace to be working out my salvation, and redeeming the time, that thou mayest be glorified by me here, and my immortal soul sav'd whenever thou shalt call for it, to perpetuate thy praises to all eternity, in that heavenly kingdom where there are no more changes or vicissitudes, but rest and peace, and joy and consummate felicity for ever. Grant this, O heavenly Father, for the sake of Jesus thine only Son and our Saviour. Amen.

5 Nov. The Bishop of St. Asaph, Lord Almoner, preach'd before the King and Queene, the whole discourse being an historical narrative of the Church of England's severall deliverances, especialy that of this anniversary, signaliz'd by being also the birth-day of the Pr. of Orange, his marriage (which was on the 4th) and his landing at Torbay this day. There was a splendid ball and other rejoicings.

10. After a very wet season, the Winter came on severely.

17. Much wet, without frost, yet the wind North and Easterly. — A Convocation of the Cleargy meet about a Reformation of our Liturgy, Canons, &c. obstructed by others of the Cleargy.

27. I went to London with my family to winter at Soho in the great square.

<sup>1</sup> He was a man of the most amiable character and most unbounded charity. He was a great friend of Sir Robert Clayton, who after his death erected a monument for him in a walk which he had formed at Sir Robert's seat at Marden in Surrey. He was very fond of gardens, and so far of congenial spirit with Mr. Evelyn. He was an Unitarian, but lived in intimacy with many of the most eminent clergy. His life was printed in a small volume.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Otthobonus succeeded Innocent XI. as Pope in 1689, by the title of Alexander VIII.

1690. 11 Jan. This night there was a most extraordinary storme of wind, accompanied with snow and sharp weather ; it did greate harme in many places, blowing down houses, trees, &c. killing many people. It began about 2 in the morning, and lasted till 5, being a kind of hurricane, which mariners observe have begun of late yeares to come Northward. This Winter has ben hitherto extremely wet, warm, and windy.

12. There was read at St. Ann's Church an exhortatory letter to the Cleargy of London from the Bishop, together with a Brief for relieving the distress'd Protestants, the Vaudois, who fled from the persecution of the French and Duke of Savoy, to the Protestant Cantons of Swisserland.

The Parliament was unexpectedly prorogued to 2d April, to the discontent and surprise of many members, who being exceeding averse to the settling of any thing, proceeding with animosities, multiplying exceptions against those whom they pronounc'd obnoxious, and producing as universal a discontent against K. William and themselves, as there was before against King James.—The new King resolv'd on an expedition into Ireland in person.—About 150 of the members who were more of the Royal party, meeting at a feast at the Apollo Tavern near St. Dunstan's, sent some of their company to the King, to assure him of their service ; he return'd his thanks, advising them to repaire to their severall counties and preserve the peace during his absence, and assuring them that he would be steady to his resolution of detending the Laws and Religion establish'd.—The great Lords suspected to have counsell'd this prorogation, universally denied it. However, it was believ'd the cheife adviser was the Marquiss of Carmarthen,<sup>1</sup> who now seem'd to be most in favor.

2 Feb. The Parliament was dissolv'd by proclamation, and another call'd to meet the 20 of March. This was a second surprize to the former Members ; and now the Court Party, or, as they call themselves, Church of England, are making their interests in the country. The Marquiss of Halifax lays down his office of Privy Seal, and pretends to retire.

16. The Dutchess of Monmouth's Chaplain preach'd at St. Martin's an excellent discourse, exhorting to peace and sanctity, it being now the time of very great division and dissention in the nation ; first, amongst the Churchmen, amongst whom the moderate and sober part were for a speedy reformation of divers things, which it was thought might be made in our Liturgy, for the inviting of Dissenters ; others, more stiff and rigid, were for no condescension at all. Books and pamphlets were publish'd every day *pro* and *con* ; the Convocation were forc'd for the present to suspend any further progress.—There was

<sup>1</sup> Osborne, Lord Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds.

fierce and greate carousing about being elected in the new Parliament.—The King persists in his intention of going in person for Ireland, whither the French are sending supplies to K. James, and we the Danish horse to Schomberg.

19. I din'd with the Marquiss of Carmarthen (late Lord Danby), where was Lieutenant General Douglas, a very considerate and sober commander, going for Ireland. He related to us the exceeding neglect of the English souldiers, suffering severely for want of cloaths and necessaries this Winter, exceedingly magnifying their courage and bravery during all their hardships. There din'd also Lord Lucas, Lieutenant of the Tower, and the Bp. of St. Asaph.—The privy seale was againe put into commission, Mr. Cheny (who married my kinswoman Mrs. Pierpoint), Sir Thomas Knatchbull, and Sir P. W. Poultney.—The impudence of both sexes was now become so greate and so universal, persons of all ranks keeping their courtesans publicly, that the King had lately directed a letter to the Bishops to order their Cleargy to preach against that sin, swearing, &c. and to put the Ecclesiastical Laws in execution without any indulgence.

25 Feb. I went to Kensington, which King William had bought of Lord Nottingham, and alter'd, but was yet a patch'd building, but with the garden, however, it is a very sweete villa, having to it the Park and a straight new way through this Park.

7 March. I din'd with Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, where was that excellent Shipwright and Seaman (for so he had ben and also a Commissioner of the Navy) Sir Anthony Deane. Amongst other discourse, and deploring the sad condition of our Navy, as now govern'd by unexperienc'd men since this Revolution, he mention'd what exceeding advantage we of this nation had by being the first who built Fregats, the first of which ever built was that vessell which was afterwards call'd The Constant Warwick, and was the work of Pet of Chatham, for a trial of making a vessell that would sail swiftly ; it was built with low decks, the guns lying neere the water, and was so light and swift of sailing, that in a short time he told us she had, ere the Dutch war was ended, taken as much money from privateers as would have laden her ; and that more such being built did in a yeare or two scour the Channel from those of Dunkirk and others which had exceedingly infested it. He added that it would be the best and onely infallible expedient to be masters of the sea, and able to destroy the greatest navy of any enemy, if instead of building huge greate ships and second and third rates, they would leave off building such high decks, which were for nothing but to gratify Gentlemen Commanders, who must have all their effeminate accommodations, and for pomp ; that it would be the ruin of our fleets if such persons were continued in command, they neither having experience nor being capable of learning, because they would not submit to the fatigue and inconvenience which

those who were bred seamen would undergo, in those so otherwise usefull swift fregats. These being to encounter the greatest ships would be able to protect, set on, and bring off, those who should manage the fire-ships; and the Prince who should first store himselfe with numbers of such fire-ships would, thro' the help and countenance of such fregats, be able to ruin the greatest force of such vast ships that could be sent to sea, by the dexterity of working those light, swift ships to guard the fire-ships. He concluded there would shortly be no other method of sea-fight, and that great ships and men of war, however stor'd with guns and men, must submit to those who should encounter them with far less number. He represented to us the dreadfull effect of these fire-ships; that he continually observ'd in our late maritime war with the Dutch, that when an enemy's fire-ship approach'd, the most valiant commander and common sailors were in such consternation that tho' then, of all times, there was most need of the guns boomes, &c. to keep the mischeif off, they grew pale and astonish'd, as if of a quite other mean soul, that they slunk about, forsook their guns and work as if in despair, every one looking about to see which way they might get out of their ship, tho' sure to be drown'd if they did so. This he said was likely to prove hereafter the method of sea-fight, likely to be the misfortune of England if they continued to put Gentlemen Commanders over experienc'd Seamen, on account of their ignorance, effeminacy and insolence.

9 March. I din'd at the Bp. of St. Asaph's, Almoner to the new Queene, with the famous Lawyer Sir George Mackenzie (late Lord Advocate of Scotland), against whom both the Bishop and myselie had written and publish'd books, both now most friendly reconcil'd<sup>1</sup>. He related to us many particulars of Scotland, the present sad condition of it, the inveterate hatred which the Presbyterians shew to the Family of the Stewarts, and the exceeding tyranny of those bigots who acknowledge no superior on earth, in civil or divine matters, maintaining that the people onely have the right of government; their implacable hatred to the Episcopal Order and Church of England. He observ'd that the first Presbyter dissents from our discipline were introduc'd by the Jesuites order, about the 20. of Queene Eliz., a famous Jesuite amongst them faining himselfe a Protestant, and who was the first who began to pray extempory, and brought in that which they since call'd, and are still so fond of, praying by the Spirit. This Jesuite remained many yeares before he was discover'd, afterwards died in Scotland, where he was buried at . . . . having yet on his monument, '*Rosa inter spinas*.

11 March. I went againe to see Mr. Charleton's curiosities both of art and nature, and his full and rare collection of medails, which taken

<sup>1</sup> Sir George had written in praise of a Private Life, which Mr. Evelyn answered by a book in praise of Public Life and Active Employment; see the Introduction to vol. I. As to the Bishop's Book, see Biog. Brit. articles Lloyd and Mackenzie.

altogether, in all kinds, is doubtless one of the most perfect assemblage of rarities that can be any where seene. I much admir'd the contorsions of the *Thea* roote, which was so perplex'd, large, and intricate, and withall hard as box, that it was wonderfull to consider.—The French have landed in Ireland.

16: A public Fast.

24 May. Citty Charter restor'd. Divers exempted from pardon.

4 June. King William set forth on his Irish expedition, leaving the Queene Regent.

10. Mr. Pepys read to me his remonstrance, shewing with what malice and injustice he was suspected with Sir Anth. Deane about the timber of which the 30 ships were built by a late Act of Parliament, with the exceeding danger which the fleete would shortly be in, by reason of the tyranny and incompetency of those who now manag'd the Admiralty and affaires of the Navy, of which he gave an accurate state, and shew'd his greate ability.

18. Fast-day. Visited the Bp. of St. Asaph; he and his comp. conversation was on the Vaudois in Savoy, who had ben thought so neere destruction and final extirpation by the French, being totally given up to slaughter, so that there were no hopes for them; but now it pleas'd God that the Duke of Savoy, who had hitherto join'd with the French in their persecution, was now press'd by the French to deliver up (Saluce) and Turin as cautionary towns, on suspicion that he might at last come into the Confederacy of the German Princes, did seacretly concert measures with, and afterwards declar'd for them. He then invited these poore people from their dispersion amongst the mountains whither they had fled, and restor'd them to their country, their dwellings, and the exercise of their religion, and begg'd pardon for the ill usage they had receiv'd, charging it on the cruelty of the French who forc'd him to it. These being the remainder of those persecuted Christians which the Bishop of St. Asaph had so long affirm'd to be the 2 witnesses spoken of in the Revelation, who should be kill'd and brought to life againe, it was look'd on as an extraordinary thing that this prophesying Bishop should persuade two fugitive Ministers of the Vaudois to returne to their country, and furnish them with £20 towards their journey, at that very time when nothing but universal destruction was to be expected, assuring them and shewing them from the Apocalypse that their countrymen should be return'd safely to their country before they arriv'd. This happening contrary to all expectation and appearance, did exceedingly credit the Bishop's confidence how that prophecy of the witnesses should so come to pass, just at the time, and the very month he had spoken of some yeares before. I afterwards went with him to Mr. Boyle and Lady Ranelagh his sister, to whom he explain'd the necessity of it so fully and learnedly made out, with what events were immediately to follow, *viz.* the French King's

ruine, the calling of the Jews to be neare at hand, but that the kingdom of Antichrist would not yet be utterly destroy'd, till 30 years, when Christ should begin the Millenium, not as personally and visibly reigning on earth, but that the true religion and universal peace should obtain thro' all the world. He shew'd how Mr. Brightman, Mr. Mede and other interpreters of these events fail'd, by mistaking and reckoning the yeare as the Latines and others did, to consist of the present calculation, so many days to the yeare, whereas the Apocalypse reckons after the Persian account, as Daniel did, whose visions St. John all along explains as meaning only the Christian Church.

24 June. Din'd with Mr. Pepys, who the next day was sent to the Gate-house,<sup>1</sup> and severall great persons to the Tower, on suspicion of being affected to King James; amongst them was the Earl of Clarendon, the Queene's uncle.—King William having vanquish'd K. James in Ireland, there was much public rejoicing. It seemes the Irish in K. James's army would not stand, but the English-Irish and French made greate resistance. Schomberg was slain, and Dr. Walker who so bravely defended Londonderry. King William receiv'd a slight wound by the grazing of a cannon-bullet on his shoulder, which he indur'd with very little interruption of his pursuit. Hamilton, who broke his word about Tyrconnell, was taken. It is reported that K. James is gon back to France. Drogheda and Dublin surrender'd, and if K. William be returning, we may say of him as Cæsar said, 'Veni, vidi, vici.' But to alloy much of this, the French fleete rides in our Channell, ours not daring to interpose, and the enemy threatening to land.

27. I went to visite some friends in the Tower, when asking for Lord Clarendon, they by mistake directed me to the Earl of Torrington, who about three days before had ben sent for from the fleete, and put into the Tower for cowardice and not fighting the French fleete, which having beaten a squadron of the Hollanders, whilst Torrington did nothing, did now ride masters of the sea, threatening a descent.

20 July. This afternoone a Camp of about 4000 men was begun to be form'd on Blackheath.

30. I din'd with Mr. Pepys, now suffer'd to return to his house, on account of indisposition.

1 August. The young Duke of Grafton came to visite me, going to his ship at the mouth of the river, in his way to Ireland (where he was slain).

3. The French landed some souldiers at Teinemouth in Devon, and burnt some poore houses.—The French fleete still hovering about the Western coast, and we having 300 sail of rich merchant ships in the bay of Plymouth, our fleete begin to move towards them, under three

<sup>1</sup> By Grey's Paliamentary Debates it appears that he was accused of having sent information to the French Court of the state of the English Navy.

Admirals. The country in the West all on their guard.—A very extraordinary fine season, but on the 12th was a very greate storm of thunder and lightning, and on the 15th the season much chang'd to wet and cold.—The militia and train'd bands, horse and foote, which were up thro' England, were dismiss'd. The French King having newes that K. William was slaine, and his army defeated in Ireland, caus'd such a triumph at Paris, and all over France, as was never heard of, when in the midst of it, the unhappy King James being vanquish'd, by a speedy flight and escape, himselfe brought the newes of his own defeate, and the ruin of his cause.

15. I was desir'd to be one of the bail of the Earl of Clarendon, for his release from the Tower, with divers noblemen.—The Bp. of St. Asaph expounds his propheties to me and Mr. Pepys, &c. The troops from Blackheath march to Portsmouth.—That sweete and hopefull youth, Sir Cha. Tuke, died of the wounds he receiv'd in the fight of the Boyne, to the greate sorrow of all his friends, being (I think) the last male of that family, to which my wife is related. A more virtuous young gentleman I never knew; he was learned for his age, having had the advantage of the choicest breeding abroad, both as to arts and arms; he had much travell'd, but was so unhappy as to fall in the side of the unfortunate King.

The unseasonable and most tempestuous weather happening, the naval expedition is hinder'd, and the extremity of wet causes the siege of Limerick to be rais'd. K. William returned to England.—Lord Sydney was left Governor of what is conquer'd in Ireland, which is neere 3 parts [in 4.]

17. A public Fast.—An extraordinary sharp, cold, East wind.

12 Oct. The French General, with Tyrconnell and their forces gon back to France, beaten out by K. William.—Cork deliver'd on discretion. The Duke of Grafton was there mortally wounded and dies.—Very greate storms of wind. The 8th of this month Lord Spencer wrote me word from Althorp, that there happen'd an *Earthquake* the day before in the morning, which tho' short, sensibly shook the house. The Gazette acquainted us that the like happen'd at the same time, half past 7, at Barnstaple, Holyhead, and Dublin. We were not sensible of it here.

26. Kinsale at last surrender'd, mean time K. James's party burn all the houses they have in their power, and amongst them that stately palace of Lord Ossory's which lately cost, as reported, £40,000. By a disastrous accident a third rate ship, the Breda, blew up and destroy'd all on board; in it were 25 prisoners of war. She was to have sail'd for England the next day.

3 Nov. Went to the Countess of Clancarty to condole with her concerning her debauch'd and dissolute son, who had done so much mischief in Ireland, now taken and brought prisoner to the Tower.

16. Exceeding greate storms, yet a warm season.

23. Carried Mr. Pepys's memorials to Lord Godolphin, now resuming the commission of the Treasury to the wonder of all his friends.

1 Dec. Having ben chosen President of the Royal Society I desired to decline it, and with greate difficulty devolv'd the election on Sir Robert Southwell, Secretary of State to King William in Ireland.

20. Dr. Hough, President of Magdalen Coll. Oxford, who was displac'd with severall of the Fellows for not taking the oath impos'd by K. James, now made a Bishop.—Most of this month cold and frost.—One Johnson, a knight, was executed at Tyburn for being an accomplice with Campbell, brother to Lord Argyle, in stealing a young heiress.

1691. 4 Jan. This weeke a *Plot* was discover'd for a generall rising against the new Government for which Lord Clarendon and others were sent to the Tower. The next day I went to see Lord Clarendon. The Bishop of Ely<sup>1</sup> search'd for.—Trial of Lord Preston, as not being an English Peer, hasten'd at the Old Bailey.

18 Jan. Lord Preston condemn'd about a design to bring in K. James by the French. Ashton executed. The Bp. of Ely, Mr. Graham, &c. absconded.

13 Mar. I went to visite Monsieur Justell and the Library at St. James's, in which that learned man had put the MSS. (which were in good number) into excellent order, they having laid neglected for many yeares. Divers medails had ben stolen and embezzled.

21. Din'd at Sir William Fermor's, who shew'd me many good pictures. After dinner a French servant play'd rarely on the lute. Sir William had now bought all the remaining statues collected with so much expence by the famous Tho. Earle of Arundel, and sent them to his seat at Easton neere Towcester.<sup>2</sup>

25. Lord Sidney, principal Secretary of State, gave me a letter to Lord Lucas, Lieutenant of the Tower, to permit me to visit Lord Clarendon, which this day I did and din'd with him.

10 April. This night a sudden and terrible fire burnt down all the buildings over the stone gallery at Whitehall to the water-side, beginning at the apartment of the late Dutchesse of Portsmouth (which had ben pull'd down and rebuilt no lesse than 3 times to please her), and consuming other lodgings of such lewd creatures, who debauch'd both K. Cha. 2, and others, and were his destruction.—The King return'd out of Holland just as this accident happen'd.—Proclamation against Papists, &c.

16. I went to see Dr. Sloane's curiosities, being an universal collection of the natural productions of Jamaica, consisting of plants,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Turner, who though one of the 6 Bishops sent to the Tower for the petition to the King, declined taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary.

<sup>2</sup> They are now at Oxford, having been presented to the University in 1755 by Henrietta Countess-dowager of Pomfret, widow of Thomas the first Earl.

fruits, corals, minerals, stones, earth, shells, animals, insects, &c. collected with greate judgment ; severall folios of dried plants, and one which had about 80 severall sorts of ferns, and another of grasses ; the Jamaica pepper, in branch, leaves, flower, fruit, &c. This collection,<sup>1</sup> with his Journal and other philosophical and natural discourses and observations, is indeede very copious and extraordinary, sufficient to furnish a history of that island, to which I encourag'd him.

19. The Abp. of Canterbury, and Bps. of Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterboro', Gloucester, and the rest who would not take the oaths to K. William, were now displaced, and in their rooms, Dr. Tillotson, Dean of St. Paul's, was made Abp. ; Patrick remov'd from Chichester to Ely, Cumberland<sup>2</sup> to Gloucester.

22 April. I din'd with Lord Clarendon in the Tower.

24. I visited the Earl and Countess of Sunderland, now come to kiss the King's hand, after his returne from Holland. This is a mystery. The King is preparing to return to the army.

7 May. I went to visite the Archbp. of Canterbury [Sancroft] yet at Lambeth. I found him alone, and discoursing of the times, especially of the new design'd Bishops ; he told me that by no canon or divine law they could justifie the removing the present incumbents ; that Dr. Beveridge, designed Bishop of Bath and Wells, came to ask his advice ; that the Abp. told him, tho' he should give it, he believ'd he would not take it ; the Dr. said he would ; why then, says the Abp. when they come to aske, say *Nolo*, and say it from the heart, there's nothing easier than to resolve your selfe what is to be don in the case ; the Dr. seem'd to deliberate. What he will do I know not, but Bishop Ken, who is to be put out, is exceedingly beloved in his diocese, and if he and the rest should insist on it and plead their interest as freeholders, 'tis believ'd there would be difficulty in their case, and it may indanger a schisme and much disturbance, so as wise men think it had ben better to have let them alone, than to have proceeded with this rigour to turne them out for refusing to sweare against their consciences. I asked at parting, when his Grace removed ; he sayd that he had not yet receiv'd any summons, but I found the house altogether disfurnish'd, and his books packing up.

1 June. I went with my son, and brother-in-law Glanvill and his son, to Wotton, to solemnize the funeral of *my Nephew*, which was perform'd the next day very decently and orderly by the Herauld, in the afternoon, a very great appearance of the country being there. I was the cheife mourner ; the pall was held by Sir Francis Vincent, Sir Richard Onslow, Mr. Tho. Howard (son to Sir Robert) and Capt. of the King's Guard, Mr. Hyldiard, Mr. James, Mr. Herbert *nephew to*

<sup>1</sup> It now forms part of the splendid collections in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> A mistake. Dr. Edward Fowler was made Bishop of Gloucester in the place of Dr. Hart Frampton, deprived for not taking the oaths.

*Lord Herbert of Cherbury* and cousin-german to my deceas'd nephew. He was laid in the vault at Wotton church, in the burying-place of the Family. A greate concourse of coaches and of people accompanied the solemnity.

10. I went to visite Lord Clarendon, still prisoner in the Tower, tho' Lord Preston being pardon'd was releas'd.

17 June. A Fast.

11 July. I din'd with Mr. Pepys, where was Dr. Cumberland the new Bishop of Norwich,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Lloyd having been put out for not acknowledging the Government. Cumberland is a very learned, excellent man.—Possession was now given to Dr. Tillotson at Lambeth, by the Sheriff; Abp. Sancroft was gon, but had left his nephew to keepe possession; and he refusing to deliver it up on the Queene's message, was dispossess'd by the Sheriff and imprison'd. This stout demeanor of the few Bishops who refus'd to take the oathes to K. William, animated a greate party to forsake the Churches, so as to threaten a schisme; tho' those who look'd further into the ancient practice, found that when (as formerly) there were Bishops displac'd on secular accounts, the people never refus'd to acknowledge the new Bishops, provided they were not heretics. The truth is, the whole Cleargy had till now stretch'd the duty of passive obedience, so that the proceedings against these Bishops gave no little occasion of exceptions; but this not amounting to heresy, there was a necessity of receiving the new Bishops, to prevent a failure of that order in the Church.—I went to visit Lord Clarendon in the Tower, but he was gon into the country for aire by the Queene's permission, and under the care of his warden.

18 July. I went to London to hear Mr. Stringfellow preach his first sermon in the new erected Church of Trinity, in Conduit Street; to which I did recommend him to Dr. Tenison for the constant preacher and lecturer. This Church being formerly built of timber on Hounslow Heath by K. James for the Mass Priests, being begg'd by Dr. Tenison rector of St. Martin's, was set up by that publiq minded, charitable and pious man neere my son's dwelling in Dover Streete, cheifly at the charge of the Doctor. I know him to be an excellent preacher and a fit person. This Church, tho' erected in St. Martin's, which is the Doctor's parish, he was not onely content, but was the sole industrious mover, that it should be made a separate parish, in regard of the neighbourhood having become so populous. Wherefore to countenance and introduce the new Minister, and take possession of a gallery design'd for my son's family, I went to London, where,

19 July, in the morning Dr. Tenison preach'd the first sermon taking his text from 26 Psalm 8. 'Lord, I have loved the habitation

<sup>1</sup> A mistake. Dr. Cumberland was made Bishop of Peterborough, and Dr. John Moore succeeded Dr. Lloyd in the see of Norwich.

of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth.' In concluding he gave notice that this should be made a Parish Church so soone as the Parliament sate, and was to be dedicated to the Holy Trinity<sup>1</sup>, in honor of the three undivided persons in the Deity; and he minded them to attend to that faith of the Church, now especially that Arianism, Socinianism, and Atheism began to spread amongst us.—In the afternoone Mr. Stringfellow preach'd on 7 Luke 5, '*the Centurion who had built a Synagogue.*' He proceeded to the due praise of persons of such public spirit, and thence to such a character of pious benefactors in the person of the generous Centurion, as was comprehensive of all the virtues of an accomplish'd Christian, in a style so full, eloquent and moving, that I never heard a sermon more apposite to the occasion. He modestly insinuated the obligation they had to that person who should be the author and promoter of such publiq works for the benefit of mankind, especially to the advantage of Religion, such as building and endowing churches, hospitals, libraries, and schools, procuring the best editions of usefull books, &c. by which he handsomely intimated who it was that had ben so exemplary for his benefaction to that place. Indeed that excellent person Dr. Tenison had also erected and furnish'd a public library [in St. Martin's]; and set up two or three free schools at his own charges. Besides this he was of an exemplary holy life, took greate pains in constantly preaching, and incessantly employing himselfe to promote the service of God both in publiq and private. I never knew a man of a more universal and generous spirit, with so much modesty, prudence and piety.

The greate victory of K. William's army in Ireland was look'd on as decisive of that war. The French General Saint Ruth, who had ben so cruel to the poore Protestants in France, was slain, with divers of the best Commanders; nor was it cheape to us, having 1000 kill'd, but of the enemy 4 or 5000.

26 July. An extraordinary hot season, yet refresh'd by some thunder showers.

28. I went to Wotton.

2 August. No sermon in the church in the afternoone, and the curacy ill-served.

16. A sermon by the curate; an honest discourse, but read without any spirit or seeming concern; a greate fault in the education of young preachers.—Great thunder and lightning on Thursday [20], but the wind and rain very violent.—Our fleete come in to lay up the greate ships; nothing done at sea, pretending that we cannot meete the French.

<sup>1</sup> This was never made a Parish Church, but still remains a Chapel, and is private property. But under the Act for building 50 new Churches, one was built in the street between Conduit Street and Hanover Square, the first stone being laid 20 June 1712; it was dedicated to St. George, and part of St. Martin's was made a separate Parish, now called St. George Hanover Square.

13 Sept. A greate storm at sea, we lost the Coronation and Harwich, above 600 men perishing.

14 October. A most plcasant autumn.—Our navy come in without having perform'd any thing, yet there has ben great loss of ships by negligence, and unskilfull men governing the fleete and the navy board.

7 Nov. I visited the Earl of Dover, who having made his peace with the King, was now come home. The relation he gave of the strength of the French King, and the difficulty of our forcing him to fight, and any way making impression into Frauce, was very wide from what we fancied.

8—30 Nov. An extraordinary dry and warm season, without frost, and like a new Spring ; such as had not been known for many yeares. Part of the King's house at Kensington was burnt.

6 December. Discourse of *another Plot*, in which severall greate persons were nam'd, but believ'd to be a sham.—A proposal in the House of Commons that every officer in the whole nation who receiv'd a salary above £500 or otherwise by virtue of his office should contribute it wholly to the support of the war with France, and this upon their oathes.

25. My daughter-in-law was brought to bed of a daughter.

28. Din'd at Lambeth with the new Archbishop. Saw the effect of my green-house furnace, set up by the Archbishop's son-in-law.

30. I againe saw Mr. Charlton's collection of spiders, birds, scorpions and other serpents, &c.

1692. 1 Jan. This last weeke died that pious admirable Christian, excellent philosopher, and my worthy friend, Mr. Boyle, aged about 65. A greate losse to all that knew him, and to the publiq.

6. At the funeral of Mr. Boyle at Saint Martin's, Dr. Burnet, Bp. of Salisbury, preach'd on 2 Eccles. 26. He concluded with an eulogy due to the deceas'd, who made God and Religion the scope of all his excellent tallents in the knowledge of nature, and who had arriv'd to so high a degree in it, accompanied with such zeale and extraordinary piety, which he shew'd in the whole course of his life, particularly in his exemplary charity on all occasions—that he gave £1000 yearly to the distress'd refugees of France and Ireland ; was at the charge of translating the Scriptures into the Irish and Indian tongues, and was now promoting a Turkish translation, as he had formerly don of Grotius on the Truth of the Christian Religion into Arabic, which he caus'd to be dispers'd in the Eastern countries ;. that he had settled a fund for preachers who should preach expressly against Atheists, Libertines, Socinians, and Jews ; that he had in his will given £8000 to charitable uses, but that his private charities were extraordinary. He dilated on his learning in Hebrew and Greek, his reading of the Fathers, and solid knowledge in theology, once deliberating about taking holy orders,

and that at the time of the Restoration of K. Cha. 2. when he might have made a greater figure in the nation as to secular honour and titles, his fear of not being able to discharge so weighty a duty as the first, made him decline that, and his humility the other. He spoke of his wonderful civility to strangers, the greater good which he did by his experience in medicine and chemistry, and to what noble ends he applied himself to his darling studies; the works both pious and useful which he published; the exact life he led, and the happy end he made. Something was touched of his sister the Lady Ranelagh, who died but a few days before him. And truly all this was but his due, and without any grain of flattery.

This week a most execrable murder was committed on Dr. Clench, father of that extraordinary learned child whom I have before noticed. Under pretence of carrying him in a coach to see a patient, they strangled him in it, and sending away the coachman under some pretence, they left his dead body in the coach, and escaped in the dusk of the evening<sup>1</sup>.

12 Jan. My granddaughter was christened by Dr. Tenison, now Bp. of Lincoln, in Trinity Church, being the first that was christened there. She was named Jane.

24. A frosty and dry season continued; many persons die of apoplexies, more than usual.—Lord Marlborough, Lieutenant General of the King's army in England, Gentleman of the bed-chamber, &c. dismissed from all his charges, military and other, for his excessive taking of bribes, covetousness and extortion on all occasions from his inferior officers.—Note, this was the Lord who was entirely advanced by K. James, and was the first who betrayed and forsook his master. He was son of Sir Winston Churchill of the Greencloth.

7 Feb. An extraordinary snow fell in most parts.

13. Mr. Boyle having made me one of the trustees for his charitable bequests, I went to a meeting of the Bp. of Lincoln, Sir Rob. . . . . wood and Serjeant Rotheram, to settle that clause in the will which related to charitable uses, and especially the appointing and electing a minister to preach one sermon the first Sunday in the month, during the 4 Summer months, expressly against Atheists, Deists, Libertines, Jews, &c. without descending to any other controversy whatever, for which £50 *per ann.* is to be paid quarterly to the preacher, and at the end of three years to proceed to a new election of some other able Divine, or to continue the same, as the Trustees should judge convenient. We made choice of one Mr. Bentley,<sup>1</sup> chaplain to the Bp. of Worcester (Dr. Stillingfleet). The first sermon was

<sup>1</sup> One Henry Harrison was tried for this murder, convicted, and hanged; but he left a paper which was printed, denying his guilt.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards the celebrated scholar and critic, Librarian to the King, and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

appointed for the first Sunday in March, at St. Martin's ; the second Monday in April at Bow Church, and so alternately.

28. Lord Marlborough having us'd words against the King, and ben discharg'd from all his greate places, his wife was forbid the Court, and the Princesse of Denmark was desir'd by the Queene to dismiss her from her service, but she refusing to do so, goes away from Court to Sion house.—Divers new Lords made ; Sir H. Capel,<sup>1</sup> Sir William Fermor,<sup>2</sup> &c.—Change of Commissioners in the Treasury.—The Parliament adjourn'd, not well satisfied with affairs. The business of the East India Company, which they would have reform'd, let fall.—The Duke of Norfolk does not succeed in his endeavour to be divorc'd.

20 March. My son was made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue and Treasury of Ireland, to which imployment he had a mind, far from my wishes.—I visited the Earle of Peterborough, who shew'd me the picture of the Pr. of Wales, newly brought out of France, seeming in my opinion very much to resemble the Queene his mother, and of a most vivacious countenance.

April. No Spring yet appearing. The Queene Dowager went out of England towards Portugal, as pretended, against the advice of all her friends.

4 April. Mr. Bentley preach'd Mr. Boyle's lecture at St. Mary le Bow. So excellent a discourse against the Epicurean system is not to be recapitulated in a few words. He came to me to ask whether I thought it should be printed, or that there was any thing in it which I desired to be alter'd. I tooke this as a civility, and earnestly desir'd it should be printed, as one of the most learned and convincing discourses I had ever heard.

6. A Fast.—K. James sends a letter written and directed by his own hand to severall of the Privy Council, and one to his daughter the Queene Regent, informing them of the Queene being ready to be brought to bed, and summoning them to be at the birth by the middle of May, promising as from the French King, permission to come and returne in safety.

24. Much apprehension of a French invasion, and of an universal rising. Our fleete begins to join with the Dutch. Unkindness betweene the Queene and her sister. Very cold and unseasonable weather, scarce a leaf on the trees.

5 May. Reports of an Invasion were very hot, and alarm'd the Citty, Court, and People ; nothing but securing suspected persons, sending forces to the sea-side, and hastening out the fleete. Continued discourse of the French invasion, and of ours in France. The Eastern wind so constantly blowing, gave our fleete time to unite, which had been so tardy in preparation, that, had not God thus wonderfully

<sup>1</sup> Lord Capel of Tewksbury.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Lempeter ; afterwards Earl of Pomfret.

favor'd, the enemy would in all probability have fallen upon us. Many daily secur'd, and Proclamations out for more conspirators.

8. My kinsman Sir Edward Evelyn of Long Ditton died suddenly.

12. A Fast.

13. I din'd at my cousin Cheny's, son to my Lord Cheny, who married my cousin Pierpoint.

15. My niece M. Evelyn was now married to Sir Cyril Wyche, Secretary of State for Ireland.—After all our apprehensions of being invaded, and doubts of our successe by sea, it pleas'd God to give us a greate victory at sea, to the utter ruine of the French fleete, their admiral and all their best men of war, transport ships, &c.

29. Tho' this day was set apart expressly for celebrating the memorable birth, returne, and restauration of the late King Cha. II. there was no notice taken of it, nor any part of the Office annex to the Common Prayer Book made use of, which I think was ill don, in regard his restauration not onely redeem'd us from anarchy and confusion, but restor'd the Church of England, as it were miraculously.

9 June. I went to Windsor to carry my grandson to Eton School, where I met my Lady Stonehouse and other of my daughter in-law's relations, who came on purpose to see her before her journey into Ireland. We went to see the Castle, which we found furnish'd and very neatly kept, as formerly, only that the armes in the Guard Chamber and Keep were remov'd and carried away.—An exceeding greate storm of wind and rain, in some places stripping the trees of their fruit and leaves as if it had ben Winter; and an extraordinary wet season, with greate floods.

23 July. I went with my wife, son and daughter, to Eton to see my grandson, and thence to my Lord Godolphin's at Cranburn, where we lay, and were most honorably entertain'd. The next day to St. George's Chapel, and return'd to London late in the evening.

25. We went to Mr. Hewer's at Clapham, where he has an excellent, usefull and capacious house on the Common, built by Sir Den. Gauden, and by him sold to Mr. Hewer, who got a very considerable estate in the Navy, in which, from being Mr. Pepys's clerk, he came to be one of the principal officers, but was put out of all employment on the Revolution, as were all the best officers, on suspicion of being no friends to the change; such were put in their places as were most shamefully ignorant and unfit. Mr. Hewer lives very handsomely and friendly to every body.—Our fleete was now sailing on their long pretence of a descent on the French coast; but after having sail'd 100 leagues, return'd, the Admiral and Officers disagreeing as to the place where they were to land, and the time of yeare being so far spent. To the greate dishonor of those at the helm, who concerted their matters so indiscreetly, or, as some thought, designedly.

This whole Summer was exceeding wet and rainy; the like had not

ben known since the year 1648 ; whilst in Ireland they had not known so greate a drowth.

16. I went to visite the Bp. of Lincoln, when amongst other things he told me that one Dr. Chaplin of University Coll. in Oxford was the person who wrote the '*Whole Duty of Man*,' that he us'd to read it to his pupils, and communicated it to Dr. Stern, afterwards Abp. of York, but would never suffer any of his pupils to have a copy of it.

10 August. A Fast. Came the sad news of the Hurricane and *Earthquake*, which has destroy'd almost the whole Island of Jamaica, many thousands having perish'd.

11 August. My son, his wife, and little daughter, went for Ireland, there to reside as one of the Commissioners of the Revenue.

14. Still an exceeding wet season.

15 Sept. There happen'd an *Earthquake*, which tho' not so great as to do any harm in England, was universal in all these parts of Europe. It shook the house at Wotton, but was not perceiv'd by any save a servant or two, who were making my bed, and another in a garret. I and the rest being at dinner below in the parlour were not sensible of it. The dreadful one in Jamaica this Summer was profanely and ludicrously represented in a puppet-play, or some such lewd pastime, in the *Fair at Southwark*, which caus'd the Queene to put downe that idle and vicious mock shew.

1 Oct. The season was so exceedingly cold, by reason of a very long and tempestuous North-east wind, that this usually pleasant season was very uncomfortable. No fruit ripened kindly.—Harbord dies at Belgrade ; Lord Paget sent Ambassador in his roome.

6 Nov. There was a Vestry call'd about repairing or new building of the Church [at Deptford], which I thought unseasonable in regard of the heavy taxes, and other improper circumstances, which I there declar'd.

10. A solemn Thanksgiving for our victory at sea, the safe return of the King, &c.

20. Dr. Lancaster, the new Vicar of St. Martin's preach'd.

A signal robbery in Hertfordshire of the Tax money bringing out of the North towards London. They were set upon by severall desperate persons, who dismounted and stopt all travellers on the road, and guarding them in a field, when the exploit was don, and the treasure taken, they kill'd all the horses of those whom they had stay'd to hinder pursuit, being 16 horses. They then dismiss'd those that they had dismounted.

14 Dec. With much reluctance we gratified Sir Jo. Rotheram, one of Mr. Boyle's trustees, by admitting the Bp. of Bath and Wells (Kidder) to be Lecturer for the next yeare, instead of Mr. Bentley, who had so worthly acquitted himselfe. We intended to take him in againe the next yeare.

1693. Jan. Contest in Parliament about a self-denying Act, that no Parliament man should have any office; it wanted only 2 or 3 voices to have ben carried. The Duke of Norfolk's Bill for a Divorce thrown out, he having manag'd it very indiscreetly. The quarrell betweene Admiral Russell and Lord Nottingham yet undetermin'd.

4 Feb. After five days' trial and extraordinary contest, the Lord Mohun was acquitted by the Lords of the murder of Montford the player, notwithstanding the Judges, from the pregnant witnesses of the fact, had declar'd him guilty; but whether in commiseration of his youth, being not 18 years old, tho' exceeding dissolute, or upon whatever other reason, the K. himselfe present some part of the trial, and satisfied, as they report, that he was culpable, 69 acquitted him, only 14 condemn'd him.—Unheard-of stories of the universal increase of Witches in New England; men, women and children devoting themselves to the devil, so as to threaten the subversion of the government.<sup>1</sup> At the same time there was a conspiracy amongst the negroes in Barbadoes to murder all their masters, discover'd by overhearing a discourse of two of the slaves, and so preventing the execution of the designe. Hitherto an exceeding mild Winter. France in the utmost misery and poverty for want of corn and subsistence, whilst the ambitious King is intent to pursue his conquests on the rest of his neighbours both by sea and land. Our Admiral Russell laid aside for not pursueing the advantage he had obtain'd over the French in the past Summer; three others chosen in his place. Dr. Burnet Bishop of Salisbury's book burnt by the hangman for an expression of the King's title by conquest, on a complaint of Jo. How a Member of Parliament, little better than a madman.

19. The Bp. of Lincoln preach'd in the afternoon at the Tabernacle neere Golden Square, set up by him.—Proposals of a marriage between Mr. Draper and my daughter Susanna.—Hitherto an exceeding warme Winter (such as has seldom ben known, and portending an unprosperous Spring as to the fruits of the earth; our climate requires more cold and winterly weather.—The dreadfull and astonishing *Earthquake* swallowing up Catanea and other famous and ancient cities, with more than 100,000 persons, in Sicily, on 11 Jan. last, came now to be reported amongst us.

26. An extraordinary deep snow, after almost no Winter, and a sudden gentle thaw. A deplorable *Earthquake* at Malta, since that of Sicily, nearly as greate.

19 March. A new Secretary of State, Sir Jo. Trenchard; the Attorney General Somers made Lord Keeper, a young lawyer of extraor-

<sup>1</sup> Some account of these unfortunate persons is given in the History of Surrey, II. 714, from the papers of the Rev. Mr. Miller, vicar of Effingham in that county, who was Chaplain to the King's forces there from 1692 to 1695. Some of these poor people were convicted and executed, but Sir Wm. Phipps the Governor had the good sense to reprieve, and afterwards pardon, several, and the Queen approved his conduct.

dinary merit.—King William goes towards Flanders, but returns, the wind being contrary.

31. I met the King going to Gravesend to imbarke in his yatcht for Holland.

23 April. An extraordinary wet Spring.

27. My daughter Susanna was married to William Draper Esq. in the chapel of Ely House, by Dr. Tenison, Bp. of Lincoln (since Archbishop). I gave her in portion £4000, her jointure is £500 *per ann.* I pray Almighty God to give his blessing to this marriage. She is a good child, religious, discreet, ingenious and qualified with all the ornaments of her sex. She has a peculiar talent in designe, as painting in oil and miniature, and an extraordinary genius for whatever hands can do with a needle. She has the French tongue, has read most of the Greek and Roman Authors and Poets, using her talents with greate modesty; exquisitely shap'd, and of an agreeable countenance. This character is due to her, tho' coming from her father. Much of this week spent in ceremonies, receiving visites and entertaining relations, and a greate part of the next in returning visites.

11 May. We accompanied my daughter to her husband's house, Adscomb, near Croydon, where with many of his and our relations we were magnificently treated. There we left her in an apartment very richly adorn'd and furnish'd, and I hope in as happy a condition as could be wish'd, and with the greate satisfaction of all our friends; for which God be prais'd!

14. Nothing yet of action from abroad. Muttering of a design to bring forces under colour of an expected descent, to be a standing army for other purposes. Talk of a declaration of the French King, offering mighty advantages to the Confederates, exclusive of K. William, and another of K. James, with an universal pardon, and referring the composing of all differences to a Parliament. These were yet but discourses; but something is certainly under it. A declaration or manifesto from K. James, so written that many thought it reasonable, and much more to the purpose than any of his former.

June. Whitsunday. I went to my Lord Griffith's chapel; the common Church office was us'd for the King without naming the person, with some other, apposite to the necessity and circumstances of the time.

11. I din'd at Sir William Godolphin's, and after evening prayer visited the Dutchess of Grafton.

21. I saw a great auction of Pictures in the Banqueting House, Whitehall. They had ben my Lord Melford's, now Ambassador from K. James at Rome, and engag'd to his creditors here. Lord Mulgrave and Sir Edward Seymour came to my house, and desir'd me to go with them to the sale. Divers more of the greate Lords, &c. were there and bought pictures dear enough. There were some very excellent of Van-

dyke, Rubens, and Bassan. Lord Godolphin bought the picture of the *Boys* by Morillio the Spaniard for 80 guineas, deare enough; my nephew Glanville, the *old Earl of Arundell's Head* by Rubens for 20*l*. Growing late, I did not stay till all were sold.

24. A very wet hay harvest, and little Summer as yet.

9 July. Mr. Tippin, successor of Dr. Parr at Camberwell, preach'd an excellent sermon.

13. I saw the Queen's rare cabinets and collection of china; which was wonderfully rich and plentiful, but especialy a large cabinet, looking-glasse frame and stands, all of amber, much of it white, with historical bas-reliefs and statues, with medals carved in them, esteem'd worth £.4000, sent by the Duke of Brandenburg, whose country, Prussia, abounds with amber, cast up by the sea; divers other china and Indian cabinets, screens and hangings. In her library were many bookes in English, French, and Dutch, of all sorts; a cupboard of gold plate; a cabinet of silver fillagree, which I think was our Queene Mary's<sup>1</sup>, and which in my opinion should have ben generously sent to her.

- 18. I din'd with Lord Mulgrave, with the Earl of Devonshire, Mr. Hampden (a scholar and fine gentleman), Dr. Davenant, Sir Henry Vane and others, and saw and admir'd the *Venus* of Corregio, which Lord Mulgrave had newly bought of Mr. Daun for £250, one of the best paintings I ever saw.

1 August. Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche and Mr. Duncomb made Lords Justices in Ireland; Lord Sydney recall'd and made Master of the Ordnance.

6. Very lovely harvest weather, and a wholesome season, but no garden fruit.

31 Oct. A very wet and uncomfortable season.

12 Nov. Lord Nottingham resign'd as Secretary of State; the Commissioners of the Admiralty outed, and Russell restor'd to his office.—The season continued very wet, as it had nearly all the Summer, if one might call it Summer, in which there was no fruit, but corn was very plentiful.

14. In the Lottery set up after the Venetian manner by Mr. Neale, Sir R. Haddock one of the Commissioners of the Navy had the greatest lot, £.3000; my coachman £.40.

17. Was the funeral of Capt. Young, who died of the stone and greate age. I think he was the first who in the first war with Cromwell against Spain took the Governor of the Havanna, and another rich prize, and struck the first stroke against the Dutch fleete in the first war with Holland in the time of the Rebellion; a sober man and an excellent seaman.

30. Much importun'd to take the office of President of the Royal

<sup>1</sup> Mary of England, King James's Queen, now with him in France.

Society, but I again declin'd it. Sir Robert Southwell was continued. We all din'd at Pontac's as usual.

3 Dec. Mr. Bentley preach'd at the Tabernacle neere Golden Square. I gave my voice for him to proceed on his former subject the following yeare in Mr. Boyle's lecture, in which he had ben interrupted by the importunity of Sir J. Rotheram that the *Bishop of Chichester* might be chosen the yeare before, to the great dissatisfaction of the Bishop of Lincoln and mysele. We chose Mr. Bentley againe.—The Dutchesse of Grafton's Appeal to the House of Lords for the Prothonotaries place given to the late Duke and to her son by K. Cha. II. now challeng'd by the Lord Cheife Justice. The Judges were severely reprov'd on something they said.

10. A very greate storm with thunder and lightning.

1694. 1 January. Prince Lewis of Baden came to London, and was much feasted. Danish ships arrested carrying corn and naval stores to France.

11. Supp'd at Mr. Edward Sheldon's, where was Mr. Dryden the Poet, who now intended to write no more Plays, being intent on his Translation of Virgil. He read to us his Prologue and Epilogue to his valedictory Play, now shortly to be acted.

21. Lord Macclesfield, Lord Warrington and Lord Westmoreland all died within about one week. Severall persons shot, hang'd and made away with themselves.

11 February. Now was the greate trial of the Appeal of Lord Bath and Lord Montagu before the Lords, for the estate of the late Duke of Albemarle.

10 March. Mr. Stringfellow preach'd at Trinity Parish, being restor'd to that place, after the contest betweene the Queen and the Bishop of London who had displac'd him.

22. Came the dismal news of the disaster befallen our Turkey fleet by tempest, to the almost utter ruin of that trade, the convoy of 3 or 4 men of war and divers merchant-ships with all their man and lading having perish'd.

25. Dr. Goode Minister of St. Martin's preach'd; he was likewise put in by the Queene, on the issue of her process with the Bishop of London.

30. I went to the Duke of Norfolk to desire him to make my cousin Evelyn of Nutfield one of the Deputy Lieutenants of Surrey, and intreat him to dismiss my brother, now unable to serve by reason of age and infirmity. The Duke granted the one, but would not suffer my brother to resign his commission, desiring he should keepe the honour of it during his life, tho' he could not act. He profess'd greate kindnessesse to our family.

1 April. Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, preach'd in the afternoone at the Tabernacle by Soho.

13. Mr. Bentley, our Boyle Lecturer, Chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester, came to see me.

15. One Mr. Stanhope<sup>1</sup> preach'd a most excellent sermon.

22. A fiery exhalation rising out of the sea spread itselfe in Montgomeryshire a furlong broad, and many miles in length, burning all straw, hay, thatch and grass, but doing no harm to trees, timber, or any solid things, onely firing barns or thatch'd houses. It left such a taint on the grasse as to kill all the cattle that eate of it. I saw the attestations in the hands of the sufferers. It lasted many moneths.—'The Berkeley Castle' sunk by the French coming from the East Indies, worth £.200,000. The French took our Castle of Gambo in Guinea, so that the Africa Actions fell to £30, and the India to £80.—Some Regiments of Highland Dragoons were on their march through England; they were of large stature, well appointed and disciplin'd. One of them having reproch'd a Dutchman for cowardice in our late fight, was attack'd by two Dutchmen, when with his sword he struck off the head of one, and cleft the skull of the other down to his chin.

A very young gentleman nam'd Wilson, the younger son of one who had not above £.200 a yeare estate, liv'd in the garb and equipage of the richest nobleman, for house, furniture, coaches, saddle horses, and kept a table and all things accordingly, redeem'd his father's estate, and gave portions to his sisters, being challeng'd by one Laws a Scotchman, was killed in a duel, not fairly. The quarrel arose from his taking away his owne sister from lodging in a house where this Laws had a mistress, which the mistress of the house thinking a disparagement to it, and looseing by it, instigated Laws to this duel. He was taken and condemn'd for murder. The mystery is how this so young a gentleman very sober and of good fame, could live in such an expensive manner; it could not be discover'd by all possible industry, or intreaty of his friends to make him reveal it. It did not appear that *he was kept by women*, play, coining, padding, or dealing in chemistry; but he would sometimes say that if he should live ever so long, he had wherewith to maintaine himselfe in the same manner. He was very civil and well natur'd, but of no greate force of understanding. This was a subject of much discourse.

24. I went to visit Mr. Waller, an extraordinary young gentleman of greate accomplishments, skill'd in mathematics, anatomy, music, painting both in oil and miniature to greate perfection, an excellent botanist, a rare engraver on brass, writer in Latin, and a poet; and with all this exceeding modest. His house is an Academy of itselfe. I carried him to see Brompton Park [by Knightsbridge], where he was in admiration at the store of rare plants, and the method he found in that noble

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Dean of Canterbury; a most respectable and worthy Divine, who made no scruple to publish what he found truly pious in the works of a Roman Catholic Priest.

nursery, and how well it was cultivated.—A public Bank of £.140,000 set up by Act of Parliament among other Acts, and Lotteries for money to carry on the war.—The whole month of April without rain.—A greate rising of people in Buckinghamshire, on the declaration of a famous preacher, till now reputed a sober and religious man, that our Lord Christ appearing to him on the 16th of this month, told him he was now come down, and would appeare publickly at Pentecost, and gather all the Saints, Jews and Gentiles, and lead them to Jerusalem, and begin the Millenium, and destroying and judging the wicked deliver the government of the world to the Saints. Greate multitudes follow'd this preacher, divers of the most zealous brought their goods and considerable sums of money, and began to live in imitation of the primitive Saints, minding no private concerns, continually dancing and singing Hallelujah night and day. This brings to mind what I lately happen'd to find in Alstedius, that the thousand yeares should begin this very yeare 1694; it is in his *Encyclopædia Biblica*. My copy of the book printed neere 60 yeares ago.

4 May. I went this day with my wife and four servants from Sayes Court, removing much furniture of all sorts, books, pictures, hangings, bedding, &c. to furnish the apartment my brother assign'd me, and now, after more than 40 years, to spend the rest of my dayes with him at Wotton, where I was born; leaving my house at Deptford full furnish'd, and 3 servants to my *son-in-law* Draper, to pass the summer in, and such longer time as he should think fit to make use of it.

6 May. This being the first Sunday in the month, the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ought to have ben celebrated at Wotton Church, but in this parish it is exceedingly neglected, so that unlesse at the 4 greate feasts, there is no communion hereabouts, which is a greate fault both in ministers and people. I have spoken to my brother who is the patron, to discourse the Minister about it.—Scarcely one shower has fallen since the beginning of April.

13. Some refreshing showers.—Lord Falkland (grandson to the learned Lord Falkland, Secretary of State to K. Cha. I. and slain in his service) died now of the small pox. He was a pretty, brisk, understanding, industrious young gentleman; had formerly ben faulty, but much reclaim'd. He married a greate fortune, besides being intituled to a vast sum as his share of the Spanish Wreck, taken up at the expence of divers adventurers. From a Scotch *Viscount* he was made an English *Baron*, design'd Ambassador to Holland; had ben Treasurer of the Navy, and advancing in the new Court. All now gone in a moment, and I think the title is extinct. I know not whether the estate devolves to my *cousin* Carew. It was at Lord Falkland's, whose lady importun'd us to let our daughter be with her some time, that that deare child took the same infection, which kill'd her some yeares ago.

3 June. Mr. Edwards, minister of Denton in Sussex, a living in

my brother's gift, came to see him. He had suffer'd much by a fire.—Seasonable showers.

14 June. The public Fast. Mr. Wotton, that extraordinary learn'd young man, preach'd excellently.

1 July. Mr. Duncomb, minister of Aubury, preach'd at Wotton, a very religious and exact discourse.

July. The first greate *Bank* for a fund of money being now establish'd by Act of Parliament was fill'd and compleated to the sum of £.120,000, and put under the Government of the most able and wealthy citizens of London. All who adventur'd any sum had 4 *per cent.* so long as it lay in the Bank, and had power either to take it out at pleasure, or transfer it.—Glorious steady weather, corn and all fruits in extraordinary plenty generally.

15. Lord Berkeley burnt Dieppe and Havre de Grace with *bombs* in revenge for the defeat at Brest. This manner of destructive war was begun by the French, is exceedingly ruinous, especially falling on the poorer people, and does not seem to tend to make a more speedy end of the war, but rather to exasperate and incite to revenge.—Many executed at London for *clipping money*, now don to that intolerable extent, that there was hardly any money that was worth above halfe the nominal value.

4 Aug. I went to visit my cousin G. Evelyn of Nutfield, where I found a family of 10 children, 5 sons and 5 daughters. All beautifull women grown, and extreamly well fashion'd. All painted in one piece, very well by Mr. Lutterell in crayon on copper, and seeming to be as finely painted as the best miniature. They are the children of 2 extraordinary beautifull wives. The boys were at school.

5. Stormy and unseasonable wet weather this week.

5 Oct. I went to St. Paul's to see the choir, now finish'd as to the stone work, and the scaffolds struck both without and within, in that part. Some exceptions might perhaps be taken as to the placing columns on pilasters at the East tribunal. As to the rest, it is a piece of architecture without reproch. The pulling out the formes, like drawers, from under the stalls is ingenious. I went also to see the building beginning neere St. Giles's, where 7 streets make a star from a *Doric pillar* plac'd in the middle of a circular area; said to be built by Mr. Neale<sup>1</sup>, introducer of the late *Lotteries* in imitation of those at Venice, now set up here, for himselfe twice, and now one for the state.

28. Mr. Stringfellow preach'd at Trinity Church.

22 Nov. Visited the Bishop of Lincoln [Tenison] newly come on the death of the Abp. of Canterbury, who a few days before had a paralytic stroke. The same day and month that Abp. Sancroft was

<sup>1</sup> This Mr. Neale took a large piece of ground on the north side of Piccadilly of Sir Walter Clarges, agreeing to lay out £.15,000 in building; but he did not do so, and Sir Walter having after great trouble, got the lease out of his hands, built what is now called Clarges street.

put out.—A very sickly time, especially the small pox, of which divers considerable persons died. The *State Lottery* drawing, Mr. Cock, a French Refugee and a President in the Parliament of Paris for the Reform'd, drew a Lot of £.1000 *per ann.*

29. I visited the Marquiss of Normanby and had much discourse concerning K. Cha. II. being poison'd.—Also concerning the *Quinquina* which the physicians would not give to the King, at a time when in a dangerous ague it was the only thing that could cure him (out of envy because it had ben brought into vogue by Mr. Tudor an apothecary), till Dr. Short, to whom the King sent to know his opinion of it privately, he being reputed a Papist, (but who was in truth a very honest good Christian) sent word to the King that it was the only thing which could save his life, and then the King injoin'd his physicians to give it to him, which they did, and he recover'd. Being asked by this Lord why they would not prescribe it, Dr. Lower said it would spoil their practice, or some such expression, and at last confessed it was a remedy fit only for Kings.—Exception was taken that the late Archbishop did not cause any of his Chaplains to use any office for the sick during his illness.

9 December. I had newes that my deare and worthy friend Dr. Tenison, Bp. of Lincoln, was made Abp. of Canterbury, for which I thank God and rejoyce, he being most worthy of it, for his learning, piety and prudence.

13. I went to London to congratulate him. He being my proxy gave my vote for Dr. Williams to succeed Mr. Bentley in Mr. Boyle's lectures.

29. The *small pox* increas'd exceedingly, and was very mortal. The Queene died of it on the 28th.

1695. 13 Jan. The Thames was frozen over. The deaths by small pox increas'd to 500 more than in the preceding week.—The King and Prinçesse Ann reconcil'd, and she was invited to keepe her Court at Whitehall, having hitherto liv'd privately at Berkeley house; she was desir'd to take into her family divers servants of the late Queene; to maintain them the King has assign'd her £.5000 a quarter.

20 Jan. The frost and continual snow has now lasted neere 5 weekes.

Feb. Lord Spencer married the Duke of Newcastle's daughter, and our neighbour Mr. Hussey married a daughter of my cousin Geo. Evelyn of Nutfield.

3. The long frost intermitted, but not gone.

17. Call'd to London by Lord Godolphin, one of the Lords of the Treasury, offering me the Treasureship of the Hospital design'd to be built at Greenwich for worn-out seamen.

24. I saw the Queene lie in state.

27. The Marquiss of Normanby told me K. Cha. had a designe to buy all King street, and build it nobly, it being the streete leading to

Westminster. This might have been don for the expence of the *Queene's funeral*, which was £.50,000, against her desire.

5 March. I went to see the ceremonie. Never was so universal a mourning, all the Parliament men had cloaks given them, and 400 poore women ; all the streetes hung, and the middle of the streete boarded and cover'd with black cloth. There were all the nobility, Mayor, Aldermen, Judges, &c.

8. I supp'd at the Bp. of Lichfield and Coventry's, who related to me the pious behaviour of the Queene in all her sicknesse, which was admirable. She never enquir'd of what opinion psrsons were, who were objects of charity ; that on opening a cabinet a paper was found, wherein she had desir'd that her body might not be open'd, or any extraordinary expence at her funeral, whenever she should die. This paper was not found in time to be observ'd. There were other excellent things under her owne hand, to the very least of her debts, which were very small, and every thing in that exact method as seldom is found in any private person. In sum she was an admirable woman, abating for taking the Crown without a more due apology, as does, if possible, outdo the renown'd Queene Elizabeth.

10. I din'd at the Earl of Sunderland's with Lord Spencer. My Lord shew'd me his Library, now again improv'd by many books bought at the sale of Sir Charles Scarborough, an eminent physician, which was the very best collection, especially of mathematical books, that was I believe in Europe, once design'd for the King's Library at St. James's, but the Queene's dying, who was the greate patroness of that designe, it was let fall, and the books were miserably dissipated.

The new edition of Camden's *Britannia* was now publish'd, with greate additions ; those to Surrey were mine, so that I had one presented to me. Dr. Gale shew'd me a MS. of some parts of the New Testament in vulgar Latin, that had belong'd to a monastery in the North of Scotland, which he esteem'd to be above 800 yeares old: there were some considerable various readings observeable, as in 1 John, and genealogy of St. Luke.

24. Easter day. Mr. Duncomb, parson of this parish, preach'd, which he hardly comes to above once a yeare, tho' but 7 or 8 miles off; a florid discourse read out of his notes. The Holy Sacrament follow'd, which he administer'd with very little reverence, leaving out many prayers and exhortation, nor was there any oblation. This ought to be, reform'd, but my good brother did not well consider when he gave away this living and the next [Abinger].

March. The latter end of the month sharp and severe cold, with much snow, and hard frost ; no appearance of Spring.

31. Mr. Lucas preach'd in the afternoon at Wotton.

7. April. Lord Halifax died suddenly at London, the day his daughter was married to the Earl of Nottingham's son at Burleigh.

Lord H. was a very rich man, very witty, in his younger days somewhat positive.

14. After a most severe cold and snowy winter, without almost any shower for many months, the wind continuing N. and E. and not a leaf appearing : the weather and wind now chang'd, some showers fell, and there was a remission of cold.

21. The Spring begins to appeare, yet the trees hardly leaf'd.—Sir T. Cooke discovers what prodigious bribes have been given by some of the E. India Company out of the stock, which makes a greate clamour.—Never were so many private Bills pass'd for unsettling estates, shewing the wonderfull prodigality and decay of families.

5 May. I came to Deptford from Wotton, in order to the first meeting of the Commissioners for endowing an *Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich* : it was at the Guildhall, London. Present, the Abp. of Canterbury, Lord Keeper, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Godolphin, Duke of Shrewsbury, Duke of Leeds, Earls of Dorset and Monmouth, Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Christopher Wren, and severall more. The Commission was read by Mr. Lowndes, Secretary to the Lords of the Treasury, surveyor general.

17 May. Second meeting of the Commissioners, and a Committee appointed to go to Greenwich to survey the place, I being one of them.

21. We went to survey Greenwich, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Christopher Wren, Mr. Travers, the King's Surveyor ; Capt. Sanders and myselfe.

24. We made report of the state of Greenwich House, and how the standing part might be made serviceable at present for £.6000, and what ground would be requisite for the whole designe.—My Lord Keeper order'd me to prepare a book for subscriptions, and a preamble to it.

31. Met again. Mr. Vanburgh was made Secretary to the Commission, by my nomination of him to the Lords, which was all don that day.

7 June. The Commissioners met at Guildhall, when there were scruples and contests of the Lord Mayor (Sir W. Ashurst), who would not meet, not being nam'd as one of the Quorum, so that a new Commission was requir'd, tho' the Lord Keeper and the rest thought it too nice a punctilio.

14. Met at Guildhall, but could do nothing for want of a Quorum.

5 July. At Guildhall ; account of subscriptions, about seven or £8000.

6. I din'd at Lambeth, making my first visite to the Archbishop, where there was much company and greate cheere. After prayers in the evening, my Lord made me stay to shew me his house, furniture and garden, which were all very fine, and far beyond the usual Archbishops, not as affected by this, but being bought ready furnish'd by

his predecessor. We discours'd of severall public matters, particularly of the Princesse of Denmark, who made so little figure.

11 July. Met at Guildhall : not a full Committee, so nothing don.

14. No sermon at Church, but after prayers the names of all the parishioners were read, in order to gathering the tax of 4s. for marriages, burials, &c. A very imprudent tax, especially this reading the names, so that most went out of the Church.

19. I din'd at Sir Purbeck Temple's neere Croydon ; his lady is aunt to my son-in-law Draper ; the house exactly furnish'd. Went thence with my son and daughter to Wotton.—At Wotton, Mr. Duncomb, parson of Albury, preach'd excellently.

28. A very wet season.

11 August. The weather now so cold that greater frosts were not always seene in the midst of Winter ; this succeeded much wet, and set harvest extremely back.

25. Mr. Offley preach'd at Abinger ; too much of controversy on a point of no consequence, for the country people here. This was the first time I had heard him preach.<sup>1</sup>—*Bombarding of Cadiz* ; a cruel and brutish way of making war, first begun by the French.—The season wet, greate storms, unseasonable harvest weather.—My good and worthy friend Capt. Gifford, who that he might get some competence to live decently, adventur'd all he had in a voyage of two yeares to the East Indies, was, with another greate ship, taken by some French men of war, almost within sight of England, to the losse of neere £.70,000, to my great sorrow, and pity of his wife, he being also a valiant and industrious man. The losses of this sort to the Nation have been immense, and all through negligence and little care to secure the same neere our own coasts ; of infinitely more concern to the public than spending their time in bombarding and ruining 2 or 3 paltry towns, without any benefit, or weakening our enemys, who tho' they began, ought not to be imitated in an action totally adverse to humanity or Christianity.

29. Very cold weather.—Sir Purbeck Temple, uncle to my son Draper, died suddenly. A greate funeral at Adscomb. His lady being owne aunt to my son Draper, he hopes for a good fortune, there being no heir. There had ben a new meeting of the Commissioners about Greenwich Hospital, on the new Commission, where the Lord Mayor, &c. appear'd, but I was prevented by indisposition from attending. The weather very sharp, Winter approching apace.—The King went a progresse into the North, to shew himselfe to the people against the elections, and was every where complimented, except at Oxford, where

<sup>1</sup> This gentleman gave good farms in Sussex for the better endowment of Oakwood Chapel, which is a Chapel of ease for the lower parts of Abinger and Wotton, both of which livings are in the gift of the owner of Wotton, and many of the inhabitants thereabouts being distant 5 miles from their parish churches, besides the extreme badness of the roads in winter.

it was not as he expected, so that he hardly stopp'd an hour there, and having seene the Theatre, did not receive the banquet propos'd.— I din'd with Dr. Gale at St. Paul's School, who shew'd me many curious passages out of some ancient Platonists MSS. concerning the Trinity, which this great and learned person would publish, with many other rare things, if he was encourag'd, and eas'd of the burden of teaching.

25 Oct. The Abp. and myselfe went to Hammersmith, to visite Sir Sam. Morland, who was entirely blind; a very mortifying sight. He shew'd us his invention of writing, which was very ingenious; also his wooden Kalender, which instructed him all by feeling; and other pretty and useful inventions of mills, pumps, &c. and the pump he had erected that serves water to his garden, and to passengers, with an inscription, and brings from a filthy part of the Thames neere it a most perfect and pure water. He had newly buried £.200 worth of music books 6 feet under ground, being, as he said, love songs and vanity. He plays himselfe Psalms and religious hymns on the Theorbo.—Very mild weather the whole of October.

10 Nov. Mr. Stanhope, Vicar of Lewisham, preach'd at Whitehall. He is one of the most accomplish'd preachers I ever heard, for matter, eloquence, action, voice, and I am told, of excellent conversation.

13. Famous fireworks and very chargeable, the King being return'd from his progresse. He stay'd 7 or 8 days at Lord Sunderland's at Althorp, where he was mightily entertain'd. These fireworks were shew'd before Lord Romney, master of the ordnance, in St. James's *greate square* where the King stood.

17. I spoke to the Abp. of Canterbury to interest himself for restoring a roome belonging to St. James's Library, where the books want place.

21. I went to see Mr. Churchill's collection of rarities.

23. I went to Lambeth to get Mr. Williams continued in Boyle's lectures another year. Amongst others who din'd there was Dr. Covel<sup>1</sup> the *greate* Oriental traveller.

1 Dec. I din'd at Lord Sunderland's, now the *greate* favorite and underhand politician, but not adventuring on any character, being obnoxious to the people for having twice chang'd his religion.

23. The Parllament wondrous intent on ways to *reform the coin*; setting out a proclamation prohibiting the currency of half crowns, &c. which made much confusion among the people.

25. Hitherto mild, dark, misty weather. Now snow and frost.

1696. 12 January. Great confusion and distraction by reason of the *clipp'd money*, and the difficulty found in reforming it.

2 Feb. An extraordinary wet season, tho' temperate as to cold.—

<sup>1</sup> Dr. John Covel, Master of Christ's College Cambridge, Chancellor of York, &c. He wrote an Account of the Greek Church, and died in 1722 in his 85th year.

The Royal Sovereign man of war was burnt at Chatham. It was built in 1637, and having given occasion to the levy of *Ship-money* was perhaps the cause of all the after-troubles to this day.—An *Earthquake* in Dorsetshire by Portland, or rather a sinking of the ground suddenly for a large space, neere the quarries of stone, hindering the conveyance of that material for the finishing St. Paul's.

23. They now began to coin new money.

26 Feb. There was now a Conspiracy of about 30 Knights, Gentlemen, Captains, many of them Irish and English Papists and Nonjurors or *Jacobites* (so call'd), to murder K. William on the first opportunity of his going either from Kensington or to hunting, or to the Chapel; and upon signal of fire to be given from Dover Cliff to Calais, an Invasion was design'd. In order to it there was a greate army in readinesse, men of war, and transports, to join a general insurrection here, the Duke of Berwick having secretly come to London to head them, K. James attending at Calais with the French army. It was discover'd by some of their owne party. £.1000 reward was offer'd to whoever could apprehend any of the 30 nam'd. Most of those who were engag'd in it were taken and secur'd. The Parliament, Citty, and all the Nation, congratulate the discovery; and votes and resolutions were pass'd that if K. William should ever be assassinated, it should be reveng'd on the Papists and Party through the nation. An Act of Association drawing up to impower the Parliament to sit on any such accident, till the Crowne should be dispos'd of according to the late Settlement at the Revolution. All Papists in the meane time to be banish'd 10 miles from London. This put the nation into an incredible disturbance and generall animosity against the French King and King James. The Militia of the nation was rais'd, severall regiments were sent for out of Flanders, and all things put in a posture to encounter a descent. This was so tim'd by the enemy, that whilst we were already much discontented on the greatnesse of the taxes, and corruption of the money, &c. we had like to have had very few men of war neere our coasts; but so it pleas'd God that Admiral Rooke wanting a wind to pursue his voyage to the Straits, that squadron, with others at Portsmouth and other places, were still in the Channell, and were soon brought up to join with the rest of the ships which could be got together, so that there is hope this plot may be broken. I look on it as a very greate deliverance and prevention by the Providence of God. Tho' many did formerly pity King James's condition, this designe of assassination and bringing over a French army, alienated many of his friends, and was like to produce a more perfect establishment of King William.

1 Mar. The wind continuing N. and E. all this weeke, brought so many of our men of war together, that tho' most of the French finding their designe detected and prevented, made a shift to get into Calais and Dunkirk roads, we wanting fire ships and bombs to disturb them:

yet they were so engag'd among the sands and flats, that 'tis said they cut their masts and flung their greate guns overboard to lighten their vessells. We are yet upon them. This deliverance is due solely to God. The French were to have invaded at once England, Scotland and Ireland.

8. Divers of the *Conspirators* tried and condemn'd.

Vesuvius breaking out terrified Naples.

Three of the unhappy wretches, whereof one was a Priest, were executed<sup>1</sup> for intending to assassinate the King; they acknowledg'd their intention, but acquitted K. James of inciting them to it, and died very penitent. Divers more in danger, and some very considerable persons.

Great frost and cold.

6 April. I visited Mr. Graham in the Fleete.

10. The quarters of Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend, lately executed on the Plot, with Perkins's head, were set up at Temple Bar; a dismal sight, which many pitied. I think there never was such at Temple Bar till now, except once in the time of K. Cha. II. *viz.* of Sir Tho. Armstrong<sup>2</sup>.

Greate offence taken at the 3 *ministers*<sup>3</sup> who absolv'd Sir William Perkins and Friend at Tyburn. One of them (Snatt) was a son of my old schoolmaster. This produc'd much altercation as to the canonicalness of the action.

21. We had a meeting at Guildhall of the Grand Committee about settling the draught of Greenwich Hospital.

23. I went to Eton, and din'd with Dr. Godolphin, the Provost. The schoolmaster assur'd me there had not been for 20 years a more pregnant youth in that place than my Grandson.--I went to see the *King's house* at Kensington. It is very noble, tho' not greate. The gallery furnish'd with the best pictures [from] all the houses, of Titian, Raphael, Corregio, Holbein, Julio Romano, Bassan, Vandyke, Tintoret and others; a greate collection of Porcelain; and a pretty private library. The gardens about it very delicious.

26 April. Dr. Sharp preached at the Temple. His prayer before the sermon was one of the most excellent compositions I ever heard.

28. The Venetian Ambassador made a stately entry, with 50 footmen, many on horseback, 4 rich coaches, and a numerous train of gallants.—More executions this weeke of the assassins.—Oates dedicated a most villainous reviling book against K. James, which he presum'd to present K. William, who could not but abhor it, speaking so infamously and untruly of his late beloved Queene's own father.

2 May. I din'd at Lambeth, being summon'd to meete my co-trustees, the Abp., Sir Hen. Ashurst, and Mr. Serjeant Rotheram, to

<sup>1</sup> Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keys.

<sup>2</sup> He was concerned in the Rye House Plot, fled into Holland, was given up and executed in his own country, 1684.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Collier, Mr. Snatt, and Mr. Cook, all nonjuring clergymen.

consult about settling Mr. Boyle's lecture for a perpetuity ; which we concluded upon, by buying a rent-charge of £.50 *per ann.* with the stock in our hands.

6. I went to Lambeth to meete at dinner the Countess of Sunderland and divers ladies. We din'd in the Abp's *wife's* apartment with his Grace, and staid late ; yet I return'd to Deptford at night.

13 May. I went to London to meet my Son, newly come from Ireland indispos'd.—Money still continuing exceeding scarce, so that none was paid or receiv'd, but all was on trust, the Mint not supplying for common necessities. The association with an oath requir'd of all Lawyers and Officers, on pain of Premunire, whereby men were oblig'd to renounce King James as no rightfull King, and to revenge K. William's death if happening by assassination. This to be taken by all the Council by a day limited, so that the Courts of Chancery and King's Bench hardly heard any cause in Eastern Term, so many crowded to take the oath. This was censur'd as a very intangling contrivance of the Parliament in expectation that many in high office would lay down, and others surrender. Many gentleman taken up on suspicion of the *late plot*, were now discharged out of prison.

29. We settled divers officers and other matters relating to workmen for the beginning of Greenwich Hospital.

1 June. I went to Deptford to dispose of our goods in order to letting the house for three years to Vice Admiral Benbow, with condition to keepe up the garden. This was done soon after.

4. A Committee met at Whitehall about Greenwich Hospital, at Sir Christopher Wren's, his Majesty's Surveyor General. We made the first agreement with divers workmen, and for materials ; and gave the first order for proceeding on the foundation, and for weekly payments to the workmen, and a generall account to be monthly.

11. Din'd at Lord Pembroke's, Lord Privy Seal, a very worthy gentleman. He shew'd me divers rare Pictures of very many of the old and best masters, especially one of M. Angelo of a man gathering fruit to give to a woman, and a large book of the best drawings of the old masters.—Sir J. Fenwick, one of the conspirators was taken.<sup>1</sup>—Greate subscriptions in Scotland to their East India Company.—Want of current money to carry on the smallest concerns, even for daily provisions in the markets. Guineas lower'd to 22 shillings, and great sums daily transported to Holland where it yields more, with other treasure sent to pay the armies, and nothing considerable coin'd of the new and now onely current stamp, cause such a scarcity that tumults are every day fear'd, no body paying or receiving money ; so imprudent was the late Parllament, to condemn the old, tho' clipt, and corrupted; till they had provided supplies. To this add the fraud of the bankers and gold-

<sup>1</sup> He was taken at a house by the side of the road from Great Bookham to Stoke Dabernham in Surrey, near Slyfield mill, as I was told by the great grandson of Mr. Evelyn.—W. D.

smiths, who having gotten immense riches by extortion, keepe up their treasure in expectation of enhancing its value. Duncomb not long since a mean goldsmith, having made a purchase of the late Duke of Buckingham's estate<sup>1</sup> at neere £90,000, and reputed to have neere as much in cash. *Banks and Lotteries* every day set up.

18. The famous trial betweene my Lord Bath and Lord Montagu for an estate of £11,000 a year, left by the Duke of Albermarle, wherein on severall trials have been spent £20,000 between them. The E. of Bath was cast on evident forgery.

20. I made my Lord Cheney a visit at Chelsea, and saw those ingenious water-works invented by Mr. Winstanley,<sup>2</sup> wherein were some things very surprizing and extraordinary.

21. An exceeding rainy, cold, unseasonable Summer, yet the citty was very healthy.

25. A trial in the Common Pleas between the Lady Purbeck Temple and Mr. Temple, a nephew of Sir Purbeck, concerning a deed set up to take place of severall wills. This deed was prov'd to be forg'd. The cause went on my lady's side. This concerning my son-in-law Draper, I staid almost all day at Court. A greate supper was given to the Jury, being persons of the best condition in Buckinghamshire.

30 June. I went with a select Committee of the Commissioners for Greenwich Hospital, and with Sir Christopher Wren, where with him I laid the first stone of the intended foundation, precisely at 5 o'clock in the evening, after we had din'd together. Mr. Flamstead, the K.'s astronomical Professor, observing the punctual time by instruments.

4 July. Note that my Lord Godolphin was the first of the subscribers who paid any money to this noble fabric.<sup>3</sup>

7. A Northern wind altering the weather with a continual and impetuous raine of 3 days and nights, chang'd it into perfect Winter.

<sup>1</sup> At Helmsley in Yorkshire.

"And Helmsley, once proud Buckingham's delight,  
Slides to a Scrivener or a City Knight."—POPE.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Winstanley was the ingenious architect who built the Eddystone light house, and perished in it when blown down by the great storm in 1703.

### <sup>3</sup> SUBSCRIPTIONS TO GREENWICH HOSPITAL,

*from Mr Evelyn's Papers,*

£ s. d.				£ s. d.			
The King	...	...	2000	0	0	Mr. Montague, Chan. Excheq.	100 0 0
Abp. Canterbury	...	...	500	0	0	Mr. Smith, Commiss. Treasury	100 0 0
Lord Keeper Sommers	...	...	500	0	0	Lord Ch. Justice Holt	100 0 0
Duke of Leeds, Pres. of the Council	...	...	500	0	0	Sir Ste. Fox	200 0 0
E. of Pembroke, Lord Privy Seal	...	...	500	0	0	E. of Ranelagh	100 0 0
D. of Devonshire	...	...	500	0	0	Sir John Lowther	100 0 0
Duke of Shrewsbury	...	...	500	0	0	Mr. Priestman	100 0 0
Earl of Romney	...	...	200	0	0	Sir Geo. Roke	100 0 0
E. of Dorset	...	...	500	0	0	Sir John Houbton	100 0 0
Lord Montague	...	...	500	0	0	Lord Chief Justice Treby	100 0 0
Lord Godolphin	...	...	100	0	0		

Carried over

£.7,800 0 0

12. Very unseasonable and uncertain weather.

26. So little money in the nation that Exchequer Tallies, of which I had for £.2000 on the best fund in England, the Post Office, nobody would take at 30 *per cent.* discount.

3 Aug. The Bank lending the £200,000 to pay the army in Flanders, that had don nothing against the enemy, had so exhausted the treasure of the nation, that one could not have borrow'd money under 14 or 15 p.c. on bills, or on Exchequer Tallies under 30 *p. cent.*—Reasonable good harvest weather.—I went to Lambeth and din'd with the Abp. who had ben at Court on the complaint against Dr. Thomas Watson, Bp. of St. David's, who was suspended for simony. The Abp. told me how unsatisfied he was with the *Canon Law*, and how exceedingly unreasonable all their pleadings appear'd to him.

Sept. Fine seasonable weather, and a greate harvest after a cold wet Summer. Scarcity in Scotland.

6. I went to congratulate the marriage of a daughter of Mr. Boscawen to the son of Sir Philip Meadows ; she is niece to my Lord Godolphin, married at Lambeth by the Abp. 30 August. After above 6 months' stay, in London about Greenwich Hospital, I return'd to Wotton.

24 Oct. Unseasonable stormy weather, and an ill-seed time.

Nov. Lord Godolphin retir'd from the Treasury, who was the first Commissioner and the most skillful manager of all.

8. The first frost began fiercely, but lasted not long.—More plots talk'd of. Search for Jacobites so call'd.

15—23. Very stormy weather, rain and inundations.

13 Dec. Continuance of extreme frost and snow.

1697. Jan. 17. The severe frost and weather relented, but againe

Brought over £7,300 0 0				£ s d			
Sir Wm. Trumball, Pr. Sec. State	100	0	0	Mr. Justice Powell...	50	0	0
Sir Robt. Rich ... ..	100	0	0	Mr. Justice Eyre ... ..	50	0	0
Sir Hen Goodrick ... ..	50	0	0	Lord Ch. Baron Ward ... ..	66	13	4
Col. Austen ... ..	100	0	0	Mr. Justice Gregory ... ..	50	0	0
Sir Tho. Lane ... ..	100	0	0	Mr. Baron Powell ... ..	50	0	0
Sir Patience Ward ... ..	100	0	0	E. of Portland... ..	500	0	0
Sir Wm. Ashurst ... ..	100	0	0	Mr. Baron Powis ... ..	40	0	0
Sir J. Trevor, Master of the Rolls	100	0	0	Sir Richard Onslow ... ..	100	0	0
Mr. Justice Rokeby ... ..	50	0	0	Mr. Baron Lechmore ... ..	40	0	0
				£.9,046 13 4			

By the committee for the fabrick of Greenwich Hospital, Nov. 4, 1696.—Expende of the work already done, £5000 and upwards, towards which the Treasurer had not received above £800, so that they must be obliged to stop the work unless there can be a supply of money both from the tallies that have been assigned for payment of his Majesty's £2000, and the money subscribed by several noblemen and gentlemen ; the Secretary was ordered to attend Mr. Lowndes, Secretary to the Lords of the Treasury, to move for an order that the tallies may be fixt on such fund as may be ready money, or that the Treasurer of the Hospital may be directed to dispose of them on the best terms he can ; and that the Solicitor with the Treasurer's clerk do attend the noblemen and gentlemen that have subscribed, to acquaint them herewith.

froze with snow.—Conspiracies continue against K. William. Sir I. Fenwick was beheaded.

7 Feb. Severe frost continued with snow. Souldiers in the armies and garrison towns frozen to death on their posts.

(Here a leaf of the MS. is lost.)<sup>1</sup>

17 Aug. I came to Wotton after three months absence.

Sept. Very bright weather, but with sharp East wind. My son came from London in his melancholy indisposition.

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Dr Bohun, dated Wotton 18th Jan. 1698, Mr. Evelyn says:

‘Having ben told that you have lately inquir’d what is become of your now old friends of Sayes-Court, the date hereof will acquaint you where they are, and the sequel, much of what they do and think. I believe I neede not tell you that after the marriage of my daughter, and the so kind offer of my good brother here, my then circumstances and times considered, I had reason to embrace it, not merely out of inclination to the place where I was born and have now an interest.

‘Amongst other things I had paid £300 for the renewing of my Lease [at Deptford] with some augmentation of what I hold from the Crowne, which the Duke of Leeds was supplanting me of ——— but I am not here on free cost.

‘My Lord Godolphin (my ever noble patron and steady friend, now retir’d from a fatiguing station) got me to be named Treasurer to the Marine Colledge erecting at Greenwich, with the sallary of £200 *per ann.* of which I have never yet receiv’d one penny of the Tallies assign’d for it, now two years at our Lady-day—my son-in-law Draper is my substitute.—I have only had this opportunity to place my old (indeed faithfull) servant J. Str<sup>d</sup> in an employment at Greenwich, which with my other businesse, not small, among so many beggarly tenants as you know I have at Deptford [is some provision for him]. I have let my house to Capt. Benbow, and have the mortification of seeing every day much of my former labours and expense there impairing for want of a more polite tennant.

‘My grandson is so delighted in books that he professes a library is to him the greatest recreation, so I give him free scope here, where I have neare upon 22,000 [qu. 2000] with my brother’s), and whither I would bring the rest had I any roome, which I have not, to my greate regrett, having here so little conversation with the Learn’d, unlesse it be when Mr. Wotton (the learned gentleman before mentioned, the friend of Dr. Bentley) comes now and then to visit me, he being tutor to Mr. Finch’s son at Albury, but which he is now leaving to go to his living, that without books, and the best wife and bro. in the world, I were to be pitied; but with these subsidiaries, and the revising some of my old impertinences, to which I am adding a Discourse I made on Medals (lying by me long before Obadiah Walker’s Treatise appear’d), I passe some of my Attic nights, if I may be so vaine as to name them with the Author of those Criticisms. For the rest, I am planting an ever-green grove here to an old house ready to drop, the oeconomy and hospitality of which my good old brother will not depart from, but *more veterum* kept a Christmas in which we had not fewer than 300 bumkins every holy-day.

‘We have here a very convenient appartment of five roomes together, besides a pretty closet, which we have furnish’d with the spoiles of Sayes Court, and is the raree-shew of the whole neighbourhood, and in truth we live very easy as to all domestic cares. Wednesday and Saturday nights we call Lecture Nights, when my wife and myselfe take our turnes to read the packets of all the newes sent constantly from London, which serves us for discourse till fresh newes comes; and so you have the history of a very old man and his no young companion, whose society I have enjoy’d more to my satisfaction these three yeares here, than in almost 50 before, but am now every day trussing up to be gon, I hope to a better place.

‘My daughter Draper being brought to bed in the Christmas holidays of a fine boy, has given an heire to her most deserving husband, a prudent, well-natur’d Gent. a man of businesse, like to be very rich, and deserving to be so, among the happiest paires I think in England, and to my daughter’s and our heart’s desir. She has also a fine girle, and a mother-in-law exceedingly fond of my daughter, and a most excellent woman, charitable and of a very sweete disposition. They all live together, keepe each their coach, and with as suitable an equipage as any in towne.’

12. Mr. Duncombe the rector came and preach'd after an absence of 2 yeares, tho' only living 7 or 8 miles off [at Ashted].—Welcome tidings of the Peace.

3 Oct. So greate were the storms all this week, that neere a 1000 people were lost going into the Texel.

Nov. 16. The King's entry very pompous, but in nothing approaching that of K. Cha. II.

2 Dec. Thanksgiving day for the Peace. The King and a greate Court at Whitehall. The Bp. of Salisbury (Burnet) preach'd, or rather made a florid panegyric on 2 Chron. 9. 7, 8.—The evening concluded with fire-works and illuminations of greate expence.

5. Was the first Sunday that St. Paul's had service perform'd in it since it was burnt in 1666.

6. I went to Kensington with the Sherif, Knights and cheife gentlemen of Surrey, to present their Address to the King. The Duke of Norfolk promis'd to introduce it, but came so late, that it was presented before he came. This insignificant ceremony was brought-in in Cromwell's time, and has ever since continu'd with offers of life and fortune to whoever happen'd to have the power. I din'd at Sir Richard Onslow's, who treated almost all the gentlemen in Surrey. When we had half din'd, the D. of Norfolk came in to make his excuse.

12. At the Temple Church, it was very long before the service began, staying for the Comptroler of the Inner Temple, where was to be kept a riotous and revelling Christmas according to custom.

18. At Lambeth, to Dr. Bentley about the Library at St. James's.

23. I return'd to Wotton.

1698. A greate Christmas kept at Wotton, open house, much company. I presented my booke of medails, &c. to divers Noblemen, before I expos'd it to sale.

2 Jan. Dr. Fulham, who lately married my niece, preach'd against Atheism, a very eloquent discourse, somewhat improper for most of the audience [at Wotton], but fitted for some other place, and very apposite to the profane temper of the age.

Whitehall burnt, nothing but walls and ruins left.

30. The imprisonment of the greate banker Duncombe : censur'd by Parliament ; acquitted by the Lords ; sent again to the Tower by the Commons.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 25 Jan. 1697-8. Charles Duncombe, Esq. M.P. was charged with making false indorsements on Exchequer bills, and was committed close prisoner to the Tower. 29. Being ill, his apothecary and his brother Anthony Duncombe were permitted to see him: He confessed his guilt, and was expelled the House. A bill was brought in for seizure of his estate, which was passed 26 Feb. after great opposition, 138 against 103. It was intitled 'An Act for punishing C. Duncombe, Esq. for contriving and advising the making false Indorsements of several Bills made forth at Receipt of the Exchequer, commonly called Exchequer Bills.' This being sent to the Lords, they desired a conference with the Commons, and not being satisfied, though he had acknowledged the fact, they discharged him from the Tower.

31 March, the Commons re-committed him. We do not find in the Journals of the House of Commons, that any thing further was done.

The Czar of Muscovy being come to England, and having a mind to see the building of ships, hir'd my house at Sayes Court, and made it his Court and Palace, new furnished for him by the King.<sup>1</sup>

21 April. The Czar went from my house to return home.—An exceeding sharp and cold season.

8 May. An extraordinary greate snow and frost, nipping the corn and other fruits. Corn at 9s. a bushel. [£18 a load.]

30. I din'd at Mr. Pepys, where I heard the rare voice of Mr. Pule, who was lately come from Italy, reputed the most excellent singer we had ever had. He sung severall compositions of the late Dr. Purcel.

5 June. Dr. White, late Bishop of Norwich, who had been ejected for not complying with Government, was buried in St. Gregory's Churchyard or Vault at St. Paul's. His herse was accompanied by 2 other Non-juror Bishops, Dr. Turner of Ely, and Dr. Lloyd, with 40 other Nonjuror Clergymen, who would not stay the office of the burial, because the Dean of St. Paul's had appointed a Conforming Minister to read the office, at which all much wondered, there being nothing in that office which mentioned the present King.

8 June. I went to congratulate the marriage of Mr. Godolphin with the Earl of Marlborough's daughter.

9. I went to Deptford to see how miserably the Czar had left my house after 3 months making it his Court. I got Sir Christopher Wren the King's surveyor, and Mr. London his gardener, to go and estimate the repairs, for which they allowed 150/. in their report to the Lords of the Treasury.—I then went to see the foundation of the Hall and Chapel at Greenwich Hospital.

6 August. I dined with Mr. Pepys, where was Capt. Dampier, who had been a famous Buccaneer, had brought hither the painted Prince Job,<sup>2</sup> and printed a relation of his very strange adventure, and his observations. He was now going abroad again by the King's encouragement, who furnished a ship of 290 tons. He seemed a more modest man than one would imagine by the relation of the crew he had assorted with. He brought a map of his observations of the course of the Winds in the South Sea, and assured us that the maps hitherto extant were all false as to the Pacific Sea, which he makes on the South of the Line, that on the North and running by the coast of Peru being extremely tempestuous.

25 Sept. Dr. Foy came to me to use my interest with Lord Sun-

<sup>1</sup> Whilst the Czar was in his house, Mr. Evelyn's servant writes to him: 'There is a house full of people, and right nasty. The Czar lies next your Library, and dines in the parlour next your study. He dines at 10 o'clock and 6 at night, is very seldom at home a whole day, very often in the King's Yard, or by water, dressed in several dresses. The King is expected there this day, the best parlour is pretty clean for him to be entertained in. The King pay for all he has.'

<sup>2</sup> Giolo, of whom there is a very curious engraved portrait, by Savage; also a smaller one, from the above, which is prefixed to a false account of his life. Mr. Evelyn mentions him in his 'Numismata.'

derland for his being made Professor of Physic at Oxford, in the King's gift. I went also to the Abp. in his behalf.

7 Dec. Being one of the Council of the Royal Society, I was named to be of the Committee to wait on our new President, the Lord Chancellor Lord Somers, our Secretary Dr. Sloane and Sir R. Southwell last Vice President carrying our book of Statutes: the office of the President being read, his Lordship subscribed his name, and took the oaths according to our Statutes as a Corporation for the improvement of natural knowledge. Then his Lordship made a short compliment concerning the honour the Society had done him, and how ready he would be to promote so noble a design, and come himself among us as often as his attendance on the public would permit; and so we took our leave.

18 December. Very warm, but exceeding stormy.

1699. Jan. My cousin Pierrepont died. She was daughter to Sir John Evelyn of Wilts, my father's nephew; she was widow of William Pierrepont, brother to the Marquiss of Dorchester, and mother to Evelyn Pierrepont, Earl of Kingston; a most excellent and prudent lady.

The House of Commons persist in refusing more than 7000 men to be a standing army, and no strangers to be in the number. This displeased the Court party. Our County member Sir O. Onslow opposed it also, which might reconcile him to the people, who began to suspect him.

17 Feb. My Grandson went to Oxford with Dr. Mander, the Master of Baliol College, where he was entered a Fellow Commoner.

19. A most furious wind, such as has not happened for many years, doing great damage to houses and trees, by the fall of which several persons were killed.

5 March. The old E. India Company lost their business against the *new* Company, by 10 votes in Parliament, so many of their friends being absent, going to see a tyger baited by dogs.

The persecuted Vaudois who were banished out of Savoy were received by the German Protestant Princes.

24 March. My only remaining Son died after a tedious languishing sickness, contracted in Ireland and increased here; to my exceeding grief and affliction, leaving me one Grandson, now at Oxford, whom I pray God to prosper and be the support of the Wotton family. He was aged 44 years and about 3 months. He had been 6 years one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, with great ability and reputation.

26. After an extraordinary storm, there came up the Thames a *whale* 56 feet long. Such, and a larger of the Spout kind, was killed there 40 years ago (June 1658). That year died Cromwell.

30. My deceased Son was buried in the vault at Wotton, according to his desire.

The Duke of Devon lost £1900 at a horse-race at Newmarket.

The King preferring his young favorite Earl of Albemarle<sup>1</sup> to be first Commander of his Guard, the Duke of Ormond laid down his Commission. This of the Dutch Lord passing over his head, was exceedingly resented by every body.

April. Lord Spencer purchased an incomparable Library<sup>2</sup> of . . . wherein among other rare books were several that were printed at the first invention of that wonderful art, as particularly 'Tully's Offices,' &c. There was a Homer and a Suidas in a very good Greek character and good paper, almost as ancient. This gentleman is a very fine scholar, whom from a child I have known. His tutor was one Florival of Geneva.

29 April. I dined with the Archbishop, but my business was to get him to persuade the King to purchase the late Bishop of Worcester's Library, and build a place for his own Library at St. James's, in the Park, the present one being too small.

3 May. At a meeting of the Royal Society I was nominated to be of the Committee to wait on the Lord Chancellor to move the King to purchase the Bp. of Worcester's Library (Dr. Edward Stillingfleet.)

4. The Court party have little influence in this Session.

7. The Duke of Ormond restored to his Commission.—All *Lottèries*, till now cheating the people, to be no longer permitted than to Christmas, except that for the benefit of Greenwich Hospital. Mr. Bridgman, chairman of the Committee for that charitable work, died; a great loss to it. He was Clerk of the Council, a very industrious useful man. I saw the library of Dr. John Moore<sup>3</sup>, Bp. of Norwich, one of the best and most ample collection of all sorts of good books in England, and he, one of the most learned men.

11 June. After a long drowth we had a refreshing shower. The day before there was a dreadful fire at Rotherhithe, neere the Thames side, which burnt divers ships, and consum'd neere 300 houses.—Now died the famous Dutchess of Mazarine, she had ben the richest lady in Europe. She was niece of Cardinal Mazarine, and was married to the richest subject in Europe, as is said. She was born at Rome, educated in France, and was an extraordinary beauty and wit, but dissolute and impatient of matrimonial restraint, so as to be abandon'd by her husband, and banish'd, when she came into England for shelter, liv'd on a

<sup>1</sup> Arnold Joost Van Keppel, created Earl of Albemarle, Viscount Bury, &c. in Feb. 1695-6, K.G. 1700, died in 1718, at the Hague, æt. 48.

<sup>2</sup> The foundation of the noble Library now at Blenheim.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Ely. He died 22 July, 1714. King George the First purchased this Library after the Bishop's death, for £6000, and presented it to the University of Cambridge, where it now is. This gift occasioned two most witty Epigrams on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; a Troop of horse being at this time sent to the former holding high Tory opinions; the Books to the latter holding those of the Whigs and strong attachment to the Hanover family. They may be seen in Noble's Continuation of Granger.

pension given her here, and is reported to have hasten'd her death by intemperate drinking strong spirits. She has written her own story and adventures, and so has her other extravagant sister, wife to the noble family of Colonna.

15. This week died Conyers Seymour, son of Sir Edw. Seymour, kill'd in a duel caus'd by a slight affront in St. James's Park, given him by one who was envious of his gallantries, for he was a vain foppish young man, who made a greate eclat about town by his splendid equipage and boundless expence. He was about 23 yeares old; his brother, now at Oxford, inherited an estate of £.7000 a year, which had fallen to him not 2 yeares before.

19 June. My cousin Geo. Evelyn of Nutfield died suddenly.

25. The heat has ben so great almost all this month, that I do not remember to have felt much greater in Italy, and this after a Winter the wettest, tho' not the coldest, that I remember for 50 yeares last past.

28. Finding my occasions called me so often to London, I took the remainder of the lease my Son had in a house in Dover Street, to which I now remov'd, not taking my goods from Wotton.

23 July. Seasonable showers after a continuance of excessive drowth and heat.

Aug. I drank the Shooters Hill waters. At Deptford they had ben building a pretty new Church.—The Bishop of St. David's [Watson] depriv'd for *simony*.—The city of Moscow burnt by the throwing of squibs.

3 Sept. There was in this weeke an eclipse of the sun, at which many were frighten'd by the predictions of the astrologers. I remember 50 yeares ago that many were so terrified by Lilly that they durst not go out of their houses.—A strange Earthquake at New Batavia in the East Indies.

4 Oct. My worthy Brother died at Wotton in the 83rd year of his age, of perfect memory and understanding. He was religious, sober, and temperate, and of so hospitable a nature, that no family in the county maintain'd that ancient custom of keeping, as it were, open house the whole yeare in the same manner, or gave more noble or free entertainment to the county on all occasions, so that his house was never free. There were sometimes 20 persons more than his family, and some that staid there all the Summer, to his no small expence; by this he gain'd the universal love of the county. He was born at Wotton, went from the free school at Guildford to Trinity Coll. Oxford, thence to the Middle Temple, as gentlemen of the best quality did, but without intention to study the law as a profession. He married the daughter of Colwall, of a worthy and ancient family in Leicestershire, by whom he had one son; she dying in 1643, left Geo. her son, an infant, who being educated liberally, after travelling abroad<sup>1</sup> return'd

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Evelyn, 30 Mar. 1664, in a letter to his nephew George Evelyn, then on his travels in

and married one Mrs. Gore, by whom he had several children, but only three daughters surviv'd : he was a young man of good understanding, but over indulging his ease and pleasure, grew so very corpulent, contrary to the constitution of the rest of his father's relations, that he died. My Brother afterwards married a noble and honourable lady, relict of Sir John Cotton, she being an Offley, a worthy and ancient Staffordshire family, by whom he had several children of both sexes. This lady died leaving only two daughters and a son. The younger daughter died before marriage ; the other afterwards married Sir Cyril Wych, a noble and learned gentleman (son of Sir . . . Wych), who had ben Ambassador at Constantinople, and was afterwards made one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. Before this marriage, her only brother married the daughter of ——— Eversfield of Sussex, of an honourable family, but left a widow without any child living : he died about 1691, and his wife not many yeares after, and my Brother resettled the whole estate on me. His sister Wych had a portion of £6000, to which was added about £300 more ; the three other daughters, with what I added, had about £5000 each. My Brother died on 5 Oct. in a good old age and greate reputation, making his beloved daughter Lady Wych sole Executrix, leaving me only his library and some pictures of my father, mother, &c. She buried him with extraordinary solemnity, rather as a nobleman than as a private gentleman. There were, as I computed, above 2000 persons at the funerall, all the gentlemen of the county doing him the last honours. I returned to London, till my lady should dispose of herselfe and family.

21 October. After an unusual warm and pleasant season, we were surpriz'd with a very sharp frost.—I presented my *Acetaria* dedicated to my Lord Chancellor, who return'd me thanks in an extraordinary civil letter.

25 Nov. There happen'd this weeke so thick a mist and fog that people lost their way in the streetes, it being so intense that no light of candles or torches yielded any (or but very little) direction. I was in it and in danger. Robberies were committed between the very lights which were fix'd between London and Kensington on both sides, and whilst coaches and travellers were passing. It began about four in the afternoone, and was quite gon by eight, without any wind to disperse it. At the Thames they beat drums to direct the watermen to make the shore.

19 Nov. At our Chapell in the evening there was a sermon preach'd by young Mr. Horneck, chaplain to Lord Guildford, whose lady's

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Italy, tells him that his father complained of his expences, as much exceeding those of his own, which were known to the young gentleman's father, as all the money passed through his hands. He says that when he travelled he kept a servant, sometimes two, entertained several masters, and made no inconsiderable collection of curiosities, all within £300 *per ann.*—He desires seeds of the ilex, phyllera, mirtle, jessamine, which he says are rare in England.

funeral had been celebrated magnificently the Thursday before. A panegyric was now pronounc'd, describing the extraordinary piety and excellently imploy'd life of this amiable young lady. She died in child-bed a few days before, to the excessive sorrow of her husband, who order'd the preacher to declare that it was on her exemplary life, exhortations and persuasions, that he totally chang'd the course of his life, which was before in greate danger of being perverted, following the mode of this dissolute age. Her devotion, early piety, charity, fastings, œconomy, disposition of her time in reading, praying, recollections in her own hand-writing of what she heard and read, and her conversation, were most exemplary.

24 November. I sign'd Dr. Blackwall's election to be the next yeares Boyle's Lecturer.

Such horrible robberies and murders were committed, as had not ben known in this nation ; atheism, profaneness, blasphemy, amongst all sorts, portended some judgment if not amended, on which a Society was set on foot, who oblig'd themselves to endeavour the reforming of it, in London and other places, and began to punish offenders and put the laws in more strict execution, which God Almighty prosper.—A gentle, calm, dry, temperate weather all this season of the yeare, but now came sharp, hard frost, and mist, but calm.

3 December. Calm, bright, and warm as in the middle of April. So continu'd on 21 January.—A great *earthquake* in Portugal.

The Parliament reverse the prodigious donations of the Irish forfeitures, which were intended to be set apart for discharging the vast national debt. They call'd some greate persons in the highest offices in question for setting the Greate Seale to the pardon of an *arch pirate*<sup>1</sup> who had turn'd pirate againe, and brought prizes into the West Indies, suspected to be conniv'd at on sharing the prey ; but the prevailing part in the House call'd Courtiers, out-voted the complaints, not by being more in number, but by the country party being negligent in attendance.

1700. 14 Jan. Dr. Lancaster, Vicar of St. Martin's, dismiss'd Mr. Stringfellow, who had ben made the first preacher at our Chapell by the Bishop of Lincoln [Dr. Tenison, now Archbp.] whilst he held St. Martin's by dispensation, and put in one Mr. Sandys, much against the inclination of those who frequented the Chapel.—The Scotch book about Darien was burnt by the hangman by vote of Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

25. I went to Wotton the first time after my brother's funerall, to furnish the house with necessaries, Lady Wych and my nephew Glan-

<sup>1</sup> Captain Kidd : he was hanged about two years afterwards with some of his accomplices. This was one of the charges brought by the Commons against Lord Somers.

<sup>2</sup> The volume alluded to was 'An Enquiry into the causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien : Or an Answer to a Libel, entituled, A Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien.' See Votes of the House of Commons, 18 January, 1699-1700.

ville the executors having sold and dispos'd of what goods were there of my brother's.—The weather was now altering into sharp and hard frost.

One Stephens<sup>1</sup> who preach'd before the House of Commons on K. Charles's martyrdom, told them that the observation of that day was not intended out of any detestation of his murder, but to be a lesson to other Kings and Rulers, how they ought to behave themselves towards their subjects, lest they should come to the same end. This was so resented that tho' it was usual to desire these anniversary sermons to be printed, they refus'd thanks to him, and order'd that in future no one should preach before them who was not either a Dean or a Doctor of Divinity.

4 Feb. The Parliament voted against the Scots settling in Darien as being prejudicial to our trade with Spain. They also voted that the exorbitant number of Attornies be lessen'd (now indeede swarming, and evidently causing law-suits and disturbance, eating out the estates of people, provoking them to go to law).—Died the Duke of Beaufort, a person of greate honour, prudence and estate.

18. Mild and calm season, with gentle frost, and little misling rain. The Vicar of St. Martin's frequently preach'd at Trinity Chapel in the afternoone.

8. The season was like April for warmth and mildnesse.—11. On Wednesday was a sermon at our Chapell, to be continu'd during Lent.

13. I was at the funerall of my Lady Temple, who was buried at Islington, brought from Adscomb neere Croydon. She left my son-in-law Draper (her nephew) the mansion house of Adscomb, very nobly and completely furnish'd, with the estate about it, with plate and jewels, to the value in all of about £.20,000. She was a very prudent lady, gave many greate legacies, with £.500 to the poore of Islington, where her husband Sir Purbeck Temple was buried, both dying without issue.

24 March. The season warm, gentle and exceeding pleasant.—Divers persons of quality enter'd into the Society for reformation of Manners; and some Lectures were set up, particularly in the City of London. The most eminent of the Clergy preach'd at Bow Church, after reading a Declaration set forth by the King to suppress the growing wickednesse; this began already to take some effect, as to common swearing, and oathes in the mouths of people of all ranks.

25. Dr. Burnet preach'd to-day before the Lord Mayor and a very greate congregation on 27 Proverbs v. 5 and 6. 'Open rebuke is better than secret love; the wounds of a friend are better than the

<sup>1</sup> William Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surrey. After the censure of his sermon by the House of Commons, he published it as in defiance. See more of this and of him in Manning and Bray's Hist. of Surrey, II. 487.

kisses of an enemy.' He made a very pathetic discourse concerning the necessity and advantage of friendly correction.

April. The Duke of Norfolk now succeeded in obtaining a divorce from his wife by the Parliament for adultery with Sir John Germaine, a Dutch gamester of mean extraction, who had got much by gaming; the Duke had leave to marry againe, so that if he should have children, the Dukedom will go from the late Lord Thomas's children, Papists indeede, but very hopefull and virtuous gentlemen, as was their father. The now Duke their uncle is a Protestant.

The Parliament nominated 14 persons to go into Ireland as Commissioners to dispose of the forfeited estates there, towards payment of the debts incurr'd by the late war, but which the King had in greate measure given to some of his favourites of both sexes, Dutch and others of little merit, and very unseasonably. That this might be don without suspicion of interest in the Parliament, it was ordered that no member of either House should be in the Commission.—The greate contest betweene the Lords and Commons concerning the Lords power of amendments and rejecting bills tack'd to the money bill, carried for the Commons. However this tacking of bills is a novel practice, suffer'd by K. Cha. II. who being continually in want of money, let any thing pass rather than not have wherewith to feed his extravagance. This was carried but by one voice in the Lords, all the Bishops following the Court, save one; so that neere 60 bills pass'd, to the greate triumph of the Commons and country party, but high regret of the Court, and those to whom the King had given large estates in Ireland. Pity it is that things should be brought to this extremity, the government of this nation being so equally poiz'd between King and Subject, but we are satisfied with nothing, and whilst there is no perfection on this side Heaven, methinks both might be contented without straining things too far.—Amongst the rest there pass'd a law as to Papists estates, that if one turn'd not Protestant before 18 yeares of age, it should passe to his next Protestant heire. This indeede seem'd a hard law, but not only the usage of the French King to his Protestant subjects, but the indiscreete insolence of the Papists here, going in triumphant and public processions with their Bishops, with banners and trumpets in divers places (as is said) in the Northern counties, has brought it on their party.

24 April. This weeke there was a greate change of State Officers.—The Duke of Shrewsbury resign'd his Lord Chamberlainship to the Earl of Jersey, the Duke's indisposition requiring his retreat. Mr. Vernon, Secretary of State, was put out.—The Seale was taken from the Lord Chancellor Somers, tho' he had ben acquitted by a greate majority of votes for what was charg'd against him in the House of Commons. This being in term time put some stop to business, many eminent lawyers refusing to accept the office, considering the uncer-

tainty of things in this fluctuating conjuncture. It is certaine that this Chancellor was a most excellent lawyer, very learned in all polite literature, a superior pen, master of a handsome style, and of easy conversation ; but he is said to make too much haste to be rich, as his predecessor, and most in place in this age did, to a more prodigious ex-cesse than was ever known. But the Commons had now so mortified the Court party, and property and liberty were so much invaded in all the neighbouring kingdoms, that their jealousy made them cautious, and every day strengthen'd the law which protected the people from tyranny.

A most glorious Spring, with hope of abundance of fruite of all kinds, and a propitious yeare.

10 May. The greate trial between Sir Walter Clarges and Mr. Sherwin concerning the legitimacy of the late Duke of Albermarle, on which depended an estate of £1500 a year ; the verdict was given for Sir Walter.—19. Serjeant Wright<sup>1</sup> at last accepted the Greate Seale.

24. I went from Dover street to Wotton for the rest of the Summer, and remov'd thither the rest of my goods from Sayes Court.

2 June. A sweete season, with a mixture of refreshing showers.

9—16. In the afternoone our Clergyman had a Catechism, which was continu'd for some time.

July. I was visited with illness, but it pleas'd God that I recover'd, for which praise be ascrib'd to Him by me, and that He has again so graciously advertiz'd me of my duty to prepare for my latter end, which at my greate age cannot be far off.

The Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne of Denmark, died of the small pox.

13. I went to Marden, which was originally a barren warren bought by Sir Robert Clayton, who built there a pretty house, and made such alteration by planting not only an infinite store of the best fruite, but so chang'd the natural situation of the hill, valleys and solitary mountains about it, that it rather represented some foreign country which would produce spontaneously pines, firs, cypress, yew, holly, and juniper ; they were come to their perfect growth, with walks, mazes, &c. amongst them, and were preserv'd with the utmost care, so that I who had seen it some yeares before in its naked and barren condition, was in admiration of it. The land was bought of Sir John Evelyn of Godstone, and was thus improv'd for pleasure and retirement by the vast charge and industry of this opulent citizen. He and his lady receiv'd us with greate civility.—The tombs in the Church at Croydon of Abps. Grindal, Whitgrist and other Abps. are fine and venerable, but none comparable to that of the late Abp. Sheldon, which being all of white marble, and of a stately ordnance and carvings, far surpass'd the rest, and I judge could not cost lesse than 7 or £800.

20 Sept. I went to Beddington, the ancient seate of the Carews, in

<sup>1</sup> Sir Nathan Wrighte, appointed Lord Keeper.

my remembrance a noble old structure, capacious, and in form of the buildings of the age of Hen. VIII. and Qu. Eliz. and proper for the old English hospitality, but now decaying with the house itself, heretofore adorn'd with ample gardens, and the first *orange trees*<sup>1</sup> that had been seen in England, planted in the open ground, and secur'd in Winter onely by a tabernacle of boards and stoves removable in Summer, that standing 120 yeares, large and goodly trees, and laden with fruite, were now in decay, as well as the Grotto, fountaines, cabinets and other curiosities in the house and abroad, it being now fallen to a child under age, and only kept by a servant or two from utter dilapidation. The estate and park about it also in decay.

23. I went to visite Mr. Pepys at Clapham where he has a very noble and wonderfully well furnish'd house, especially with India and Chinese curiosities. The offices and gardens well accommodated for pleasure and retirement.

31 Oct. My birth day now compleated the 80th year of my age. I with my soul render thanks to God, who, of his infinite mercy, not onely brought me out of many troubles, but this yeare restor'd me to health, after an ague and other infirmities of so greate an age, my sight, hearing and other senses and faculties tolerable, which I implore him to continue, with the pardon of my sins past, and grace to acknowledge by my improvement of his goodnesse the ensuing yeare, if it be his pleasure to protract my life, that I may be the better prepar'd for my last day, thro' the infinite merits of my blessed Saviour, the Lord Jesus, Amen.

5 Nov. Came the news of *my deare Grandson* (the only male of my family now remaining) being fallen ill of the *small-pox* at Oxford, which after the dire effects of it in my family, exceedingly afflicted me, but so it pleas'd my most mercifull God that being let blood at his first complaint, and by the extraordinary care of Dr. Mander (head of the College and now Vice Chancellor), who caused him to be brought and lodg'd in his own bed and bed-chamber, with the advice of his physician and care of his tutor, there were all faire hopes of his recovery, to our infinite comfort. We had a letter every day either from the Vice-Chancellor himselfe or his tutor.—17. Assurance of his recovery by a letter from himselfe.

There was a change of Greate Officers at Court. Lord Godolphin return'd to his former station of first Commissioner of the Treasury; Sir Cha. Hedges Secretary of State.

30 Nov. At the Royal Society, Lord Somers, the late Chancellor, was continu'd President.

8 Dec. Greate alterations of Officers at Court and elsewhere—Lord Cheif Justice Treby died; he was a learned man in his profession, of

<sup>1</sup> Oranges were eaten in this kingdom in the time of K. James I. if not earlier, as appears by the accounts of a Student in the Temple, which the Editor has seen.

which we have now few, never fewer; the Chancery requiring so little skill in deep law learning, if the practiser can talk eloquently in that Court, so that probably few care to study the law to any purpose.—Lord Marlborough Master of the Ordnance, in place of Lord Romney made Groom of the Stole. The Earl of Rochester goes Lord Lieutenant to Ireland.

1701. Jan. I finished the sale of North Stoake in Sussex to Robert Michell, Esq. appointed by my brother to be sold for payment of portions to my nieces, and other incumbrances on the estate.

4. An exceeding deepe snow and melted away as suddenly.

19. Severe frost, and such a tempest as threw down many chimnies, and did greate spoile at sea, and blew down above twenty trees of mine at Wotton.

9. The old Speaker laid aside, and Mr. Harley, an able gentleman, chosen. Our countryman Sir Richard Onslow, had a party for him.

27. By an order of the House of Commons, I laid before the Speaker the state of what had ben receiv'd and paid towards the building of Greenwich Hospital<sup>1</sup>.

Mr. Wye, rector of Wotton, died, a very worthy good man. I gave it to Dr. Bohun, a learned person and excellent preacher, who had ben my son's tutor, and liv'd long in my family.

18 March. I lett Sayes Court to Lord Carmarthen, son to the Duke of Leeds.—28. I went to the funeral of my sister Draper<sup>2</sup>, who was buried at Edmonton in greate state. Dr. Davenant displeas'd the Clergy now met in Convocation by a passage in his book, p. 40<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> JOHN EVELYN, Esq. Dr. to GREENWICH HOSPITAL.				Per Contra Creditor.			
Received in the year				By the Accompt in			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1696 . . .	3,416	0	0	1696 . . .	5,915	18	7
1697 . . .	6,836	16	3	1697 . . .	8,971	10	4
1698 . . .	14,967	8	4	1698 . . .	11,585	15	1
1699 . . .	14,024	13	4	1699 . . .	19,614	9	8
1700 . . .	19,241	1	3	1700 . . .	18,013	8	5
1701, June 16 . . .	10,834	2	3	1701 . . .	3,000	0	0
				Remaine in Cash . . .	219	1	4
	69,320	1	5				
Remaine in Lottery Tickets to be paid in ten years	£11,434				69,320	3	5
More in Malt Tickets . . . . .	1,000				69,320	3	5
	69,320						
	12,432						

In all . . . . . 81,752

Beside his Majesty . . . . . 6,000 and Subscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Mother of the gentleman who married Mr. Evelyn's daughter.

<sup>3</sup> Cha. Davenant, LL.D. (son of Sir William). The Book was 'Essays upon the Ballance of Power,' in which he says that many of those lately in play, have used their utmost endeavours to discountenance all revealed Religion. 'Are not many of us able to point to several persons, whom nothing has recommended to places of the highest trust, and often to rich benefices and dignities, but the open enmity which they have, almost from their cradles, professed to the Divinity of Christ?' The Convocation on reading the book, ordered papers to be fixed on several doors in Westminster Abbey, inviting the author, whoever he be, or any one of the many, to point out these persons, that they may be proceeded against. Biog. Brit. last edit.

April. A Dutch boy of about 8 or 9 years old was carried about by his parents to shewe, who had about the iris of one eye, the letters of *Deus meus*, and of the other *Elohim* in the Hebrew character. How this was don by artifice none could imagine ; his parents affirming that he was so born. It did not prejudice his sight, and he seem'd to be a lively playing boy. Every body went to see him ; physicians and philosophers examin'd it with greate accuracy, some considered it as artificial, others as almost supernatural.

4 April. The Duke of Norfolk died of an apoplexy, and Mr. Tho. Howard of complicated disease since his being cut for the stone ; he was one of the Tellers of the Exchequer. Mr. How made a Baron.

May. Some Kentish men delivering a petition to the House of Commons, were imprison'd<sup>1</sup>.

A greate dearth, no considerable raine having fallen for some months.

17. Very plentifull showers, the wind coming West and South.—The Bishops and Convocation at difference concerning the right of calling the Assembly and dissolving. Atterbury<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Wake<sup>3</sup> writing one against the other.

20 June. The Commons demanded a conference with the Lords on the trial of Lord Somers, which the Lords refus'd, and proceeding on the trial, the Commons would not attend, and he was acquitted.

22. I went to congratulate the arrival of that worthy and excellent person my Lord Galway, newly come out of Ireland, where he had behay'd himselfe so honestly, and to the exceeding satisfaction of the people ; but he was remov'd thence for being a Frenchman<sup>4</sup>, tho' they had not a more worthy, valiant, discreet, and trusty person in the two kingdoms, on whom they could have relied for his conduct and fitness. He was one who had deeply suffer'd, as well as the Marquiss his father, for being Protestants.

Aug. The weather chang'd from heate not much lesse than in Italy or Spain for some few days, to wet, dripping and cold with intermissions of faire.

July. My Lord Treasurer made my Grandson one of the Commissioners of the prizes, salary £500 per ann.

8. My Grandson went with Sir Simon Harcourt, the Solicitor General, to Windsor to wait on my Lord Treasurer. There had ben

<sup>1</sup> There were five of them, all gentlemen of considerable property and family in the county. There is a very good print of them, all on one plate. They desired the Parliament to mind the Publick more and their private heats less. They were confined till the prorogation, and were much visited. Burnet, V. 532.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Rochester.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Rouvigne, Earl of Galway in Ireland, son of the Marquis who was Ambassador from France to Charles II. He was created a Peer by King William, for his gallantry at the battle of the Boyne, where his brother also fought and was killed. He commanded afterwards both in Italy and Spain, where the fatal battle of Almanza put an end to his military glory. There is a mezzotinto portrait of him by Simon.

for some time a proposal of marrying my grandson to a daughter of Mrs. Boscawen, sister of my Lord Treasurer, which was now far advanced.

14. I subscrib'd towards rebuilding Oakwood Chapel (Wotton Parish), now after 200 years almost fallen down.

2 Sept. I went to Kensington and saw the house, plantations and gardens, the work of Mr. Wise, who was there to receive me.

The death of K. James happening on the 15th of this month N. S. after 2 or 3 days indisposition, put an end to that unhappy Prince's troubles, after a short and unprosperous reign, indiscreetly attempting to bring in Popery and make himselfe absolute in imitation of the French, hurried on by the impatience of the Jesuits, which the Nation would not indure.

Died the Earl of Bath, whose contest with Lord Montague about the Duke of Albemarle's estate, claiming under a Will suppos'd to have been forg'd, is said to have ben worth £10,000 to the lawyers. His eldest son shot himselfe a few days after his father's death, for what cause is not cleare. He was a most hopefull young man, and had behav'd so bravely against the Turks at the siege of Vienna, that the Emperor made him a Count of the Empire.—It was falsely reported that Sir Edw. Seymour was dead, a great man; he had often been Speaker, Treasurer of the Navy, and in many other lucrative offices. He was of a hasty spirit, not thought at all sincere, but head of the party at any time prevailing in Parliament.

29 Sept. I kept my first Courts in Surrey, which tooke up the whole weeke. My Steward was Mr. Hervey, a Counsellor, Justice of Peace and Member of Parliament, and my neighbour. I gave him 6 guineas, which was a galla a day, and to Mr. Martin his clerk, 3 guineas.

31 October. I was this day 81 complete, in tolerable health considering my greate age.

Dec. Great contentions about elections. I gave my vote and interest to Sir R. Onslow and Mr. Weston.

27. My grandson quitted Oxford.

1792. 21 January. At the Royal Society there was read and approv'd the delineation and description of my Tables of Veins and Arteries, by Mr. Cooper the chirurgeon, in order to their being engrav'd

8 March. The King had a fall from his horse and broke his collar bone, and having ben much indispos'd before, and anguish, with a long cough and other weaknesse, died this Sunday morning about four o'clock.

I carried my accounts of Greenwich Hospital to the Committee.

12 April. My Brother-in-law Glanville departed this life this morning after a long languishing illnesse, leaving a son by my sister, and

two grand-daughters.<sup>1</sup> Our relation and friendship had ben long and greate. He was a man of excellent parts. He died in the 84th year of his age, and will'd his body to be wrapp'd in lead and carried downe to Greenwich, put on board a-ship and buried in the sea betweene Dover and Calais, about the Goodwin sands, which was don on the Tuesday or Wednesday after. This occasioned much discourse, he having no relation at all to the sea. He was a gentleman of an ancient family in Devonshire, and married my sister Jane. By his prudent parsimony he much improv'd his fortune. He had a place in the Alienation Office, and might have ben an extraordinary man had he cultivated his parts.

My Steward at Wotton gave a very honest account of what he had laid out on repairs, amounting to £.1900.

3 May. The Report of the Committee sent to examine the state of Greenwich Hospital was deliver'd to the House of Commons, much to their satisfaction.—Lord Godolphin made Lord High Treasurer.

Being elected a member of the Society lately incorporated for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, I subscrib'd 10*l. per ann.* towards the carrying it on. We agreed that every Missioner, besides the 20*l.* to set him forth, should have 50*l. per ann.* out of the Stock of the Corporation till his settlement was worth to him 100*l. per ann.* We sent a young Divine to New York.

22 June. I din'd at the Abp's. with the new-made Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Nicholson, my worthy and learned correspondent.

27. I went to Wotton with my family for the rest of the Summer, and my son-in-law Draper with his family came to stay with us, his house at Adscomb being new building, so that my family was above 30.—Most of the new Parliament were chosen of Church of England principles, against the peevish party.—The Queene was magnificently entertain'd at Oxford and at all the townes she pass'd through on her way to Bath.

31 Oct. Arriv'd now to the 82nd year of my age, having read over all that pass'd since this day twelvemonth in these notes, I render solemn thanks to the Lord, imploring the pardon of my past sins, and the assistance of His grace; making new resolutions, and imploring that He will continue His assistance, and prepare me for my blessed Saviour's coming, that I may obtain a comfortable departure, after so long a term as has ben hitherto indulg'd me. I find by many infirmities

<sup>1</sup> One of these daughters became heiress of the family, and married William Evelyn of St. Cleer in Kent, son of George of Nutfield. He assumed the name of Glanville, but there being only daughters by this marriage, he had two sons by a second wife, and they resumed the name of Evelyn. The first of those sons left a son who died unmarried before he came of age, and a daughter who married Col. Hume, who has taken the name of Evelyn, but has no child; the second son of Mr. Glanville Evelyn married Lady Jane Leslie, who became Countess of Rothes in her own right, and left a son, George William, who became Earl of Rothes in right of his mother, and died in 1817, leaving no issue male.

this yeare (especially nephritic pains) that I much decline ; and yet of His infinite mercy retain my intellects and senses in greate measure above most of my age. I have this yeare repair'd much of the mansion-house and severall tenants' houses, and paid some of my debts and ingagements. My wife, children and family in health : for all which I most sincerely beseech Almighty God to accept of these my acknowledgments, and that if it be His holy will to continue me yet longer, it may be to the praise of His infinite grace, and salvation of my soul. Amen.

8 Nov. My kinsman John Evelyn of Nutfield, a young and very hopeful gentleman, and Member of Parliament, after having come to Wotton to see me, about 15 days past, went to London and there died of the *small pox*. He left a brother, a commander in the army in Holland, to inherit a faire estate.

Our affaires in so prosperous a condition both by sea and land that there has not ben so great an union in Parliament, Court and People, in memory of man, which God in mercy make us thankfull for and continue. The Bp. of Exeter preach'd before the Queene and both Houses of Parliament at St. Paul's ; they were wonderfully huzza'd in their passage, and splendidly entertain'd in the Citty.

Dec. The expectation now is what treasure will be found on breaking bulk of the Galleon brought from Vigo by Sir Ged. Rooke, which being made up in an extraordinary manner in the hold, was not begun to be open'd till the 5th of this month before 2 of the Privy Council, 2 of the chiefe Magistrates of the Citty, and the Lord Treasurer.

After the excesse of honour conferr'd by the Queene on the Earl of Marlborough, by making him a Knight of the Garter, and a Duke, for the successe of but one campaign, that he should desire £5000 a yeare to be settled on him by Parliament out of the Post Office, was thought a bold and unadvis'd request, as he had, besides his own considerable estate, above £30,000 a yeare in places and employments, with £50,000 at interest. He had married one daughter to the son of my Lord Treasurer Godolphin, another to the Earl of Sunderland, and a third to the Earl of Bridgewater. He is a very handsome person, well-spoken and affable, and supports his want of acquir'd knowledge by keeping good company.

1703. News of Vice Adm. Benbow's conflict with the French fleete in the West Indies, in which he gallantly behav'd himselfe and was wounded, and would have had extraordinary successe, had not 4 of his men of war stood spectators without coming to his assistance ; for this 2 of their commanders were tried by a Council of War and executed ;<sup>1</sup> a third was condemn'd to perpetual imprisonment, loss of pay and incapacity to serve in future. The fourth died.

<sup>1</sup> The Captains Kirby and Wade were tried and condemned to die by a Court Martial held on them in the West Indies—they were sent home in the Bristol, and on its arrival at Portsmouth were both shot on board, not being suffer'd to land on English ground.

Sir Richard Onslow and Mr. Oglethorpe (son of the late Sir Theo. O.) fought on occasion of some words which passed at a Committee of the House. Mr. Oglethorpe was disarm'd.—The Bill against occasional Conformity was lost by one vote.—Corn and provisions so cheape that the farmers are unable to pay their rents.

Feb. A famous cause at the King's Bench betweene Mr. Fenwick and his wife,<sup>1</sup> which went for him with a greate estate.—The Duke of Marlborough lost his only son at Cambridge by the *small pox*.—A greate Earthquake at Rome, &c.—A famous young woman, an Italian, was hir'd by our Comedians to sing on the stage, during so many plays, for which they gave her £500; which part by her voice alone at the end of 3 scenes she perform'd with such modesty and grace, and above all, with such skill, that there was never any who did anything comparable with their voices. She was to go home to the Court of the King of Prussia, and I believe carried with her out of this vain nation above £1000,<sup>2</sup> every body covetting to hear her at their private houses.

26 May. This day died Mr. Sam. Pepys, a very worthy, industrious and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the Navy, in which he had passed thro' all the most considerable offices, Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty, all which he performed with greate integrity. When K. James II. went out of England, he laid down his office, and would serve no more, but withdrawing himselfe from all public affaires, he liv'd at Clapham with his partner Mr. Hewer, formerly his clerk, in a very noble house and sweete place, where he enjoy'd the fruite of his labours in greate prosperity. He was universally belov'd, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skill'd in music, a very greate cherisher of learned men of whom he had the conversation. His library<sup>3</sup> and collection of other curiosities were of the most considerable, the models of ships especially. Besides what he publish'd of an Account of the Navy, as he found and left it, he had for divers yeares under his hand the History of the Navy, or *Navalia* as he call'd it; but how far advanc'd, and what will follow of his, is left, I suppose, to his sister's son Mr. Jackson, a young gentleman whom Mr. Pepys had educated in all sorts of usefull learning, sending to travel abroad, from whence he return'd with extraordinary accomplishments, and worthy to be heir. Mr. Pepys had ben for neere 40 yeares so much my particular friend that Mr. Jackson sent me com-

<sup>1</sup> She was daughter and heir of Sir Adam Brown of Betchworth Castle in Dorking, and married Mr. Fenwick. This suit probably related to a settlement which she had consented to make, by which the estate was limited to them and their issue, and the heir of the survivor. They had one son, who died without issue, and she survived her husband, thereby becoming entitled to dispose of it.

<sup>2</sup> What would Madame Mara or Catalani in these days think of such a paltry sum?

<sup>3</sup> His valuable library he gave to Magdalen College, Cambridge, together with his fine collection of prints, where they now remain in a very handsome room, and are to this day among the *videnda* of that University.

*pleat mourning*,<sup>1</sup> desiring me to be one to hold up the pall at his magnificent obsequies, but my indisposition hinder'd me from doing him this last office.

13 June. Rains have ben greate and continual, and now neere Midsummer, cold and wet.

11 July. I went to Adscomb, 16 miles from Wotton, to see my son-in law's new house, the outside, to the coveing, being such excellent brick work, bas'd with Portland stone, with the pilasters, windows and within, that I pronounc'd it in all the points of good and solid architecture to be one of the very best gentleman's houses in Surrey, when finish'd. I returned to Wotton in the evening tho' weary.

25 July. The last week in this month an uncommon long-continued rain, and the Sunday following thunder and lightning.

12 Aug. The new Commission for Greenwich Hospital was seal'd and open'd, at which my son-in-law Draper was present, to whom I resign'd my office of Treasurer. From August 1696 there had been expended in building £89,364. 14s. 8d.

31 Oct. This day, being 83 years of age, upon examining what concern'd me more particularly the past year, with the greate mercies of God preserving me, and in some measure making my infirmities tolerable, I gave God most hearty and humble thanks, beseeching Him to confirm to me the pardon of my sins past, and to prepare me for a better life by the virtue of His grace and mercy, for the sake of my blessed Saviour.

21 Nov. The wet and uncomfortable weather staying us from church this morning, our Dr. officiated in my family, at which were present above 20 domestics. He made an excellent discourse on 1 Cor. 15, v. 55, 56, of the vanity of this world and uncertainty of life, and the inexpressible happiness and satisfaction of a holy life, with pertinent inferences to prepare us for death and a future state. I gave him thanks, and told him I tooke it kindly as my funeral sermon.

26, 27. The effects of the hurricane and tempest of wind, rain and lightning thro' all the nation, especialy London, were very dismal. Many houses demolish'd and people kill'd. As to my own losses, the subversion of woods and timber, both ornamental and valuable, through my whole estate, and about my house the woods crowning the garden mount, and growing along the park meadow, the damage to my own dwelling, farms and outhouses, is almost tragical, not to be parallel'd with any thing happening in our age. I am not able to describe it, but submit to the pleasure of Almighty God.

7 Dec. I remov'd to Dover street, where I found all well, but house, trees, garden, &c. at Sayes Court suffer'd very much.

31. I made up my accounts, paid wages, gave rewards and new years gifts according to custom.

<sup>1</sup> A curious circumstance this.

1704. Jan. The King of Spain<sup>1</sup> landing at Portsmouth, came to Windsor, where he was magnificently entertain'd by the Queene, and behav'd himselfe so nobly that every body was taken with his graceful deportment. After 2 days, having presented the greate Ladies and others with very valuable jewells, he went back to Portsmouth and immediately imbarck'd for Spain.

16. The Lord Treasurer gave my grandson the office of Treasurer of the Stamp duties, with a salary of £.300 a year.

30. The Fast on the martydom of King Cha. I. was observ'd with more than usual solemnity.

May. Dr. Bathurst, President of Trin. Coll. Oxford, now died<sup>2</sup>, I think the oldest acquaintance now left me in the world. He was 86 years of age, stark blind, deafe, and memory lost, after having ben a person of admirable parts and learning. This is a serious alarm to me. God grant that I may profit by it. He built a very handsome Chapel to the College, and his own tomb. He gave a legacy of money, and the third part of his library, to his nephew Dr. Bohun, who went hence to his funeral.

7 Sept. This day was celebrated the thanksgiving for the late greate victory<sup>3</sup>, with the utmost pomp and splendour by the Queene, Court, greate Officers, Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Companies, &c. The streets were scaffolded from Temple bar, where the Lord Mayor presented her Majesty with the Sword, which she return'd. Every Company was rang'd under its banners, the Citty Militia without the rails, which were all hung with cloth suitable to the colour of the banner. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen were in their scarlet robes, with caparison'd horses; the Knight Marshall on horseback; the Foot Guards; the Queene in a rich coach with 8 horses, none with her but the Dutchess of Marlborough in a very plain garment, the Queene full of jewells. Music and trumpets at every Citty Company. The greate Officers of the Crown, Nobility and Bishops, all in coaches with 6 horses, besides innumerable servants, went to St. Paul's where the Deane preach'd. After this the Queene went back in the same order to St. James's. The Citty Companies feasted all the nobility and Bishops, and illuminated at night. Music for the Church and Anthems compos'd by the best Masters. The day before was wet and stormy, but this was one of the most serene and calm days that had been all the yeare.

October. The year has been very plentifull.

December. Lord Clarendon presented me with the 3 volumes of his Father's History of the Rebellion.

31 Oct. Being my birth-day and 84th year of my life, after particular reflections on my concerns and passages of the yeare, I set some con-

<sup>1</sup> Charles the Third, afterwards Emperor of Germany, by the title of Charles the Sixth.

<sup>2</sup> There is a very good life of him, with his portrait prefixed, by Mr. Thomas Warton, Fellow of Trinity College, and Poetry Professor at Oxford.

<sup>3</sup> Over the French and Bavarians at Blenheim, August 13, 1704.

siderable time of this day apart to recollect and examine my state and condition, giving God thanks, and acknowledging his infinite mercys to me and mine, begging his blessing, and imploring his protection for the year following.

Dec. My Lord of Canterbury wrote to me for suffrage for Mr. Clarke's continuance this yeare in the Boyle Lecture, which I willingly gave for his excellent performance of this year.

1705. 4 January. I din'd at Lambeth with the Abp. of Dublin, Dr. King, a sharp ready man in politics, as well as very learned.

June. The season very dry and hot.—I went to see Dr. Dickinson<sup>1</sup> the famous chymist. We had long conversation about the Philosopher's Elixir, which he believ'd attainable, and had seen projection himselfe by one who went under the name of Mundanus, who sometimes came among the adepts, but was unknown as to his country or abode; of this the Doctor has written a treatise in Latin, full of very astonishing relations. He is a very learned person, formerly a fellow of St. John's Coll. Oxford<sup>2</sup>, in which citty he practised physic, but has now altogether given it over, and lives retir'd, being very old and infirm, yet continuing chymistry.

I went to Greenwich Hospital, where they now began to take in wounded and worn-out seamen, who are exceeding well provided for. The buildings now going on are very magnificent.

9 Feb. I went to wait on my Lord Treasurer, where was the victorious Duke of Marlborough, who came to me and tooke me by the hand with extraordinary familiarity and civility, as formerly he was us'd to do, without any alteration of his good nature. He had a most rich George in a Sardonyx set with diamonds of very greate value; for the rest, very plain. I had not seen him for some yeares, and believ'd he might have forgotten me.

21. Remarkable fine weather. Agues and *small pox* prevail much in every place.

11 Mar. An exceeding dry season.—Greate loss by fire, burning the outhouses and famous stable of the Earl of Nottingham at Burleigh [Rutlandshire], full of rich goods and furniture, by the carelessness of a servant. A little before, the same happen'd at Lord Pembroke's at Wilton.—The old Countess of Northumberland, dowager of Algernon Percy, Admiral of the Fleete to K. Cha. I. died in the 83d yeare of her

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Dickinson of Merton College, Oxford, took the degree of batchelor of arts 22 June, 1647. He was living in Westminster in 1692, in good repute for his practice in the faculty of physic. He published several things. Wood's Fasti Oxon. p. 741.

<sup>2</sup> He was afterwards a Fellow of Merton. He died in 1707, aged 84. Dr. Campbell, in his edition of the Biog. Brit. speaks very highly of him; but Dr. Kippis, in the new edition of that work, differs much from the Doctor, though he allows him to have been a very learned man. Mr Evelyn must have mistaken Dr. Dickinson as to his not knowing who Mundanus was, as in 1686 the Doctor printed a letter to him with his answer from Paris; in the latter, Mundanus said he made two projections in his presence. Biog. Brit. art. Dickenson.

age. She was sister to the Earl of Suffolk, and left a greate estate her jointure to descend to the Duke of Somerset.<sup>1</sup>

May. The Bailiff of Westminster hang'd himself. He had an ill report.

On the death of the Emperor there was no mourning worn at Court because there was none at the Imperial Court on the death of our King William.

18. I went to see Sir John Chardine at Turnham Green, the gardens being very fine, and exceeding well planted with fruite.

20. Most extravagant expence to debauch and corrupt votes for Parliament members. I sent my grandson with his party of my freeholders to vote for Mr. Harvey of Combe.

Oct. Mr. Cowper<sup>2</sup> made Lord Keeper. Observing how uncertain greate officers are of continuing long in their places, he would not accept it unless £2000 a yeare were given him in reversion when he was put out, in consideration of his losse of practice. His predecessors, how little time soever they had the Seal, usually got £100,000, and made themselves Barons.—A new Secretary of State.—Lord Abington, Lieutenant of the Tower, displac'd, and General Churchill, brother to the Duke of Marlborough, put in. An indication of great unsteadiness somewhere, but thus the crafty Whig-party (as call'd) begin to change the face of the Court, in opposition to the High Churchmen, which was another distinction of a party from the Low Churchmen. The Parliament chose one Mr. Smith Speaker. There had never ben so greate an assembly of members on the first day of sitting, being more than 450. The votes both of the old, as well as the new, fell to those call'd Low Churchmen, contrary to all expectation.

31 October. I am this day arriv'd to the 85th year of my age. Lord teach me so to number my days to come that I may apply them to wisdom.

1706. 1 January. Making up my accounts for the past year, paid bills, wages, and new year's gifts according to custom. Tho' much indisposed and in so far advanc'd a stage, I went to our Chapel [in London] to give God public thanks, beseeching Almighty God to assist me and my family the ensuing yeare, if he should yet continue my pilgrimage here, and bring me at last to a better life with him in his heavenly kingdom. Divers of our friends and relations din'd with us this day.

27. My indisposition increasing, I was exceeding ill this whole week.

3 February. Notes of the sermons at the Chapel in the morning and afternoon, written with his own hand, conclude this Diary.

John Evelyn died on the 27th of this month.

<sup>1</sup> This Duke had married Eliz. Percy, widow of Lord Cole, only daughter and heir to Joceline Percy, the 11th and last Earl of Northumberland.

<sup>2</sup> William Cowper, created a Baron in 1706, and Lord Chancellor, afterwards Viscount Cardwich and Earl Cowper, by George the First.

## EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

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The following Letters are taken from Copies kept by Mr. Evelyn, and are given as Specimens of his Epistolary Correspondence. In those on serious subjects, there appears the most ardent piety : in those of friendship, the most sincere attachment, and gratitude : in those to Ladies, the most polite gallantry, expressed in easy language. In one to Mr. Thurland, a Barrister, whom he consulted in his legal affairs, he shews himselfe able to write with humour.

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To my Lady GARRET.

It had not ben now that the gratefull resentiments of your Ladyship's favour remained so long for a faire gale on this side, if the least opportunity had presented itselfe before the returne of this noble gentleman ; and howeuer Fortune (who esteemed it too greate a favour for me) has otherwise disposed of the Present which you sent me, I thinke myselfe to have received it as effectually in your Ladyship's designe and purpose, as if it were now glistening upon my finger. I am onely sorry, that because I missed that, I did not receiue your Com'ands, and that an obligation of so much vallue seemes to haue ben throwne away, whilst I remaine in another Country uselesse to you. I will not say, that the way to find what is lost, is to fling another after it ; but if any services of your Ladyship perished with that Jewell, there can be no danger in reinforcing your com'ands, and repairing the greater losse, seeing there is nothing in the world which with more passion I pretend to, then to continue, Madame,

Paris, 9th Octob: 1651.

Your Ladyships, &c.

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To Mr. THURLAND.

(Since Sir EDWARD THURLAND, and Baron of the Exchequer.)

Sir,

*Nemo habet tam certam manum ut non sæpe fallatur* ; and yet I hope my memory shall serue me for the subscribing this Epistle, which is more then yours (deare Lawyer could, it seemes, doe, when you sent me your Sum'ons for my Court at Warley, with all those sigillary formalities of a perfect Instrument. But this is a trifling σφάλμα ; and I easily supplied it, by taking the boldnesse to write a new Warrant in the most illfavour'd character I could, that it might be the more like to your fayre hand ; & so it was dispatch'd, onely the day altered to be the next before the Terme, since otherwise I could not haue appeared, and for which præsumption if you thinke fit to amerce me, I desire it

may be by the delegation of Mr. Jo. Barton *pro Vicario*; since whilst I thus indulge my noble Tennant, I may not neglect to reduce my Vassalls, *cum ita suggerent Chartæ sicut optime noveris*, &c. it being the advice of a greate Philosopher, and part of my Litanie, *Libera te primum metu mortis (illa enim nobis primum jugum imponit), deinde paupertatis*: The first I endeavor to secure by Physick, the latter by your learned counsell, the effects whereoff I much more desire to resent by the favour which (I am assured) you may do your servant in promoting his singular inclynations for Albury,<sup>1</sup> in case (as I am confident it will) that Seate be exposed to sale. I know you are potent, and may do much herein: and I shall eternally acknowledg to have derived from you all the favour and successe, which I augure to my selfe from your friendship and assistance: it being now in your power to fix a wanderer, oblige all my Relations, and by one integral cause, render me yours for ever. I suppose the place will invite many Candidates, but my Money is good, and it will be the sole and greatest obligation that it shall ever be in your power to doe for, Deare Lawyer,

London: 25: April, 1652.

Your, &c.

#### TO DR. (JEREMY) TAYLOR.<sup>2</sup>

The calamitie which lately arrived you, came to me so late, and with so much incertitude during my long absence from these parts, that 'till my returne, and earnest inquisition, I could not be cured of my very greate impatience to be satisfied concerning your condition. But so it pleased God, that when I had prepared to receive that sad newes, and deplore your restraint, I was assured of your release, and delivered of much sorrow. It were imprudent, and a character of much ignorance, to inquire into the cause of any good man's suffering in these sad tymes; yet if I have learned it out, 'twas not of my curiosity, but the discourse of some with whom I have had some habitudes since my coming home. I had read the Preface long since to your *Golden Grove*; remember, and infinitely justifie all that you haue there asserted. 'Tis true vallor or dare to be undon, and the consequent of truth hath euer ben in danger of his teeth, but it is a blessing if men escape so in these dayes, when, not the safties onely, but the Soules of men are betrayed: whilst such as you, & such excellent assistances as they afford us, are rendered criminal & suffer. But you, Sir, who haue furnished the world with so rare præcepts against the efforts of all secular disasters whatsoeuer, could neuer be destitute of those consolations which you haue so charitably and so piously præscribed unto others: Yea rather, this has

<sup>1</sup> Albury, in Surrey, a seat of Mr. Howard. Mr. Thurland was one of the Trustees appointed for the sale of it.

<sup>2</sup> The cause of this imprisonment does not appear, unless it were for the sentiments contained in his 'Twenty-five Sermons,' published in the preceding winter—or perhaps upon political suspicion, as he actually suffered incarceration in Chepstowe Castle in 1656 (during his well-known controversy with Bishop Warner), being suspected as an instigator of theurrection at Salisbury.

turned to our im'ense advantage, nor lesse to your glory, whilst men behold you living your owne Institutions, and preaching to us as effectually in your Chaines as in the Chaire, in the prison as in the pulpit : for methinkes, Sir, I heare you pronounce it, as indeede you act it—

*Aude aliquid brevibus gyaris et carcere dignum  
Si vis esse aliquis—*

that your example might shame such as betray any truth for feare of Men, whose mission and com'ission is from God. You, Sir, know in the general, and I must justifie in particular with infinite cognition, the benefit I haue received from the truths you haue delivered. I haue perused that excellent *Unum necessarium* of yours to my very greate satisfaction and direction : and do not doubt but it shall in tyme gaine upon all those exceptions, which I know you are not ignorant appeare against it. 'Tis a greate deale of courage, and a greate deale of perill, but to attempt the assault of an error so inveterate.

Αἱ δὲ κεναὶ κρίσεις τὸν ἀνέπαρον ὁδόν. false opinion knows no bottome, and reason and præscription meet in so few instances ; but certainly you greatly vindicate the Diuine goodnesse, which the ignorance of men and popular mistakes haue so long charged with injustice. But, Sir, you must expect with patience the event, and the fruites you contend for : as it shall be my dayly devotions for your successe, who remaine,

Sayes Court, 9 Feb. 1654.

Reverend Sir, &c.

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TO DR. JEREMY TAYLOR.

Reverend Sir,

It was another extraordinary charity which you did me, when you lately relieved my apprehensions of your danger, but that which I just now received : and though the general persecution re-inforce ; yet it is your particular which most concernes me in this sad catalysis and declension of piety to which we are reduced. But Sir, what is now to be don that the Starrs of our once bright hemisphere are every where pulling from their orbs ? I remember where you haue sayd it was the Harbinger of the Greate Day : and a very sober and learned person, my worthy friend, the greate Oughtred, did the other day seriously perswade me *parare in occursum*, and will needes haue the following yeares productiue of wonderfull, and universal changes. What to say of that I know not ; but certaine it is, we are brought to a sad condition. I speak concerning Secular yet religious Persons ; whose glory it will only be to lye buried in your ruines, a Monument too illustrious for such as I am.

For my part, I haue learned from your excellent assistances, to humble myselfe, and to adore the inscrutable pathes of the Most High.

God and his Truth are still the same though the foundations of the world be shaken. *Julianus Redivivus* can shut the Schooles indeede & the Temples ; but he cannot hinder our private intercourses and devotions, where the Breast is the Chappell and our Heart is the Altar. Obedience founded in the understanding will be the onely cure and re-traite. God will accept what remaines, and supply what is necessary. He is not obliged to externals, the purest ages passed under the cruellest persecutions ; it is sometymes necessary ; & this and the fulfilling of prophecy, are all instruments of greate advantage (even whilst they presse, and are incumbent) to those who can make a sanctified use of them. But as the thoughts of many hearts will be discovered, and multitudes scandaliz'd ; so are there diuers well disposed persons who will not know how to guide themselves, unlesse some such good men as you did discover the secret, and instruct them how they may secure their greatest interest, & steere their course in this darke and uncomfortable weather. Some such discourse would be highly seasonable now that the daily sacrifice is ceasing, and that all the exercise of your Functions is made criminal, that the Light of Israel is quenched. Where shall we now receive the Viaticum with safety ? How shall we be baptiz'd ? For to this passe it is come, Sir. The comfort is, the Captivity had no Temple, no Altar, no King. But did they not observe the Passover, nor circumcise ? had they no Priests & Prophets amongst them ? Many are weake in the Faith, and know not how to answer, nor whither to fly : and if upon the Apotheosis of that excellent person, under a malicious representation of his Martyrdome, engrauen in copper, & sent me by a friend from Bruxelles, the Jesuite could so bitterly sarcasme upon the embleme—

Projicis inventum caput, Anglia Ecclesia ! Cæsura

Si caput est, salvum corpus an esse potest ?—

how thinke you will they now insult, ravage, and breake in upon the Flock ; for the Shephards are smitten, and the Sheepe must of necessity be scattered, unlesse the greate Shepheard of Soules oppose, or some of his delegates reduce and direct us. Deare Sir, we are now preparing to take our last farewell (as they threaten) of God's service in this Citty, or any where else in publique. I must confesse it is a sad consideration ; but it is what God sees best, & to what we must submitt. The comfort is, *Deus providebit*. Sir, I have not yet been so happy as to see those papers which Mr. Royston tells me are printing, but I greatly rejoyce that you haue so happily fortified that batterie : and I doubt not but you will maintaine the seige : for you must not be discouraged for the passions of a few. Reason is reason to me where euer I find it, much more where it conduces to a designe so salutary & necessary. At least, I wonder that those who are not convinced by your Arguments, can possibly resist your Charity, & your Modesty : but as you haue greatly subdued my education in that

particular, and Controversy ; so am I confident tyme will render you many more Proselytes. And if all doe not come so freely in with their suffrages at first, you must with your accustomed patience attend the event.

Sir. I beseech God to conduct all your Labours, those of Religion to others, and of Loue and Affection to me, who remayne

Sir your, &c,

London: 18 March: 1655.

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TO DR. JEREMY TAYLOR.

(Since Bishop of Down and Connor in Ireland.)

Nothing but an affaire very greate and of consequence could stay me thus long from rendering you a personal acknowledgment for your late kind visite, and I trouble you with this because I feare I shall not be able to performe *that* 'till the later end of the weeke, but I shall, after this buisnesse is over (which concernes an accompt with a kindsman of mine), importune you with frequent visits, aud, I hope, prevaile with you that I may haue the honour to see you againe at my poore Villa, when my respects are lesse diverted, and that I may treat you without ceremonie or constraint. For it were fitting you did see how I live when I am by my selfe, who cannot but pronounce me guilty of many vanities, deprehending me (as you did) at a tyme when I was to gratifie so many curious persons, to whom I had ben greatly obliged, and for whom I have much vallue. I suppose you thinke me very happy in these outward things ; realy, I take so little satissfaction in them, that the censure of singularity would no way affright me from embracing an Hermitage, if I found that they did in the least distract my thoughts from better things ; or that I did not take more pleasure and incomparable felicity in that intercourse which it pleases God to permitt me, in vouchsafing so unworthy a person to prostrate himselfe before Him, and contemplate his goodnesse. These are indeede gay things, & men esteeme me happy, *Ego autem, peccatorum sordibus inquinatus, diebus ac noctibus opperior cum timore reddere novissimum quadrantem* : Whilst that accompt is in suspence, who can truely enjoy any thing in this life *sine verme* ? *Omnia enim tuta timeo* : My condition is too well ; and I do as often wonder at it, as suspect & feare it : and yet I thinke I am not to do any rash or indiscreete action, to make the world take notice of my singularity : though I do with all my heart wish for more solitude, who was euer most auerse from being neere a greate Citty, designed against it, and yet it was my fortune to pitch here, more out of necessity, and for the benefit of others, then choyce, or the least inclnation of my owne. But Sir, I will trouble you no farther with these trifles, though as to my Confessor I speake them. There are yet more behind. My Essay upon *Lucretius*, which I told you was engaged, is now printing, and (as I understand) neere finished : my Ani-

madversions upon it will I hope prouide against all the ill consequences, and totaly acquit me either of glory or impiety. The Captiue Woman was in the old Law to haue ben head-shauen, and her excræscencies pared off, before she was brought as a bride to the bed of her Lord. I hope I haue so done with this Author, as far-as I have penetrated, and for the rest I shall proceede with caution, and take your counsell. But, Sir, I detaine you too long, though with promises to render you a better account hereafter, both of my tyme and my studies, when I shall haue beged of you to impose some taske upon me, that may be usefull to the greate designe of Virtue and a holy Life, who am,

Sir, your &c.

Sayes-Court, 27 April : 1656.

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To my Brother G. EVELYN.<sup>1</sup>

Deare Bro:

Sayes-Court, 15 Decem. 1666.

I am so deeply sensible of the affliction which presses you, that I cannot forbear to let you understand how greate a share I have in the losse, and how reciprocal it is to us. For your part, I consider that your sex and your knowledge do better fortifie you against the com'on calamities and vicissitudes of these sublunary things : so that precepts to you were but impertinencys : though I also find that the Physitian himselfe has some times neede of the Physitian ; and that to condole and to counsell those who want nothing to support them but their owne virtue, is to relieue them of a considerable part of their affliction : But the feare which I haue that the tendernesse of so indulgent a Mother's affection (as is that of my deare Lady) may insensibly transgresse its bounds, to so huge a prejudice as we should all receive by it, (if her im'oderate grieffe should continue) makes me choose rather, being absent, to contribute what aydes I can towards its remedy, then, being present, to renew her sorrows by such expressions of resentment as of course use to fall from friends, but can add little to the cure, because but compliment. Nor do I hereby extenuate her prudence, whose virtue is able to oppose the rudest assaults of fortune ; but present my arguments as an instance of my care, not of my diffidence. I confesse there is cause of sadnesse : but all who are not stoicks know by experience, that in these lugubrious encounters our affections do sometymes outrun our reason. Nature herselfe has assigned places and instruments to the passions : and it were as well impiety as stupidity to be totaly *asópyos* and without natural affection : but we must remember withall that we grieve not as persons without hope : least whilst we sacrifice to our passions, we be found to offend against God, and by indulging an over kind nature redouble the losse, & loose our recompence. Children are such blossomes as every trifling wind defloweres, and to be disordered at their fall, were to be fond of certaine troubles, but the

<sup>1</sup> On the death of his son Richard.

most uncertaine comforts ; whilst the store of the more mature, which God has yet left you, invite both your resignation and your gratitude. So extraordinary prosperity as you have hitherto ben encircled with, was indeede to be suspected ; nor may he thinke to beare all his sailes, whose vessell (like yours).has been driven by the highest gale of felicity. We give hostages to fortune when we bring Children into the World : and how unstable this is we know, & must therefore hazard the adventure. God has suffer'd this for your exercise : seeke then as well your consolation in his rod, as in his staff. Are you offended that it has pleased Him to snatch your pretty Babes from the infinite contingencies of so perverse an age, in which there is so little temptation to live ? At least consider, that your Pledges are but gon a little before you : and that a part of you has taken possession of the Inheritance which you must one day enter, if ever you will be happy. Brother, when I reflect on the losse as it concernes our Family in general, I could recall my owne, and mingle my teares with you (for I have also lost some very deare to me) ; but when I consider the necessity of submitting to the divine arests, I am ready to dry them againe and be silent. There is nothing of us perished, but deposited : And say not that they might haue come later to their destiny : *Magna est felicitas, citò esse felicem* : 'tis no small hapynesse to be happy quickly. That which may fortune to all, we ought not to accuse for a few : and it is but reason to support that patiently, which cannot be prevented possibly. But I haue now don with the Philosopher, and will dismissee you with the Divine. Brother, be not ignorant concerning them which are asleepe, that you sorrow not euen as others which haue no hope : for if we belieue that Jesus died and rose againe ; euen so them also which sleepe in Jesus, will God bring with him. They are the words of St. Paul, and I can add nothing to them. In the meane tyme Auxilliarys against this enemy cannot render it the more formidable ; and though all grieffe of this nature haue a just rise : yet it may end in a dangerous fall : our dear Mother is a sad instance of it : and I conjure you to use all the art, and all the interest you are able, to compose your selfe, & console your excellent Lady, which (after I haue presented my particular resentiments) is what I would haue hereby assisted you in, who am,

Dear Brother, &c.

*Et consolamini alij alios istis sermonibus.*

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From Mr. BARLOW<sup>1</sup>, a Painter, on dedicating a Plate of Titian's Venus, engraven, to Mr. Evelyn.

Worthy Sir,

I haue beene boold to present you with a small peece of my endeavours. I hope your goodnes will pardon my confidence in that I have

<sup>1</sup> He was a native of Lincolnshire, and placed under Sheppard, a portrait painter ; but his

presumed to dedicate it vnto you, conceaving no one to be more woorthy, or to whom I am more obliged for those sivill favours I have receaved from you. It may seeme strange that I owne that an others name is to, but my occasions not permitting me so much spare time to finish it, Mr. Gawood my freind did, which [who] desyeres his name might be to it for his advantage in his practice, soe I consented to it. The drawing after the originall paynting I did, and the drawing and outlines of this plate. I finished the heads of both the figures, and the hands and feet, and likewise the doge and the landskape. As Eaching [etching] is not my profeshion, I hope you will not expect much from me. Sir, if you shall be pleased to honner my weake (yet willing) endeavours with your exseption, I shall ever rest obliged for this and former favours.

Your servant to command,

FRANCIS BARLOW.

From the Black-boy over agaynst St. Dunstan's, Fleat-street,  
this 22d of December, 1656.

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From Mr. EVELYN to Mr. BARLOW, in reply.

Sir,

I had no opportunity by the hand which convey'd it to returne you my acknowledgments for the present you lately sent me, and the honour which you haue conferred upon me, in no respect meriting either so greate a testimony of your affection, or the glorious Inscription, which might better haue become some greate and eminent Mæcenas to patronise, than a person so incompetent as you haue made choyce of. If I had ben acquainted with your designe, you should on my advice have nuncupated this handsome monument of your skill and dexterity to some Great one, whose relation might have been more considerable, both as to the encouragement, and the honour which you deserve. From me you can onely expect a reinforcement of that value and good esteeme which before your merites had justly acquired, and would haue perpetuated : of another you had purchased a new friend ; nor lesse obliged the old, because lesse exposed him to envy ; since by this you ascribe so much to me, that those who know me better, will on the one side be ready to censure your judgment, and on the other you put me out of all capacity of making you requitall. But since your affection has vanquished your reason so much to my advantage, though I wish the election were to make, yet I cannot but be very sensible of the signal honour, and the obligation which you haue put upon me. I should now extoll your courage in pursuing so noble an original, ex-

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genius led him to design after nature every species of animals, which he drew with great exactness, though his colouring was not equal to his designs. There are six books of Animals engraven from his drawings, and a set of cuts for Æsop's Fables. Some ceilings of birds he painted for noblemen and gentlemen in the Country ; and at Clandon, in Surrey, the seat of  
-<sup>d</sup> Onslow, are five pieces from his pencil. He died in 1702. Walpole's Anecdotes.

cuted with so much judgment and art : but I forbear to provoke your modesty, and shall in the meane tyme that I can giue you personal thanks, receiue your present as an instance of your great civility, and a memorial of my no lesse obligation to you, who remaine, Sir,

Your &c.

Sayes-Court 23 Decemb. 1656.

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To Mr. MADDOK.

(In behalfe of Dr. NEEDHAM, to assist him on the Charge of his com'encement at Camb.)

Sir,

I perceive by the successe of my Letter, & your most civil Reply, that I was not mistaken when I thought so nobly of you, and spake those little things neither in diffidence of your bounty or to instruct it, but to give you notice when it would arrive most seasonably, and because I found the modesty of the person might injure his fortune, as wel as the greatnesse of your kindnesse.—You are pleased to informe me of your course, and I cannot but infinitely approve of your motions, because I find they are designed to Places in order to things of greater advantage than the Vanity of the Eye onely, which to other Travalers has usually ben the temptation of making Tours. For at *Marseilles* and *Toulon* you will informe your selfe of the strength and furniture of the French on the Mediterranean Seas : you will see the Gallys, the Slaves, and in fine, a very map of the Levant ; for should you trauell as far as Constantinople it selfe, or to the bottome of the Straites, you would find but still the same thing: and the Maritime townes of Italy are no other. *Nismes* dos so much abound with Antiquities, that the difference 'twixt it and *Rome* is, that I thinke the latter has very few things more worth the visiting: and therefore it may as well present you with an idea of that greate Citty, as if you were an ocular spectator of it: for it is a perfect Epitome of it. *Montpelier* is the next in order, where I suppose you will make some longer stay ; because there are Schollars and Students, and many rarities about it. There is one Peter Borell a Physitian, who hath lately published 'Centuries Historical and Medico-Physical.' Montpelier was wont to be a place of rare opportunitie for the learning the many excellent receipts to make Perfumes, sweete Pouders, Pomamders, Antidots, and divers such curiosities, which I know you will not omitt ; for though they are indeede but trifles in comparison of more solid things, yet, if ever you should affect to live a retired life hereafter, you will take more pleasure in those Recreations then you can now imagine. And realy Gentlemens despising those vulgar things, deprive themselves of many advantages to improve their tyme, and do service to the desiderats of Philosophy, which is the onely part of learning best illustrated by Experiments, and after the study of Religion, certalnely the most noble and virtuous. Every body hath

Book-learning, which verily is of much ostentation, but of small fruit unlesse this also be super-added to it. I therefore conjure you that you do not lett passe, what ever offers it selfe to you in this nature, from whomsoever they come. Com'only indeede persons of meane condition possesse them, because their necessity renders them industrious: but if men of qualitie made it their delight also, Arts could not but receive infinite advantages, because they haue both meanes and leasure to improve & cultivate them: and as I said before there is nothing by which a good man may more sweetely passe his tyme. Such a person I look upon as a breathing treasure, a blessing to his friends, and an incomparable ornament to his country.—This is to you the true seedetyme, and wherein the foundations of all noble things must be layed. Make it not the field of repentance: For what can be more glorious then to be ignorant of nothing but of Vice, which indeede has no solid existence, and therefore is nothing? Seeke therefore after Nature, and contemplate that greate Volume of the Creatures whilst you haue no other distractions: procure to see Experiments, furnish your selfe with Receipts, Models, and things which are rare. In fine, neglect nothing, that at your returne, you may bring home other things then Talke, Feather, & Ribbon, the ordinary traffiq of vaine and fantastiq persons.—I must belieue that when you are in those parts of France you will not passe *Beaugensier*<sup>1</sup> without a visit; for certainly, though the Curiosities may be much dispersed since the tyme of the most noble *Peireskius*, yet the very genius of that place cannot but infuse admirable thoughts into you. But I suppose you carry the Life of that illustrious & incomparable Virtuoso always about you in your motions; not onely because it is so portable; but for that it is written in such excellent language by the pen of the greate Gassendus, and will be a fit Itinerary with you. When you returne to Paris againe, it will be good to refresh your Gymnastiq Exercises, to frequent the Court, the Barr, and the Schooles sometymes; but aboue all, procure acquaintances and settle a correspondence with Learned Men, by whom there are so many advantages to be made & experiments gotten. And I beseeche you forget not to informe your selfe as dilligently as may be, in things that belong to Gardening, for that will serue both your selfe and your friends for an infinite diversion: and so will you haue nothing to add to your accomplishment when you come home, but to looke ouer the Municipal Lawes of your owne Country, which your interest and your necessities will prompt you to: And then you may sweetely passe the rest of your dayes in reaping the harvest of all your paines, either by seruing your Country in some publiq employment (if the integrity of the tymes invite you) or by securing your owne felicity, and indeede the greatest upon earth, in a private unenvied condition, with those

<sup>1</sup> Belgenser, or Beaugensier, a town near Toulon, the birth-place of the celebrated Nicolaus Claudius Fabricius, Lord of Peiresk, Senator of the Parliament at Aix.

advantages which you will bring it of piety and knowledge. Oh the delice and reward of thus employing our youth ! What a beauty and satisfaction to haue spent ones youth innocently and virtuously ! What a calme & serenity to the Mind ! What a glory to your Country, to your Friends, a contentment to your Instructors : in sum'e, how greate a recompence & advantage to all your concernements ! And all this, Sir, I foresee and augure of Mr. Maddox, of whom may this be the least portion of his panegyriq, whilst it serues me onely to testifie how greate a part I take in all your prosperity, and how greate an honour I shall euer esteeme it to be accounted,

Sir, Your, &c.

Sayes-Court, 10 Jan. 1657.

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To the Lieutenant of the Tower <sup>1</sup>.

Sir

I should begin with the greater Apologie for this Adresse, did not the consideration of the nature of your greate employment and my feares to importune them carry with them an excuse which I haue hope to beleieve you will easily admitt. But as it is an errour to be troublesome to greate persons upon trifling affaires, so were it no lesse a crime to be silent in an occassion, wherein I may do an act of Charity, and reconcile a person to your good opinion, who has deserved so well, and I thinke is so innocent. Sir, I speake in behalfe of Dr. Taylor, of whom I understand you have conceived some displeasure for the mistake of his Printer, ; and the readiest way that I can thinke of to do him honour & bring him into esteeme with you, is, to beg of you, that you will please to giue him leaue to waite upon you, that you may learne from his owne mouth, as well as the world has done from his writings, how averse he is from any thing that he may be charged withall to his prejudice, and how greate an adversary he has euer ben in particular to the Popish Religion, against which he has employed his pen so signally, and with such successe. And when by this favour you shall haue don justice to all interests, I am not without fair hopes, that I shall have mutually obliged you both, by doing my endeavour to serve my worthy and pious Friend, and by bringing so innocent and deserving person into your protection ; who am

Sir, &c.

From Greenwich, 14 Jany. 1656-7.

<sup>1</sup> "This was written for another Gentleman, an acquaintance with the *villain* who was now Lieut. of the Tower, Baxter by name, for I never had the least knowledge of him."

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Jeremy Taylor had been committed prisoner to the Tower, for setting the picture of Christ praying before his collection of Offices, contrary to a new act concerning scandalous pictures, as they called them.

To Mr. E. THURLAND, afterwards Sir EDWARD THURLAND, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and an eminent Lawyer.

Sir,

I have ready your learned *Diatriba* concerning Prayer, & do exceedingly prayse your Method, nor lesse admire your Learning and Reason, which by so rare an artifice has made notions that are very difficult & abstracted in themselves, so apt and perspicuous : Besides your Arguments are drawne from the most irresistible and convincing topicks, and the designe not onely full of learning, but usefull also to a good life, which is indeede the right application of it. Sir, I am so much taken with your piece, and thinke it so excellent a Homily against that abounding ingredient now in the world, that I presume you shall not neede my perswasions to induce you to make it publique ; being a thing which may so greatly contribute to the cure of that epidemical madnesse, and the vindication of God's glory: since what Trismegistus so long tyme sayd is most true in our age, Ἡ μεγάλη νόσου τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ ἀθεότης. and Silius Italicus has interpreted with a complaint

*Heu primæ scelerum causæ mortalibus ægris,  
Naturam nescire Deum* —————

But because you have not onely don me the honour to com'unicate so freely your thoughts to me : but have also laid your com'ands that I should returne you my opinion of it ; Truely, I should both greatly injure the intrinsiq value of the Worke, as well as my greate esteeme of the Author, if I should say lesse then I have don : so that if I am bold, or impertinent in what followes, it will serve onely to make you the more admire your owne : when you shall find how little can be added to it. And you must onely blame the liberty you have given me, if my silence would have become more acceptable.

First then your Distribution is most methodical and logical, the Minor produced to assert the Thesis very closely and skillfully handled: but because your conclusion comes in so long after, whither may it not a little πλεοναζειν, considering that your argument is Prayer : I would therefore at the end of some of those Chapters, before you arrive to the maine Assumption, upon enumeration of the former Syllogismes, mention something of it (by way of enumeration) that so the thoughts of your Reader might not stray from the subject, which is to enforce the necessity of Prayer : or else alter the Title, and make it comprehensive of both the parts, as of God, and of Prayer, or something equivalent. I doe greatly approve the reasons you have given for that long digression, to convince those who doubted Democritus, Leucippus, Diogenes, Epicurus, and the late Pseudo-Politicks, with those who faintly assented, as Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, the Stoicks, Politicians, and Legislators : But I suppose that since Sextus Empiricus was but a dilligent collector of the placits and opinions of other Philosophers, you shall do more honour to your Book by omitting the so frequent

citing of him : It will sufficiently gratifie the Reader to see his scruples satisfied, and their errors convinced, without so particular an account whether you deduced the opinions from the Fountaine or from the Streame. And therefore you shall better cite Diogenes Laertius or Cicero then Campanella, for that passage concerning the qualities of Atomes : and it is more proper to alledge Basil de legendis Ethnicorum scriptis, Augustin de Doctrinâ Christianâ, or Socrates Scholasticus, to prove the lawfullnesse and benefit of asserting your opinions by examples out of Heathen Poets, &c. then Sir W. Raleigh's History of the World, who was but of yesterday. Neither would I mention Selden, where you might cite Lactantius, Clemens, Josephus, or Eusebius : because they are authors which every man will judge you might reade. And rather Fonseca, or indeede Molin, then Pinellus, who brought that opinion from them.—And here, by the way, touching what you affirme concerning the fallen Angels intuitive knowledg ; there be that will replie that Lucifer was never *in patriâ* but in *viâ* onely : for so St. August. in those excellent treatises De Corruptione et Gratiâ and De Dono Perseverantiæ. That the fallen Angels never saw God as *Authorem gratiæ* but as *cultorem naturæ*, enigmatically and not intuitively, being then in probation onely, as was Man, and had the same use of their will : God onely at that moment confirming Michael and his fellows who refused to come into the rebellious party, what tyme as he condemned the Dragon, and the rest of those lapsed Spirits.

Touching the Eternity of the World, I suppose you meane *de Eternitate absolutâ* : for it were else hard to say which was first, the Sun, or the Light which it projects ; since they are not onely inseperable but *simul tempore*. God created the World in his mind from eternity, say they : or as others, *Deus fecit æternitatem, æternitas fecit mundum*. So Mercurius in Pimander.

In that passage where you prove the existence of a Deity from the wonderfull structure of the Microcosme, Lactantius his booke de opificio Dei would extreamely delight and furnish you : And so, in all that *Scala visibilium ad invisibilia*, Dr. Charletons 'Darknesse of Atheisme,' C. 4. 1. 5. p. 130, which I therefore mention to you, because one would not say much of that which has already ben sayd in English : Would it not do also well to speake something of natural Conscience? —I suppose where you speake of the Pismire, and other Insects, you meane they have not an intellectual Memory : for a sensitive doubtlesse they have ; and here you might appositely have sayd something concerning that *Animalis Religio*, of which St. Ambrose speakes, distinguishing it from Aquinas *Religio rationalis*.

Concerning the Lenity of God, upon which you have most rationally dilated, the 10th Chapt. of the 1 Booke of Proclus would extreamely delight you. Touching the Knowledge of God, you must by all

meanes, consult that admirable little Treatise of M. Felix his Octavius; and St. Aug: de Concubitu Angelorum, about our prayers to them, in which you have so imitated the Divine St. Hierom, by your constant assertion of the Paradise deduced from Scripture, that more cannot be wished: yet something which St. Paul has sayd 2: Chapt. Epist. and Coloss. and in the 9th of Ecclesiast: may be applyed.

They affirme that the Devill may be an Aerial Body, and by that meanes enter into mens bodys without our perception: but I will not importune you further with these trifles: onely I will mind you of one passage of Jamblicus, speaking of the natural sense of God in Man. *Ante omnem* (saith he) *usum rationis inest naturaliter insita Deorum notio: imò tactus quidem divinitatis melior quam notitia*: and to that purpose Cicero de Nat. Deor: Seneca de Providentiâ, the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, and more expressely Lactantius, L. 3. C. 9. where he proves *cultum Dei* to be naturally in Man, making it a formal part of its definition, *Animal Rationale Religiosum*. To conclude, Augustine, Clemens, Lactantius, Cyrill, Arnobius, Justin Martyr of old,—of the neoteriq, Aquinas, Plæssis Morney, Dr. Andrews, Grotius, Dr. Hammond in a particular opusculum, I. L. Vives, Bradwardine de Causa Dei, Valesius de Sacra Philosophia, Campanella, and our most ingenious Mr. Moore in his Antidote against Atheisme, have all treated on this subject: but in so different a manner, and with so much confusion and prolixity, some few of them excepted, that it will greatly add to the worth and lustre of your piece, who have comprehended so much in so little and to so excellent purpose. I wish you had as perfectly made good your promise in what remaines, as in what you have begun, I meane, touching the forme, matter, posture, place, and other circumstances of Prayer, in which you would do wonders upon second thoughts.—Sir, I have ben bold to note some places with my black-leade where your Amanuensis has comitted some sphalmatas, and peradventure some expressions may be advantageously altered at your leasure. But there is nothing in all this by which you will more assert your owne judgment, then in leaving out the Eulogie which you are pleased to honour me withall, in citing me as an Author of any vallue. By this, Sir, you see how bold I am, both to trouble you with my follys, and then to beg pardon for them; but as I sayd at first, you must blame your selfe, partly for enjoyning me, and partly for allowing me no more tyme. But he that has the perusal of any of your discourses, cannot but emerge with the greatest advantages. It was the saying of the greate Salmasius and shall be myne, *Nihil moror Libros, et combustos omnes velim, si doctiores tantum, non etiam meliores, qui dant illis operam, reddere idonei sunt*. But such, Sir, is your excellent Booke, & such is your Conversation, from which I do allwayes returne both more learned and better, who am, Sir, your &c.

Sayes-Court 20 Jan: 1656-7

To Mr. BOYLE, Son of the Earle of CORKE.

Sir

I should infinitely blush at the slownesse of this Adresse, if a greate indisposition of body, and since, an unexpected Journey (from both which I am but lately delivered), had not im'ediately intervened, since you were pleased to com'and these trifles of me. I have omitted those of Brasse, &c. because they properly belonge to *Etching* and *Engraving*: which treatise, together with five others (viz: Paynting in Oyle, Miniature, Anealing in Glasse, Enamiling, and Marble Paper) I was once minded to publish for the benefit of the ingenious: but I have since ben put off from that designe, not knowing whether I should do well to gratifie so barbarous an Age, as I feare is approaching, with Curiosities of that nature, delivered with so much integrity as I intended them: and least by it, I should dissoblige some who made those professions their living: or at least debase so much of their esteeme by prostituting them to the vulgar. Rather, I conceived that a true and ingenuous discovery of these and the like arts would to better purpose be compiled for the use of that *Mathematico-Chymico-Mechanical Schoole* designed by our noble friend Dr. Wilkins, where they might be taught to those that either affected or deserved any of them: and from them, as from another Solomans house, so much of them onely made publique as should from tyme to tyme be judged convenient by the superintendent of that Schoole, for the reputation of Learning and benefit of the Nation. And upon this score there would be a most willing contribution of what ingenious persons know of this kind, & to which I should most freely dedicate what I have. In the mean tyme, Sir, I transmitt you this Varnish, and shall esteeme my selfe extreamely honoured, that you will farther com'and whatsoever else of this, or any other kinde I possesse, who am Sir, Your &c.

Sayes-Court, 9 May 1657.

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To Dr. JEREMY TAYLOR.

Sir,

Amongst the rest that are Tributaries to your worth, I make bold to present you with this small toaken; and though it beares no proportion either with my obligation or your merit; yet I hope you will accept it, as the product of what I haue employed for this purpose: and which you shall yearely receive so long as God makes me able, and that it may be useful to you. What I can handsomely doe for you by other friends, as occasions present themselves, may, I hope, in tyme supplie that which I would myselfe do. In order to which, I have already made one of my Brothers sensible of this opportunity to do God and his Church an acceptable seruice: I thinke I shall prevaile as much on the other: the effects whereoff will shew themselues, and care shall be taken that you have an accompt of all this in due tyme, and as you

shall your selfe desire it. I will not add, that by bringing you acquainted with persons of so much virtue (though I speake it of my neerest Relatiues) I do at all reinforce the kindnesse : since by it I oblige you mutually (for so *Beneficium dare socialis res est*), and because it is infinitely short of his respects who (with Philemon) owes you euen himselfe, and which, if I haue not sooner payed, I appeale to Philosophy, and the sentences of that wise man who, as some affirme, held intercourse with the Apostle him selfe : *Qui festinat utique reddere, non habet animum grati hominis, sed debitoris : et qui nimis cito cupit solvere, invitus debet : qui invitus debet, Ingratus est :* and Sir, you haue too far obliged me to be euer guilty of that crime who am,

Reverend Sir, &c.

Sayes-Court, 9 May, 1657.

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From Dr. JEREMY TAYLOR.

Honour'd and Deare Sir,

A Stranger came two nights since from you with a letter and a token: full of humanity & sweetnesse that was, and this, of charity. I know it is more blessed to give then to receive ; and yet as I no wayes repine at that Providence that forces me to receive, so neither can I envy that felicity of yours, not onely that you can, but that you doe give ; and as I rejoyce in that mercy which daily makes decrees in Heaven for my support & comfort, so I doe most thankfully adore the goodnesse of God to you, whom he consignes to greater glories by the ministeries of these graces. But Sir, what am I, or what can I doe, or what have I done that you can thinke I have or can oblige you ? Sir, you are too kind to mee, and oblige mee not onely beyond my merit, but beyond my modesty. I onely can love you, & honour you, and pray for you : and in all this I can not say but that I am behind hand with you, for I have found so great effluxes of all your worthinesses & charities, that I am a debtor for your prayers, for the comfort of your letters, for the charity of your hand, and the affections of your heart. Sir, though you are beyond the reach of my returnes, & my services are very short of touching you, yet if it were possible for mee to receive any commands, the obeying of which might signify my great regards of you, I could with some more confidence converse with a person so obliging ; but I am oblig'd and asham'd, and unable to say so much as I should doe to represent my selfe to be

Honour'd & Deare Sir

Your most affectionate & most obliged  
freind & Servant

JER. TAYLOR.

May 15, 1657.

To Dr. JEREMY TAYLOR,  
to come and Christen my Son GEORGE.

Sir,

I heartily acknowledg the Divine mercys to me, both in this, and many other instances of his goodnesse to me ; but for no earthly concernement more then for what He has conveyed me by your charity and ministration towards my eternal and better interest ; and for which I wish that any new gradations of duty to God, or acknowledgments to you from me, may in the least proportion second my greate obligations, and which you continue to reinforce by new and indelible favours, which I know my selfe to be so much the more unworthy off, as I am infinitely short of the least perfection that you ascribe to me. And because you best know how much a truth that is, I have not reason to looke upon that part of your Letter but as upon your owne emanations, which like the beames of the Sun on darke and opake bodys make them shine indeede faintly and by reflection. Every one knows from whence they are derived, and where is there native fountaine. And since this is all the Tribute which such dim lights repay. *τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέρουμεν*, I must never hope to oblige you ; but what I am able, that I will doe. Sir, I had forgotten to tell you, and it did indeede extreamely trouble me, that you are to expect my Coach to waite on you presently after dinner, that you are not to expose your selfe to the casualty of the Tydes in repairing to doe so Christian an office for Sir

Your &c.

Sayes Court, 9 June, 1657.

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From Dr. JEREMY TAYLOR.

Honour'd & Deare Sir

Your messinger prevented mine but an houre. But I am much pleased at the repitition of the Divine favour to you in the like instances ; that God hath given you another testimony of his love to your person, & of care of your family ; it is an engagement to you of new degrees of duty, which you cannot but superadde to the former, because the principle is genuine and prolific, and all the emanations of grace are univocal & alike. Sir, your kind letter hath so abundantly rewarded and crown'd my innocent indeavours in my descriptions of Friendship, that I perceive there is a friendship beyond what I have fancied, and a real material worthinesse beyond the heights of the most perfect ideas : and I know now where to make my booke perfect, and by an appendix to outdoe the first essay ; for when any thing shall be observ'd to be wanting in my character, I can tell them where to see the substance, more beauteous than the picture, and by sending the readers of my booke to be spectators of your life & worthinesse, they shall see what I would faine have taught them, by what you really are.

—Sir, I shall by the Grace of God waite upon you to-morrow, and doe the office you require ; and shall hope that your litle one may receive blessings according to the heartinesse of the prayers which I shall then & after make for him : that then also I shall wayte upon your worthy Brothers, I see it is a desyne both of your kindnesse & of the Divine Providence.

Sir, I am your  
Most affectionate & most faithfull friend & Servant  
JER. TAYLOR.

June 9, 1657.

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To Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sir,

By the reverse of this Medall, you will perceive how much reason I had to be affraid of my felicity, and how greatly it did import me to do all that I could to prevent what I have apprehended, what I deserved, and what I now feele. God has taken from us that deare Childe, your Grandson, your Godsonn, and with him all the joy and satisfaction that could be derived from the greatest hopes. A losse, so much the more to be deplored, as our contentments were extraordinary, and the indications of his future perfections as faire & legible as, yet, I ever saw, or read off in one so very young : You have, Sir, heard so much of this, that I may say it with the lesse crime & suspicion. And indeede his whole life was from the beginning so greate a miracle, that it were hard to exceede in the description of it, and which I should here yet attempt, by sum'ing up all the prodigies of it, and what a child at 5 yeares old (for he was little more) is capable off, had I not given you so many minute and particular accounts of it, by several expresses, when I then mentioned those things with the greatest joy, which now I write with as much sorrow and amasement. But so it is, that it has pleased God to dispose of him, and that Blossome (Fruit, rather I may say) is fallen ; a six days Quotidian having deprived us of him ; an accident that has made so greate a breach in all my contentments, as I do never hope to see repaired : because we are not in this life to be fed with wonders : and that I know you will hardly be able to support the affliction & the losse, who beare so greate a part in every thing that concernes me. But thus we must be reduced when God sees good, and I submitt ; since I had, therefore, this blessing for a punishment, & that I might feele the effects of my great unworthynesse. But I have begged of God that I might pay the fine heare, and if to such belonged the Kingdome of Heaven, I have one depositum there. *Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit* : blessed be his name : since without that consideration it were impossible to support it : for the stroke is so severe, that I find nothing in all Philosophy capable to allay the impression of it, beyond that of cutting the channell and dividing with our friends, who really sigh on our behalfe, and mingle with our

greater sorrows in accents of piety and compassion, which is all that can yet any ways alleviate the sadnesse of, Deare Sir, Your &c.

Sayes-Court, 14 Feb: 1657-8.

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From Dr. JEREMY TAYLOR.

Deare Sir,

If dividing and sharing greifes were like the cutting of rivers, I dare say to you, you would find your stream much abated ; for I account my selfe to have a great cause of sorrow not onely in the diminution of the numbers of your joyes & hopes, but in the losse of that pretty person, your strangely hopeful Boy. I cannot tell all my owne sorrowes without adding to yours ; & the causes of my real sadnesse in your losse are so just and so reasonable, that I can no otherwise comfort you but by telling you, that you have very great cause to mourne : So certaine it is, that greife does propagate as fire does. You have enkindled my funeral torch, & by joyning mine to yours, I doe but encrease the flame. *Hoc me malè urit*, is the best signification of my apprehension of your sad story. But Sir, I cannot choose but I must hold another & a brighter flame to you—it is already burning in your breast ; & if I can but remooove the darke side of the lanthorne, you haue enough within you to warme your selfe, & to shine to others. Remember, Sir, your two boyes are two bright starres, and their innocence is secur'd, & you shall never heare evil of them agayne. Their state is safe, & Heaven is given to them upon very easy termes ; nothing but to be borne & die. It will cost you more trouble to get where they are ; and amongst other things one of the hardnesses will be, that you must overcome even this just & reasonable greife ; and indeed, though the greife hath but too reasonable a cause, yet it is much more reasonable that you master it. For besides that they are no losers, but you are the person that complains, doe but consider what you would have suffer'd for their interest : you haue suffer'd them to goe from you, to be great Princes in a strange Country ; and if you can be content to suffer your own inconvenience for their interest, you command your worthiest love, & the question of mourning is at an end. But you have said & done well, when you looke upon it as a rod of God ; and He that so smites here, will spare hereafter : and if you by patience & submission imprint the discipline upon your owne flesh, you kill the cause, & make the effect very tolerable ; because it in some sense chosen, & therefore in no sense unsufferable. Sir, if you do not looke to it, time will snatch your honour from you, & reproach you for not effecting that by Christian philosophy which time will doe alone. And if you consider that of the bravest men in the world we find the seldest stories of their children, & the Apostles had none, & thousands of the worthiest persons that sound most in story died childlesse : you will find it is a rare act of Providence so to impose upon worthy men

a necessity of perpetuating their Names by worthy actions & discourses, governments & reasonings.—If the breach be neuer repair'd, it is because God does not see it fitt to be ; & if you will be of his mind, it will be much the better. But Sir, if you will pardon my zeale & passion for your comfort, I will readily confesse that you have no need of any discourse from me to comfort you. Sir, now you have an opportunity of serving God by passive graces : strive to be an example & a comfort to your Lady, and by your wise counsel & comfort stand in the breaches of your owne family, and make it appeare that you are more to her then ten sons. Sir, by the assistance of Almighty God I purpose to wait on you some time next weeke, that I may be a witnesse of your Christian courage & bravery ; & that I may see, that God neuer displeases you, as long as the maine stake is preserv'd, I meane your hopes & confidences of Heaven. Sir, I shal pray for all that you can want, that is, some degrees of comfort & a present mind; and shal alwayes doe you honour, and faine also would doe you service, if it were in the power, as it is in the affections and desires of,

Deare Sir,

Your most affectionate & obliged freind & servant.

JER. TAYLOR.

Feb. 17, 1657-8.

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TO EDWARD THURLAND, Esq.

Sir,

I understand that my Lord of Northumberland has some thoughts of sending his son, my Lord Percy, abroad to travaile, and withall to allow him an appoyntment so noble and considerable, as dos become his greatnesse, and the accomplishment of his education to the best improvement. My many yeares conversation abroad and relations there to persons of merite and qualitie, having afforded me severall opportunities to consider of effects of this nature by the successes, when Gentlemen of qualitie have ben sent beyond the Seas, resigned and concredited to the conduct of such as they call Governours, being for the greatest ingredient a pedantique sort of Schollars infinitely uninstructed for such an employment: My ambition to serve you, by contributing to the designes of a person so illustrious, and worthy of the honour which I find you alwayes beare towards his Lo'p, hath created in me the confidence to request your advice and returne upon these particulars. Whether my Lord persist still in his resolution? What equipage and *honorarium* my Lord dos allow? and whether he has not yet pitched upon any man to accompanye my young Lord, &c.? Because I would, through your mediation, recom'end to his Lo'p a person of honour, addresse in Court, rare erudition, languages and credite: who, I thinke, would upon my representing of the proposition, be ready to serve my lord in an affaire of this importance. I shall add

no more of the person, *quum habeat in se, quæ quum tibi nota fuerint συζαζικώτερα ώάσης έπισολής esse judicaberis*: and because, in truth, all that I can say will be infinitely inferior to his merite: being a person of integrity, greate experience and discretion; in a word, without reproach, and such as becomes my Lord to seeke out, that he may render his Sonne those honourable and decent advantages of the most refined conversations, things not to be encountered in a pension with a Pedant—the education of most of our Nobility abroad, which makes them returne (I pronounce it with a blushe) insolent and ignorant, debauched, and without the least tincture of those advantages to be hoped for through the prudent conduct of some brave man of parts, sober, active, and of universall addresse—in fine, such as the person I would recom'end, and the greatest Prince in Europe might emulate upon the like occasion: and therefore such a one, as I cannot presume would descend to my proposition for any person of our Nation excepting my Lord of Northumberland alone, whose education of his Sonne, I heare, has ben of another streine and alloy, then that we have mentioned: and such as will giue countenance and honour to a person of his merite, character, and abilities. It is not enough that persons of my L. Percy's qualitie be taught to daunce, and to ride, to speake languages and wear his cloathes with a good grace (which are the verie shells of travail), but, besides all these, that he know men, customes, courts, and disciplines, and whatsoever superiour excellencys the places afford, befitting a person of birth and noble impressions. This is, Sir, the fruite of travail: thus our incomparable Sidney was bred; and this, *tanquam Minerva Phidiæ*, sets the crowne upon his perfections, when a gallant man shall returne with religion and courage, knowledge and modestie, without pedantry, without affectation, materiall and serious, to the contentment of his relations, the glory of his family, the star and ornament of his age. This is truely to give a Citizen to his Country. Youth is the seede-tyme in which the foundation of all noble things is to be layd: but it is made the field of Repentance. For what can become more glorious then to be ignorant of nothing but of Vice, which indeede has no solid existency, and therefore is nothing? And unlesse we thus cultivate our youth, and noblemen make wiser provisions for their educations abroad, above the vanity of Talke, Feather, and Ribbon, the ordinary com'erce and import of their wild pererrations, I despayre of ever living to see a man truely noble indeede: they may be called 'My Lord;' titles are sounds and inferior trifles; but when Virtue and blood are coincidents, they both add lustre and mutual excellencys. This is what my Lord takes care to secure to his Sonne, what I foresee and augure of my noble lord Percy, and of whom (though to me no otherwise known then by fame) may this be the least portion of his panegyrick, whilst it concernes me onely to testifie without designe, my zeale for one whom I know you

so highly vallue; *quanto enim mihi carior est amicitia tua, tanto antiquior mihi esse debet cura, illam omnibus officiis testandi*; which, Sir, is the product of this impertinency, and sole ambition of, Sir, your, &c.

Sayes Court, 8 Nov. 1658.

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To my Co: GEO. TUKE of Cressing Temple in Essex.

Jan. 1658-9.

Speaking of his brother having been made a proselyte to the Church of Rome:—‘For the rest, we must com’itt to Providence the succeſſe of tymes & mitigation of Proselytical fervours; having for my owne p’ticular a very greate Charity for all who sincerely adore the blessed Jesus, our com’on & deare Saviour, as being full of hope that God (however the present zeale of some & the scandels taken by others at the instant afflictions of the Church of England may transport them) will at last compassionate our infirmities, clarifie our judgments and make abatement for our ignorances, superstructures, passions & errours of corrupt tymes & interests, of which the Roman persuasion can no way acquit herself, whatever the present prosperity & secular polity may pretend. But God will make all things manifest in his own tyme; onely let us possess ourselves in patience & charity; this will cover a multitude of imperfections.’

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To Dr. WILKINS.

President of our Society at Gressham Coll:  
(afterwards Dean of Ripon and Bishop of Chester.)

Sir,

Though I suppose it might be a mistake that there was a Meeting appoynted to-morrow (being a day of publique solemnity and devotion), yet because I am uncertaine, and would not disobey your com’ands, I here send you my trifling observations concerning the Anatomy of Trees, and their vegetative motion. It is certaine, as Dr. Goddard has shewed, that a section of any tree made parallel to the Horizon, will by the closenesse of the circles point to the North, and so consequently, if a perpendicular be drawne through them for the Meridian, the rest of the Cardinals, &c. found out; but this is not so universall, but that where strong reflections are made, as from walls, the warme fumes of dunghills, & especialy if the southern side be shaded, &c. those ellipticall and hyperbolicall circles are sometimes very irregular; and I

<sup>1</sup> See Mrs. Evelyn’s character of him in a letter to Lady Tuke on his death. Sir Sam. Tuke of Cressing Temple in Essex, Bart. was a Colonel in the King’s service during the civil war, and afterwards being one of those that attempted to form a body in Essex for King Charles, he narrowly escaped with his life. He married Mary Sheldon, one of Queen Catherine’s dressers, and died at Somerset House, Jan. 26, 1673. Dodd’s Church History, III. 251. His accomplished son followed the fortune of King James, and was killed at the Battle of the Boyne.

doubt not but by some art might be made to have their circles as orderly, as those which we find in Brasile, Ebene, &c. which within a very little concenter by reason of the uniforme course of the Sun about them ; which is doubtlesse the cause of their greater dilatation on the south part onely with us, when the pores are more open, & lesse constipated. The consideration whereof (though no where mention'd that I know) made the Poet, giving advice concerning transplantations to caution thus,

Quin etiam Coeli regionem in cortice signant,  
Ut quo quæque modo steterit, qua parte calores  
Austrinos tulerit, quæ terga obverterit axi,

Restituant : adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.

And though Pliny neglect it as an unnecessary curiosity, I can by much experience confirme it, that not one Tree in 100 would miscarry were it duly observed : for in some I have made triall of it even at Midsommer. But what I would add is touching the Graine of many woods, and the reason of it, which I take to be the descent, as well as the ascent of moysture : for what else becomes of that water which is frequently found in the cavities where many branches spread themselves at the topps of greate trees, especialy pollards, unlesse (according to its natural appetite) it sinke into the very body of the stem through the pores? For example : in the Wallnut, you shall find when 'tis old, that the wood is rarely figur'd and marbled as it were, & therefore much more esteemed by Joyners, &c. than the young, which is whiter & without any grains : for the raine distilling along the branches, where many of them come out in clusters together from the stem, sinkes in, and is the cause of these markes ; for it is exceedingly full of pores. Do but plane a thin chipp off from one of these old Trees, and interpose it 'twixt your eye and the light, and you shall perceive it full of innumerable holes. But above all conspicuous for these workes and damaskings, is the Maple (a finer sort whereof the Germans call Air, and therefore much sought after by the Instrument makers) : 'tis notorious that this tree is full of branches from the very roote to the su'mite, by reason it bears no considerable fruite. These branches being frequently cutt, the head is the more surcharged with them, which spreading like so many raies from the center, forme that cavity at the top of the stem whence they shoote, as contains a good quantity of water every time it raines : This sinking into the pores, as we hinted before, is compelled to diverte its course as it passes through the body of the tree, wherever it finds the knott of any of these branches which were cutt off from the stem of the tree ; because their rootes not onely deeply penetrate towards the heart, but are likewise of themselves very hard and impervious : and the frequent obliquity of this course of the subsiding waters, by reason of these obstacles, is the cause of those curious and rare undulations & workes

which we find remarkable in this and other woods, whose branches grow thick from the stem.

Sir, I know not whether I have well explain'd my conception, but such as it is, I offer it, and it was your com'ands I should do so, together with that Treatise or History of Chalcography, as part of the taske you have impos'd; but with this hope & humble request, that knowing upon what other subject I was engaged before I had the honour to be elected one of this august Society, I may obtaine its indulgence, not to expect many other things from me 'till it be accomplished; rather that you will take all occasions which may contribute to my designe. It is there, Sir, that I have at large discours'd of the Vegetation of Plants, and upon that argument which Sir K. Digby & the rest so long discours'd at our last encounter, but it shall not be so in this paper, which is now at an end, &c.

Your &c.

Sayes Court, 17 Feb. 1660.

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To THO. CHIFFING, Esq. Page of the back stairs to his Majesty  
and Keeper of his Closet.

In answer to the laudable design of his Majesty for fit repositories of those precious Treasures & Curiosities com'itted to your charge; I conceive you may compleately martial them in a Catalogue (as there set forth). This were in truth a noble way to preserve his treasure intire; so as upon occasion to permit a sight of it to greate Princes & curious Strangers; for it is great pity it should not be made as famous as the Cabinet of the Duke of Florence, & other foraign princes, which are onely celebrated for [by] being more universally known, & not because his Majesties collection is not altogether as worthy, His Majestie being likewise himself so exquisite a judge, as well as possessor, of so many rare things as might render not onely Whitehall, but the whole Nation, famous for it abroad.

If it be his Majesty's pleasure, I shall whenever you call upon me & that it may least importune his privacy, make the inventory of particulars.

To this I would have added, in another Register, the names & portraitures of all the exotic & rare Beasts & Fowls which have at any time been presented to his Majesty, & which are daily sent to his Paradise at St. James's Parke.

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To my Lady COTTON,  
Wife to his brother George Evelyn of Wotton.

Madame,

It was by a Visite which was made us this afternoon, that we heard how it had pleased God to dispose of the little sweete Babe; and, withall, how much the losse of it does yet afflict you. Whatsoever

concernes you in this kind is, Madame, a com'on diminution to the Familie, and touches every particular of it ; but so as our resentments hold proportion to the cause, and that the losse of one dos not take away the comfort and the contentment which we ought to have in those who are left ; since we must pretend to nothing here, but upon the conditions of Mortalitie, and ten thousand other accidents ; and that we may learne to place our felicities in our obedience to the Will of God, which is allways the best, and to sacrifice our affections upon that Altar, which can consecrate our very losses, and turne them to our greatest advantage. Madame, I have heard with infinite satisfaction how graciously God had restor'd you your health : Why should you now impaire it againe by an excesse of Griefe, which can recalle nothing that God has taken to himselfe in exchange without a kind of ingratitude ? There be some may happly sooth your Ladyship in this sensible part (which was the destruction of my deare Mother) ; but your Ladyship's discretion ought to fortifie you against it before it become habitual and dangerous. Remember that you have an Husband who loves you intirely ; that you have other Children who will neede your conduct ; that you have many Friends, and a prosperous Family. Pluck up your spirits then, and at once vanquish these hurtfull tendernesses. It is the vote of all that honor & love you ; it is what God requires of you, and what I conjure you to resolve upon ; and I beseech your La'p., let this expresse bring us some fairer confidences of it, then the com'on report dos represent it, to the grieve of  
 Madame, Your, &c.

Sayes Court, 9 Sept. 1662.

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To Mr. VANDER DOUSE,  
 Grandson to the greate JANUS DOUSA.

Sir,

I have to the best of my skill translated your Relation of China ; if you find the Argument omitted, it is for that I thought it superfluous, being almost as large as the Text ; but I have yet left a sufficient space where you may (if you thinke good) insert it. In the meane time, it would be consider'd, whether this whole piece will be to the purpose, there having ben of late so many accurate descriptions of those Countries in particular, as what Father Alvarez Semedo has publish'd in the Italian ; Vincent Le Blanc in French ; and Mandelslo in High Dutch ; not omitting the Adventures & Travels of Pinto in Spanish ; all of them now speaking the English language. At least I conceive, that you might not do amisse to peruse their workes, and upon comparing of them with this piece of yours, to observe what there is more accurate and instructive ; lest you otherwise seeme *actum agere*, as the word is: But this, Sir, I remit to your better judgement, who am

Sayes Court 13: Sept: 1662.

Sir, Your, &c.

To Mr. (afterwards Dr.) CROONE, Professor of Rhetoric, at Gresham College, London.

Sir,

It has neither proceeded from the unmindfulness of your desires, or your deserts, that I had not long before this gratified your inclinations, in finding you out a condition, which it might become you to embrace, if you still continue your laudable curiosity, by wishing for some opportunity to travell, and see the World. There have pass'd occasions (and some which did neerely concerne my Relations) when I might happily have engag'd you ; but having long had a greater ambition to serve you, since I had this in prospect, I rather choose to dispence with my owne advantages, that I might comply with yours. My worthy and most noble Friend Mr. Henry Howard, has by my Cō: Tuke signified to me his desires of some fit person to instruct, and travell with his two incomparable children ; and I immediately suggested Mr. Croone to them, with such recco'mendations and civilities as were due to his merits, and as became me. This being cherefully embrac'd on their part, it will now be yours to second it. All I shall say for your present encouragement, is but this : England shall never present you with an equal opportunity ; nor were it the least diminution that Mr. Croone, or indeede one of the best Gentlemen of the nation, should have the Tuition of an heire to the Duke of Norfolke, (after the Royal Family) the greatest Prince in it. But the Title is not the thinge I would invite you to, in an age so universally deprav'd amongst our wretched Nobility. You will here come into a most opulent worthy family, and in which I prognosticate (and I have it assur'd me) you shall make your fortune, without any further dependances : For the persons who governe there, have both the meanes to be very gratefull, and as generous a propensity to it as any family in England: Sir, if you thinke fit to lay hold on this occasion, I shall take a tyme to discourse to you of some other particulars which the limits of an hasty Letter will not permitt me to insert. I have ben bold to leave this for you at the Colledge ; because I was uncertaine of seeing you, and that I have promis'd to give my Friends an account of its reception. If your affaires could so far dispence with you, as to afford me an afternoones visite at my poore Villa, I should with more liberty conferr with you about it, and in hope of that favour I remaine,

Sir, Your, &c.

Sayes Court 11: July: 1663.

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To Dr. PIERCE, President of Magdalen Coll. in Oxford ; and one of his Majesty's Chaplaines in Ordinary.

Reverend Sir,

Being not long since at Somersett-house, to do my duty to her Majesty the Queene Mother, I fortun'd to encounter Dr. Goffee. One

of the first things he ask'd me was, whither I had seene Mr. Cressy's<sup>1</sup> Reply to Dr. Pierce's so much celebrated Sermon? I told him, I had heard much of it, but not as yet seene it : upon which he made me an offer to present me with one of the bookes, but being in hast, and with a friend, I easily excus'd his civility, that I could not well stay 'till he should come back from his lodging: In the meane time he gave no ordinary encomiums of your rare piece, which he exceedingly magnified, as beyond all answer; and to reinforce the triumph, he told me that you had written a Letter to some friend of yours (a copy whereof he believed he should shortly produce) wherein (after you had express'd your greate resentment that some of the Bishops had made you their property, in putting you upon that ungratefull argument) you totally declin'd to engage any farther in the controversy; intimating that you would leave it at the Bishops dores, and trouble yourselfe no more with it: This (or words to this effect) being spoken to myselfe, and to some others who stood by, would have weigh'd more with me, had I not been as well acquainted with these kind of artifices to gaine Proselytes by, as of your greater discretion never to have written such a letter, and abilities to vindicate what you have publish'd, when you should see your time. Nor had I likely thought more of it, had not my Lord of Canterbury, the Bp. of Winchester, together with my Lord Chancelor (to whom upon some occasion of private discourse, I recounted the passage) expressly injoynd me to give you notice of it; because they thought it did highly concerne you; and that you would take it civilly from me. And, Sir, I have don it faithfully; but with this humble request, that (unlesse there be very greate cause for it) you will be tender of mentioning by what hand your intelligence comes; because it may do me some injury.

Sir, I am perfectly assur'd, that you will do both yourselfe and the Church of England that right, which becomes you upon this occasion. I will not say that the burthen ought to be cast upon your shoulders alone; but I will pronounce it a greater marke of your charity, and zeale; and such as intitles you to the universal obligation which all men haue to you; upon confidence whereof I satisfie myselfe you will soone dismantle this douty Battery, and assert what you haue gain'd so gloriously:

Thus I discharge my duty, in obedience to their com'ands. But it is upon another account that I was not displeas'd with having an opportunity by this occasion to expresse my thankses & great acknowledgements to you, for the present you made me of that your incomparable Sermon, and which in my opinion is sufficiently impregnable; But something must be don by these buisy men, to support their credit, though at the irreparable expence of truth, and ingenuity. The Epistle before Mr. Cressy's papers dos not want confidence: and we

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Cressy see Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

are very tame whiles we suffer our Church to be thus treated by such as being once her Sons did so unworthily desert her. But pardon this indignation. I am

Reverend Sir

your most &c.

Sayes-Court, 20th Aug: 1663.

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To Doctor PIERCE, &c.

Sir

I receiv'd your favour of the first of this moneth with very different passions, whiles in some periods you giue me reasons so convincing, why you should rather consult your health, and gratifie your charge, & personal concernements, than reply to impertinent bookes; and in others againe make such generous and noble offers, that the Church of England, and the Cause which is now dishonor'd, should not suffer through your silence: And I had (according to your com'ands) made my addresses to those honourable persons with something of what you had instructed me: had either my Lord of Winchester, or my L: Chancellor been in towne: Since I received your letter my L: of Winchester is indeede gone to Farnham some few days past: but I was detain'd by speciall buisnesse in the Country 'til this very moment, when coming to London on purpose to waite on him I miss'd him unfortunately, and unexpectedly: In the meane time, I was not a little rejoyc'd at something my Ld: of Salisbury did assure me, of some late kind intercourse betweene you and your Visitor, to the no small satisfaction of all those that love and honor you here.

In pursuance of your farther injunction, I was this very morning with Doctor Goff: after a short ceremony we touched upon Cressy's pamphlet: He tells me there are eight sheetes more printing (by a Reverend Father of the Society, as he nam'd him) who has put Mr. Cressy's Rhapsody into mode and figure, that so it might do the worke amongst Scholars, as it was like to do it with his illiterate Proselytes: Upon this I tooke occasion to remind him of the Letter which he lately pretended you had written, intimating your resolution not to reply: After some pause he told me, that was a mistake, and yet he heard it was onely a friend of yours which writt so: Whither he suspected I came a birding, or no, I cannot be satisfied, but he now blench'd what before (I do assure you) he affirm'd to me concerning your owne writing that Letter. This is the infelicity (and I haue observ'd it in more then one) that when Men abandon their Religion to God, they take their leave also of all ingenuity towards men. And what could I make of this shuffling, and caution, now turn'd to a mistake, & an heare-say? but so it seemes was not that of your being offended with the Bishops for the ingratefull taske they put upon you, which he often repeated; and the difference 'twixt you and your Visitor:—so after a short velita-

tion, we parted. Sir, I have nothing more to add to your trouble, then that I still persist in my supplication, and that you would at last breake through all these discouragements and objections for the publiq benefit. It is true, men deserve it not ; but the Church, which is dearer to you then all their contradictions can be grievous, requires it. You can (in the interim) govern a disorderly College which calls for your assiduous care ; but so dos no lesse the needes of a despis'd Church ; nor ought any in it concerne themselves so much as to this particular, without being uncivill to you: Though (I confesse) after you have once chas-tis'd this insolence, no barking of the Currs should provoke you for the future: Sir, I do not use a quarter of those arguments which your friends here suggest, why you ought to gratifie the Church by standing in this gapp ; because I am confident you perfectly discern them ; and that though some particular persons may have unjustly injur'd you, yet she has been kind, and indulgent ; and in a Cause which concerns either her honor or veracity, it will be glorious (not to say gratefull) you should vindicate her wrongs. You are not the onely subject which that Academiq Jack-pudding has reproch'd more bitterly personally: The Drunkards made a song of holy David, yet still he daunc'd before the Arke of God, and would be more vile. What are we Christians for ? I do assure you, there is nothing I have a greater scorne & indignation against, then these wretched Scoffers, and I looke upon our neglect of severely punishing them as an high defect in our politiques, and a forerunner of something very funeste. I would to God Vertue and Sobriety were more in reputation: but we shall turne plainely Barbarians, if all good men be discourag'd. Sir, you are of a greater mind then not to despise this. *Fa pùr bene e lascia dire.* But I run into extravagances, and I beseech you to pardon my zeale, and all other the impertinences of Sir,

Your, &c.

Lond: 17th: September, 1663.

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To Mr. SPRAT, Chaplaine to the Duke of BUCKINGHAME,  
afterwards Bishop of Rochester.<sup>1</sup>

Upon receipt of the Doctor's Letter: and the hint of your designe, which I receiv'd at Oxford on my returne from Cornebery, I su'moned such scatter'd notices as I had, & which I thought might possibly serve you in some particulars relating to the person and condition of *Sorbiere*.

His birth was in Orange, where he was the sonn of a Protestant, a very indigent and poore man ; but however making a shift to give him some education as to letters, he design'd him for a Minister, and procur'd him to be pedagogue to a Cadet of Monsieur le Comte de la Suze, in whose family he liv'd easily enough, till being at length

<sup>1</sup> This letter alludes to Mons. Sorbiere's 'Voyage to England,' then just published ; and also to Observations on the same Voyage by Dr. Sprat.

discover'd to be a rampant Socinian he was discharg'd of employment, but in revenge whereof ('tis reported) he turn'd Apostat, & renounc'd his Religion, which had been hitherto Huguenot ; I forgot to tell you that before this he obtain'd to be made a Schoolemaster to one of the Classes in that Citty ; but that promotion was likewise quickly taken from him upon the former suspicion. He has pass'd through a thousand shapes to ingratiate himselfe in the World, & after having been an Aristarchus, Physitian (or rather Mountebanq) Philosopher, Critic, & Polititian (to which last he thought himselfe worthily arriv'd by a version of some heterodox pieces of Mr. Hobbes) the late Cardinal Mazarin bestow'd on him a pittifull Canonical at Avignon worth about 200 crownes per ann, which being of our money almost 50 pounds, is hardly the sallary of an ordinary Curat : but for this yet he underwent the basest drudgery of a Sycophant in flattering the Cardinal upon all occasions the most sordidly to be imagin'd, as where I can shew you him speaking of this fourb for one of the most learned persons of the age. He styles himself *Historiograph du Roy*, the mighty meede of the co'monest Gazetiere, as that of *Conseiller du Roy* is of every trifling petifoger, which is in France a very despicable qualification. It is certaine that by some servile intelligences he made a shift to skrew him selfe into the acquaintance of many persons of quality, at whose tables he fed, & where he entertain'd them with his impertinencies. A greate favourite of our late Republiq he was, or rather the vilany of Cromwell, whose expedition at Sea against Holland he infinitely extolls, with a prediction of his future glorious atchievements, to be seene in an Epistle of his to Mons: de Courcelles, 1652, and upon other occasions, not to omitt his inciting of our Roman Catholiques to improve their condition under his Majestie by some effort, which smells of a Rebell spirit, even in this relation which he presumes to dedicat to the French King.

Thus as to the person of that man and his co'munications : For the rest in which this audacious Delator sufficiently exposes himselfe to your mercy, I forebeare to add ; unlesse it be to put you in mind of what occurs to me in relation to your vindicating my L: Chancellor, whom all the world knows he has most injuriously vilified : and you haue an ample field to proceede on, by comparing his birth and education with that of his Cardinal Patron, whom he so excessively magnifies, and even makes a demi-god.

My L: Chancellor (Ed. Hyde, Earl Clarendon) is a branch of that antient & honorable family of Norbery in Cheshire as it is celebrated by Mr. Camden in his *Britannia*, and so famous for the long robe, that an Uncle's Son of his present Lordship came to be no lesse a man than L: Chiefe Justice of England not long since, which dignity runs parallel with their premier President de Paris, one of the most considerable charges of that Kingdome. Nor has this person ascended to this deserved

eminency without greate and signal merits, having pass'd through so many superior Offices ; as Chancellor of the Exchequer : Privie Counsellor, Ambassador Extraordinary &c. not to mention his early engagement with his Majestie Charles the I. in a period of so greate defection ; the divers weighty affaires he has successfully manag'd, fidelity to the present King, his eloquent tongue, dextrous and happy pen, facetious conversation and obliging nature, all of them the products of a free and ingenious education, which was both at the University & Inns of Court, now crown'd with an experience & addresse so consum't, that it were impossible this Satyrist should have hit on a more unreasonable mistake, than when he refin'd upon the qualifications of this illustrious Minister. You will meete in a certaine Letter of the old Kings to his Consort the Q: Mother, that his Majestie long since had him in his thoughts for Secretary of State. But these topics were infinite, and 'tis no wonder that he should thus defame a Chancelor, who has been so bold as to dare to censure a Crown'd head, and to call in question the procedure of the K. of Denmark about the affaire of Cornlitz Ulefield<sup>1</sup>, for which Monsieur l'Abbé de Paulmyr has perstring'd him to the purpose, and publish'd it in French, together with some observations of an English Gent: upon the relation of Sorbiere, in which those unworthy and malicious imputations of *lâcheté* & *bas-sesse* in the Nation is perfectly vindicated, even by citations onely of their owne French authors, as namely André du Chesne, du Verdier, Philippe de Commines, and others of no meane name & estimation amongst their most impartial Historians, sufficient to assert the Courage & Gallantry of the English, without mentioning the brave impressions the Nation has made even into the very bowells of their Country, which after the winning of severall signal battails, they kept in subjection some hundreds of yeares.

You cannot escape the likely choice which he made by which to judge & pronounce of the worth of English Bookes, by the learned collection he carried over with him of the workes of that thrice noble Marchionesse<sup>2</sup>, no more then of his experience of the English Dyet by the Pottage he eate at my L: of Devonshires : But it is much after the rate of his other observations ; or else he had not pass'd so desultorily our Universities & the Navy, with a thousand other particulars worthy the notice, & not to be excus'd in one pretending to make relations ; to omitt his subtil reflexions on matters of State, and meddling with things he had nothing to do with : such as were those false & presumptuous suggestions of his that the Presbyterians were forsooth the sole restorers of the King to his Throne, and the palpable ignorance of our Historiograph Royal, where he pretends to render an accompt of divers antient

<sup>1</sup> Count Cornelius Ulefield Oxenstiern, Danish Prime Minister.

<sup>2</sup> Margaret Cavendish, Marchioness, afterwards Duchess of Newcastle, a very voluminous writer, both in verse and prose. There are ten or eleven volumes of her works in thin folios.

passages relating to the English Chronicle : the jurisdiction and Legislative power of Parliaments, which he mingles and compares with that of the Kings to celebrate & qualifie his Politicks : upon all which you have infinite advantages. It is true he was civilly receiv'd by the Royal Society, as a Person who had reco'mended him selfe to them by pretending he was Secretary to an Assembly of Learned men formerly meeting at Monsieur Monmors at Paris ; so as he had been plainly barbarous not to have acknowledged it by the mention he makes ; whiles those who better know whose principles the Mushroom (Mr. Hobbes) is addicted to, must needs suspect his integrity ; since there lives not on the Earth a person who has more disoblig'd it.

Sir, I am, &c.

Sayes-Court, 31st Oct. 1664.

P.S. I know not how you may have design'd to publish your reflexions upon this disingenuous Traveller ; but it would certainly be most co'municative & effectual in Latine, the other particular of his relation co'ming onely to those who understand the French, in which language it is already going to be printed.

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To my Lord Viscount CORNEBERY.

My Lord,

Being late come home, imagine me turning over your close printed memoires, and shrinking up my shoulders ; yet with a resolution of surmounting the difficulty, animated with my Lord Chancelors & your Lordships com'ands, whom I am perfectly dispos'd to serve, even in the greatest of drudgeries, the Translation of Bookes<sup>1</sup> : But why call I this a drudgery ? who would not be proud of the service ? By the slight tast of it I find God & the King concern'd, and I will in due tyme endeavour to p'sent your Lordship & the world with the fruites of my obedience, cherefully, & with all due regards : Nor is it small in my esteeme that God directs you to make use of me in any thing which relates to the Church, though in my Secular station. I began indeede (as your Lordship well remembers) with that Essay on St. Chrysostome some yeares since upon that consideration, though prompted by a lugubrious occasion, such a one (though in no respect so greate a one) as what I but too sensibly perceive afflicts my Lord your Father ; for as I last beheld his countenance, in thought I saw the very shaft transfixing him ; though the greatnesse of his minde, and pious resignation<sup>2</sup> suffer him to do nothing weakely, and with passion.

Besides the Divine precepts, & his Lordships greate example, I could never receive any thing from Philosophy that was able to add a graine to my courage upon these irremedillesse assaults like that Enchiridion

<sup>1</sup> *Mysterie of Jesuitisme, & its pernicious consequences as it relates to Kings & States, wh* I published this yeare.

<sup>2</sup> Upon the death of his sonne Edward, a very brave & hopefull young man.

& little Weapon of Epictetus, *Nunquam te quicquam perdidisse dicito sed reddidisse* says he : *Filius obijt? redditus est*; it is in his 15th. chap : Repeate it all to my Lord, and to your selfe ; You cannot imagine what that little target will encounter ; I never go abroad without it in my pocket. What an incomparable guard is that *τὰ σίχ ἐφ' ἡμῖν*, cap. 1. where he discourses of the things which *are*, & *are not* in our power : I know, my Lord, you employ your retirements nobly ; weare this defensive for my sake, I had almost sayd this Christian Office.

But, my Lord, I am told, we shall have no Lent indicted this yeare. I acknowledge, for all Doctor Gunning, that I much doubt of its apostolical institution ; but I should be heartily sorry a practise so neere to it, so agreeable to Antiquity, so usefull to Devotion, and in sum so confirm'd by our Laws, should now faile & sinke, that his Majestie & his Laws are restor'd. I know not what subtile & political reasons there may be : it were better, flesh should be given away for a moneth or two to the poore in some greate proportion, and that particular men should suffer, than a sanction & a costome so decent should be weaken'd, not to say abrogated ; believe 'twill not be so easy a thing to reasume a liberty of this nature, which gratifies so many humours of all sorts. Because God gives us plenty, must we always riot ? If those who sit at the helme hearken to the murmurs of impertinent & avaritious men, pray God they never have cause to repent of the facility when 'tis too late. I know religious fasting dos not so much consist in the species and quality as the quantity ; nor in the duration, as the devotion : I have always esteemed abstainance *à tanto* beyond the fullfilling of periods & quadragesimas ; nor is this of ours every where observ'd alike by Christians ; but since all who are under that appellation do generally keepe it where Christ is nam'd (I do not meane among the Romanists alone) a few imperfect reformers excepted ; methinkes a reverend & antient costome should not so easily be cancel'd ; for so I looke on it, if once we neglect the Indiction. But were that for one fortnight, with a strict proclamation, & lesse indulgence to the *fanltty* (as they call that shop of iniquity) and some other pretenders to liberty ; in my opinion it would greatly become the sollemn, & approaching station of the Passion Weeke : And I would to God it were reduced but to that, that the irksomenesse might not deterr the more delicat, nor the prohibition those whose interest it is to sell flesh. We in this Island have so natural a pretence to mingle this concerne of Devotion into that of the State, that they might be both preserv'd without the least shadow of Superstition ; and if once our Fishery were well retriev'd (than which nothing could be more popular, nor indeare the person who should establish it) the profit of that alone would soone create proselytes of the most zealous of our carnivorous Samaritans. Why should there be an interruption of our Laws for a yeare, to the infinite disadvantage of the Church of England in many regards ?

My L: You are a pious person, and the Lenten abstinence minds me of another incongruity that you Parliament-men will I hope reforme, & that is the frequency of our Theatrical Pastimes during that Indiction. It is not allow'd in any City of Christendom so much as in this one Towne of London, where there are more wretched & obscene plays permitted than in all the World besides. At Paris 3 days, at Rome 2 weekly, and at the other Cittys of Florence, Venice &c. but at certaine jolly periods of the yeare, and that not without some considerable emolument to the publique; whiles our Enterludes here are every day alike; so as the Ladys and the Gallants come reaking from the Play late on Saturday night, to their Sondag Devotions; the ideas of the Farce possesses their fantasies to the infinite prejudice of Devotion, besides the advantages it gives to our reprochfull blasphemers. Could not Friday, & Saturday be spar'd; or if indulg'd, might they not be employ'd for the support of the poore, or as well the maintenance of some Worke-house, as a few debauch'd Comedians! What if they had an hundred pound per ann. lesse com'ing in; this were but policy in them; more than they were borne too, & the onely meanes to consecrate (if I may use the tearme) their scarce allowable impertinences: If my Lord Chancelor would be but instrumental in reforming this one exorbitancy, it would gaine both the King and his Lordship, multitudes of blessings. You know, my Lord, that I (who have written a Play<sup>1</sup> & am a scurvy Poet too some times) am far from Puritanisme; but I would have no reproch left our Adversaries in a thing which may so conveniently be reform'd. Plays are now with us become a licentious excesse, & a vice, & neede severe censors that should looke as well to their morality, as to their lines and numbers. Pardon this invective, my L: nothing but my perfect affection for your person & your vertue could have made me so intemperate; & nothing but my hopes that you will do the best you can to promote the greate interest of Piety, & things worthy your excellent opportunities, could have render'd me thus prodigal of my confidence: Season my Lord your Father with these desiderata to our consu'mat felicity; but still with submission & under protection for the liberty I assume; nor let it appeare presumption irremissable, if I add, that as I owne my Lord our illustrious Chancelor for my Patron & Benefactor; so I pay him as tender & awfull respect (abstracted from his greatnesse & the circumstances of that) as if he had a natural as he has a virtual & just dominion over me; so as my gratitude to him as his Beneficiary, is even adopted into my religion, and 'till I renounce that, I shall never lessen of my duty; for I am ready to professe it, I have found more tendernes, & greater humanity from the influences of his Lordship than

<sup>1</sup> It is not recollected that there is any reference or allusion to this *Play* in any other part of Mr. Evelyn's Memoirs or Writings; and, if really written, it is most likely that from pious impulse he purposely destroyed it.

from all the Relations I have now in the World, wherein yet I have many deare & worthy friends. My L: pardon againe this excesse, which I sweare to you, proceeds from the honest, & inartificial gratitude of  
My Lord

your &c.

Lond. 9 Feb. 1664-65.

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To Sir THO. CLIFFORD,  
(afterwards Lord High Treasurer.)

Sir,

Upon receipt of yours of the 17th instant, I repair'd to my L: Arlington, and from him to his Majestie, who on sight of your Letter added his particular com'ands, that upon arrival of the Prisoner I should im'ediately bring young Everse to him, and that then he would instruct me farther how he would have him treated; which I perceive will be with greate respect, and some thinke with Liberty: for the other Captaine, that I should pursue his R: Highnesses directions: and in order to this, I haue com'anded my Martial to be ready. I am sorry we are like to haue so many wounded men in their company, but I have taken all the care I can for their accom'odation: I pray send me a list of the names & qualities of our Prisoners, they being so apt to contrive & forme stories of themselves, that they may passe for Embdeners or Danes: I thanke God all our affaires here are in good order: I did yesterday repaire to the Commissioners of the Navy to remove the obstruction which hinder'd our Receiver from touching the effects of our Privy Seale, they pretending a defect in the Order, which I have been faine to carry back to the Councill: Coll: Reymes writes for £700: Sir, here haue ben an host of women, making moane for their losse in the unfortunat *London*<sup>1</sup>: I have with much artifice appeas'd them for the present; but they are really objects of much pitty; and I have counsel'd them to make choyce of some discreete person to represent to us their respective losses, & expectations, that we may consider their cases without clamor & disturbance. Sir, I am ravish'd to heare our Fleet is in so flourishing a condition, I pray God to continue it, and give you all successe. I would beg the presentment of my most humble duty to his Royall Highness, and that you will grace with your more particular com'ands,

Sir, your &c:

Lond. 2 Apr. 1665.

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To Dr. (afterwards Sir) CHRISTOPHER WREN, &c.

Sir,

You may please to remember that some tyme since I begg'd a favour of you in behalfe of my little Boy: he is now susceptible of instruction,

<sup>1</sup> The London Frigate, blown up by accident, with above 200 men.

a pleasant, and (though I speake it) a most ingenious and pregnant child. My designe is to give him good education ; he is past many initial difficulties, and conquers all things with incredible industry : Do me that eternal obligation, as to enquire out and recom'end me some young man for a preceptor. I will give him £20 per annum Sallary, and such other accom'odations as shall be no ways disagreeable to an ingenuous spirit ; and possibly I may do him other advantages : In all cases he will find his condition with us easy, his scholar a delight, & the conversation not to be despised : This obliges me to wish he may not be a morose, or severe person, but of an agreeable temper. The qualities I require are, that he be a perfect Grecian, and if more than vulgarly Mathematical, so much the more accomplish'd for my designe: myne owne defects in the Greeke tongue and knowledge of its usefulness, obliges me to mention that particular with an extraordinary note : in sum I would have him as well furnish'd as might be for the laying of a permanent & solid foundation: The Boy is capable beyond his yeares ; and if you encounter one thus qualified, I shall receive it amongst the greate good fortunes of my life that I obtain'd it by the benefit of your friendship, for which I have ever had so perfect an esteeme. There is no more to be said, but that when you have found the person, you direct him im'ediately to me, that I may receive, and value him.

Sir, I am told by Sir Jo: Denham that you looke towards France this somer : be assur'd I will charge you with some addresses to Friends of mine there, that shall exceedingly cherish you ; and though you will stand in no neede of my reccom'endations, yet I am confident you will not refuse the offer of those civilities which I shall bespeake you.

There has layne at Dr. Needham's a copy of the Parallel<sup>1</sup> bound up for you, & long since design'd you, which I shall intreate you to accept ; not as a recompence of your many favours to mee, much lesse a thing in the least assistant to you (who are yourselfe a Master), but as a toaken of my respect, as the Booke itselfe is of the affection I beare to an Art which you so hapily cultivate.

Deare Sir, I am  
Your &c.

Sayes-Court, 4 Apr. 1665.

To His Grace the Duke of ALBEMARLE.

May it please your Grace,

Being here at Douer for the examining & auditing my accoumpts, as one of his Majesties Commissioners in this Kentish district ; and finding that other prisoners at the Castle here, since their late attempt to escape through the Magazine (over which till then they had a very spa-

<sup>1</sup> 'A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern,' written by Roland Freart, sieur de Chambray, and translated by Mr. Evelyn,

cious & convenient roome to lodge in) are now for want of accom'odation necessitated to be kept in a very strait place ; by meanes whereof they grow miserably sick ; and are indeede reduced to a sad condition, which cannot be remedied without extraordinary inconvenience to the Lieutenant: My most humble suite to your Grace is, that you will be pleas'd to give order they may be conveyed to Chelsea Colledge ; and the rather, that there being no greater number of them, it will be hardly worth the while & charge to maintaine Officers for them here & particular Guards: The condition of the poore men (who suffer for the attempt of their more daring fellowes) is very deplorable, nor can it be prevented without enlargement of their quarters ; which the Governor cannot spare them without danger. I have already inform'd your Grace how much we suffer by the scruples of those Vessells, who refuse to transport our recover'd men to the Fleete ; which makes me againe to supplicate your Graces fresh orders ; it would infinitely conduce to his Majesties service: But of this, as of severall other particulars I shall render your Grace a more ample account at my returne to London ; where I shall not faile to do my duty as becomes,

May it please your Grace,

Your Graces, &c.

Dover, 30 May 1665.

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To Sir THOMAS CLIFFORD.

Sir,

I was in precinct for my journey when your letter arriv'd, which imparted to us that most glorious Victory, in which you have had the honor to be a signal achievr: I pray God we may improve it as becomes us: His Royall Highness being safe becomes a double instance of rejoyceing to us ; and I do not know that ever I beheld a greater and more sollemn expression of it, unlesse it were that on his Majesties Restauration, than this whole City testified the last night, and which I cannot figure to you without hyperbolies. I am heartily sorry for those Heros that are fallen, though it could not have been on a more transcendant occasion. Sir, I com'unicated your Letter to my Lord Arlington, and to his Majestie who read it greedily. My greatest solicitude is now how to dispose of the Prisoners in case you should be necessitated to put them in at the Downes, in order to which my Lord Duke of Albemarle has furnished me with 400 foote and troop of horse, to be com'anded by me for Guards if neede require ; & I am just going to put all things in order. His Grace concludes with me that Dover Castle would be the most convenient place for their custody, but would by no means invade his R: Highnesses particular province there without his Highnesses consent, & therefore advises me to write his Highness for positive co'mands to the Lieutenant. It is therefore my humble request that you will move him therein, it being of so great importance

at this time, & not onely for his Castle of Dover, but the Forts likewise neere it ; and that (besides my owne Guards) he would be pleas'd that a competent number of Land Souldiers might be sent with them from on board, to prevent all accidents, till they come safe to me ; for it was so likewise suggested by his Grace, who dismiss'd me with this expedient: ' Mr. Evelyn,' says he, ' when we have fill'd all the Goales in ' the Country with our Prisoners ; if they be not sufficient to containe ' them, as they sent our men to the East Indies last yeare, we will send ' them to the West this yeare by a just retaliation.' Sir, I thinke fit to let you understand that I have 3 days since obtayn'd of the Councill a Privy Seale, which I moved might be £20,000, in regard of the occasion ; together with the use & disposal of the Savoy-Hospitall (which I am now repairing & fitting up, having given order for 50 beds to be new made, & other utensils) all which was graunted. I also obtain'd an Order of Councill for power both to add to our Servants, & to reward them as we should see cause. His Majestie has sent me 3 chests of Linner, which he was pleas'd to tell me of himselfe before I knew they were gon ; so mindfull, & obliging he is, that nothing may be wanting. Sir, I have no more to add, but the addresses of my most humble duty to his Royal Highness & my service to Mr. Coventry from

Sir, yours, &c.

Paynters Hall Lond. 16 June 1665.

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To Sir PETER WYCHE, Knt.<sup>1</sup>

Sir,

This crude Paper (which beggs your pardon) I should not have presum'd to transmit in this manner, but to obey your com'ands, and to save the imputation of being thought unwilling to labour, though it be but in gathering straw. My greate infelicity is, that the meeting being on Tuesdays in the afternoone, I am in a kind of despaire of ever gratifying myne inclinations, in a conversation which I so infinitely honor, & that would be so much to mine advantage ; because the very houre interferences with an employment, which being of publiq concernement, I can in no way dispense with: I mention this to deplore myne owne misfortune onely, not as it can signifie to any losse of yours ; which cannot be sensible of so inconsiderable a member. I send you notwithstanding these indigested thoughts, and that attempt upon Cicero, which you enjoin'd me.

I conceive the reason both of additions to, and the corruption of the English Language, as of most other tongues, has proceeded from the same causes ; namely from Victories, Plantations, Frontieres, Staples of Com'erce, pedantry of Schooles, Affectation of Travellers, Transla-

<sup>1</sup> Chaireman of a Committee appoynted by the Royall Society to consider of the improvement of the English tongue.

tions, Fancy and style of Court, Vernility & mincing of Citizens, Pulpits, Political Remonstrances, Theaters, Shopps, &c.

The parts affected with it we find to be the Accent, Analogy, direct Interpretation, Tropes, Phrases, and the like.

1. I would therefore humbly propose, that there might first be compil'd a Gram'ar for the Præcepts ; which (as it did the Roman, when Crates transferr'd the art to that city, follow'd by Diomedes, Priscianus and others who undertooke it) might onely insist on the Rules, the sole meanes to render it a learned, & learnable tongue:

2. That with this a more certaine Orthography were introduc'd, as by leaving out superfluous letters, &c.: such as *o* in Woomen, People ; *u* in Honour: *a* in Reproach, *ugh* in Though, &c.

3. That there might be invented some new Periods, and Accents, besides such as our Gram'arians & Critics use, to assist, inspirit, and modifie the Pronunciation of Sentences, & to stand as markes before hand how the voice & tone is to be govern'd ; as in reciting of Playes, reading of Verses, &c. for the varying the tone of the voyce, and affections, &c.

4. To this might follow a Lexicon or Collection of all the pure English-Words by themselves ; then those which are derivative from others, with their prime, certaine and natural signification ; then, the symbolical : so as no innovation might be us'd or favour'd ; at least 'till there should arise some necessity of providing a new Edition, & of amplifying the old upon mature advice.

5. That in order to this, some were appointed to collect all the technical Words ; especialy those of the more generous employments : as the Author of the 'Essaies des Merveilles de le Nature, et des plus nobles Artifices,' has don for the French ; Francis Junius and others have endeavour'd for the Latine : but this must be gleaned from Shops, not Bookes ; & has ben of late attempted by Mr. Moxon.<sup>1</sup>

6. That things difficult to be translated or express'd, and such as are as it were, inco'mensurable one to another ; as determinations of Weights & Measures ; Coines, Honors, National Habits, Armes, Dishes, Drinkes, Municipal Constitutions of Courts ; old and abrogated Costomes, &c. were better interpreted than as yet we find them in Dictionaries, Glossaries, & noted in the Lexicon.

7. That a full Catalogue of exotic Words, such as are daily minted by our *Logodædali*, were exhibited, and that it were resolved on what should be sufficient to render them currant, *ut Civitate donentur* ; Since without restraining that same *indomitam novandi verba licentiam*, it will in time quite disguise the Language : There are some elegant words introduc'd by Physitians chiefly and Philosophers, worthy to be retained ; others, it may be, fitter to be abrogated ; since there ought to be a law, as well as a liberty in this particular. And in this choyce,

<sup>1</sup> In the second volume of his "Mechanick Exercises."

there would be some regard had to the well sounding, and more harmonious words, and such as are numerous, and apt to fall gracefully into their cadences and periods, and so reccom'end themselves at the very first sight as it were ; others, which (like false stones) will never shine, in whatever light they be placed ; but embase the rest. And here I note, that such as have lived long in Universities doe greatly affect words and expressions no where in use besides, as may be observed in Cleaveland's Poems for Cambridg : and there are also some Oxford words us'd by others, as I might instance in severall.

8. Previous to this it would be enquir'd what particular Dialects, Idioms and Proverbs were in use in every several Country of England ; for the Words of the present age being properly the *Vernacula*, or Classic rather, special regard is to be had of them, and this consideration admits of infinite improvements.

9. And happily it were not amisse, that we had a Collection of the most quaint and Courtly expressions, by way of *Florilegium*, or Phrases distinct from the Proverbs : for we are infinitely defective as to civil addresses, excuses & formes upon suddaine and unpremeditated (though ordinary) encounters : in which the French, Italian & Spaniards have a kind of natural grace & talent, which furnishes the conversation, and renders it very agreeable : here may come in Synonimes, Homoinymes, &c.

10. And since there is likewise a manifest rotation and circling of Words, which goe in & out like the mode & fashion ; Bookes would be consulted for the reduction of some of the old layd-aside words and expressions had formerly *in delicijs* ; for our Language is in some places sterile and barren, by reason of this depopulation, as I may call it ; and therefore such places should be new cultivated, and enrich'd either with the former (if significant) or some other : For example, we have hardly any words that do so fully expresse the French *clinquant*, *naïveté*, *ennuy*, *bizarre*, *concert*, *faconiere*, *chicaneries*, *consummé*, *emotion*, *defer*, *effort*, *chocq*, *entours*, *débouche* ; or the Italian *vaghezza*, *garbato*, *suelto*, &c. Let us therefore (as the Romans did the Greeke), make as many of these do homage as are like to prove good citizens.

11. Something might likewise be well translated out of the best Orators & Poets, Greek and Latin, and even out of the Moderne Languages ; that so some judgement might be made concerning the Elegancy of the style, and so a laudable & unaffected imitation of the best reco'mended to Writers.

12. Finally, There must be a stock of reputation gain'd by some publiq Writings and Compositions of the Members of this Assembly, that so others may not thinke it dishonor to come under the test, or accept them for judges and approbators : And if the designe were arriv'd thus far, I conceive a very small matter would dispatch the art

of Rhetoric, which the French propos'd as one of the first things they reco'mended to their late Academicians.

I am Sir,

Your most &c.

Sayes-Court, 20 June 1665.

To my Lord Viscount CORNEBERY.

My Lord,

Those who defin'd History to be *Disciplina compgsita de bono pratico obtinendo* pointed us to that use to of it which every wise man is to make of it by his reading of Authors. But as it is the Narration *Rerum gestarum* (for whatever is matter of fact, is the subject of History), your Lordship cannot expect I should at this distance from my study, & bookes of that kind, be able to present you with so compleate a series of Authors as you require of me; much lesse such a method, as your affection for so noble a resolution, and so becoming a greate person, dos truely merit. However that this may not be looked on as an excuse, and that I may in some measure obey your Lordship's com'ands, I shall as far as my talent, and my faithlesse memory serves me at present, give your Lordship the names of those Authors which haue deservedly been esteemed the most worthy and instructive of those greate and memorable Actions of the Ages past.

A Recention of the Greeke Historians from the reigne of Cyrus (before which we have nothing of credible in any prophane history) 'til after Justinian, and the confusion of the Roman Empire by the Goths and Vandals :

- |                      |                             |                   |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Herodotus.        | 6. Dionysius Halicarnassus. | 11. Herodian.     |
| 2. Thucydides.       | 7. Josephus.                | 12. Zosimus.      |
| 3. Xenophon.         | 8. Arrianus.                | 13. Procopius.    |
| 4. Polybius.         | 9. Appianus.                | 14. Agathias, &c. |
| 5. Diodorus Siculus. | 10. Dion-Cassius.           |                   |

The Latine Historians from the foundation of Rome to the death of the Emperor Valens: Sallust, Cæsar, Titus Livius, Vellejus Paternulus, Quintus Curtius, Tacitus, Florus, Suetonius, Justinus, Ammianus Marcellinus, &c.

To these may be superadded, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, and Eunapius, among the Greekes; Cornelius Nepos, Æmilius Probus, Spartianus, Lampridius, and the Augustæ Scriptores, of the Latine &c. : but for being more mixed and lesse methodical, they would haply be read in another order; and if the Greekes have happily written more even of the Roman story than the Romans themselves, it is what is universaly knowne and acknowledg'd by the learned; which has made the enumeration of the one to exceede the mention of the latter. These are, my Lord, sufficient to afford your Lordship a fairer and more ample course, then any of your quality usually

pretend to ; being the best, & most worthy consideration both as to the grandeur of Examples, and politure of the Language. As to the later periods, from Valens and the Gothic Emperors to our times ; I shall furnish your curiosity, when you have finish'd this stage ; for it were now, my Lord, to discourage you, the very calling over the names of so many ; how much more, should I add (what your Lordship's curiosity will desire to dip into, to emerge a compleate Historian) the Biographi, or Writers of particular Lives, Relations, Negotiations, Memories, &c. which are things apart, and that properly come within the series of the more solid and illustrious Historians: onely as to that of chronologie, I conceive it of absolute necessity, that your Lordship joyne it with all your readings together with some Geographical Author & guide, whose Tables, Mapps & discoveries both for the antient & modern names, situations & boundaries of the places, you shall with incredible advantage consult, to fix and make it your owne. Scaliger's *Emendatio Temporum*, Petavii *Rationarium*, Calvisius, Helvicus, or our Isaacson<sup>1</sup>, may suffice to assist you, with Cluverius, our Peter Heylin, and the late accurate Atlases set forth by Bleau. To these may be added as necessary subsidiaries ; H. Stephen's *Historical Dictionary* set lately fourth in London ; and if your Lordship thinke fit to pursue the Cycle with more expedition, which were likewise to gratifie your curiosity by a preparation that will furnish you with a very usefull prospect, before you engage yourselfe on the more particulars, there is in English one Howel (not James) who has published a very profitable *Compendium of Universall History*, so far as he has brought it ; to which you may joyne what Bp. Usher has set forth in two volumes, containing the *Annales* of all the memorable actions & passages which have happened in the Church from the Creation, mingled with divers secular passages of rare remarke, and which may serve you instead of Baronius, or any of his voluminous epitomizers, Spondanus, Peruginus, &c. And by that time your Lordship is arrived thus far, you will have perform'd more than any man of your quality can pretend to in Court, by im'ense degrees, according to my weake observation, who sometimes passe my time at the circle where the Gallants produce themselves with all their advantages, & (God knows) small furniture. Nor will it be difficult for you to goe through the rest with delight & ease, whether you would begin at the present age, and reade upwards, 'till you meete with the period where you left off (which is Grotius's advise to Monseieur Maureriq), or proceede in that order in which you began: but my Lord, of this, as of whatever else you shall judge me worthy to serve you in, I shall endeavour to p'sent your Lordship with something more material, & better digested, when you please to command, My Lord,

Cornebery, 21 June, 1665.

Your Lordship's, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Hen. Isaacson, author of the '*Chronolog. Series of the 4 Monarchies.*' Fo. London, 1633.

To my Ld. Viscount CORNEBERY, Lord Chamberlaine to her Majesty, &c.

My Lord,

I should be exceedingly wanting to my duty, and to the interest you are pleas'd to allow me in your friendship, not to preserve it by such acknowledgements as are due to you by infinite obligations: and if this have not been done oftener, distance, and the many circumstances of a jealous intercourse, will easily obtaine your mercy; for I sweare to you, my Lord, there breathes not a man upon earth who has a greater value for your noble person; because I have establish'd it upon your Virtues, and that which shines in you above titles, and adjuncts, which I regard but as the shadows of greate men; nothing constituent of good & realy permanent. But, my Lord: I intend not here a Panegyric, where haply an Epithalamium were due, if what has been lately told me, of your Lordship being newly married, or shortly re-entering into those golden fetters, be true. But can your Lordship thinke of such a felicity, and not com'and me to celebrate it? not as a Poet (for I know not what it meanes) but as one perfectly devoted to your good fortune; since that glory must needs be in my mouth, which already is so profoundly engraven in my heart. I thought indeede that golden key which I saw ty'd to your side by that silken riban, who was the fore-runner of some other knot, constant as the colour, and bright as the mettall. My Lord, I joy'd you at Hampton Court for the one, and I would joy you from Sayes-Court for the other: You have in the first a dignity conspicuous for the ornament it receives from your vertues; but in the second onely, a reward of them above the pearles, & the rubies; 'tis a price which Fortune owes your Lordship: and I can celebrate her justice without flattery. Long may you live under her happy Empire. When I am certaine of the particulars, I will string more roses on this Chaplet, and make you a country gardener's present; if the anxiety of being at this distance from a person whose influence is so necessary, do not altogether wither my genius.

But, my Ld. give me now leave to entertaine you a little with mine owne particular condition; since as contraries illustrate one another, it cannot but improve your happinesse.

After 6978 (and possibly halfe as many more conceal'd) which the pestilence has mow'd downe in London this Weeke; neere 30 houses are visited in this miserable Village, whereoff one has beene the very neerest to my dwelling: after a servant of mine now sick of a swelling (whom we have all frequented, before our suspicion was pregnant) & which we know not where will determine; behold me a living monument of God Almighty's protection and mercy! It was Saturday last 'ere my courageous Wife would be persuaded to take the alarme; but she is now fled, with most of my Family; whilst my conscience, or something which I would have taken for my duty, obliges me to this sad station, 'till his Majestie take pittie on me, and send me a consid-

erable refreshment for the comfort of these poore creatures, the sick & wounded Seamen under mine inspection through all the ports of my district. For mine owne particular, I am resolv'd to do my duty as far as I am capable, & trust God with the event ; but the second causes should cooperate : for in sum, my Lord, all will, and must fall into obloquy & desolation, unlesse our Supplys be speedily settled on some more solid fonds to carry this important Service on. My Bro: Commissioner Sir William D'Oily after an accoumpt of £.17000 is indebted about £.6000, and my reckoning comes after it apace. The Prisoners of Warr, our Infirmatories, & the languishing in 12 other places ; the charge of Sallaries to Physitians, Chyrurgeons, Officers, Medicaments, & Quarters, require speedy & considerable supplies ;—lesse then £.2000 a weeke will hardly support us. And if I have been the more zealous & descriptive of this sad face of things, & of the personal danger I am expos'd to, it is because I beg it may be an instance of your goodnesse & charity to reade this article of my letter to my Lord your Father, who I know has bowels, and may seriously represent it to his Majesty and my L: High Treasurer. For, my Lord, having made mine attempts at Court by late Expresses on this occasion, I am driven to lay this appeale at his Lordships feete, because having had experience of his favour in mine own concerne and private affaires, I addresse my selfe with a confidence I shall succede now that it imports the publiq. I dare not apply what Saint Paule sayd to Timothy (because it does not become me), but give me liberty to allude : I know none (amongst all our Court greate-ones) like minded, who dos naturaly care for our state. The consecretary is ——— ; for all seeke their owne. 'Tis, my Lord, a sad truth, & this is no time to flatter ; we should succumb under the poiz but for some few such Atlases as are content to accept of the burthen with the honour ; which though it makes it sit heavy, makes it sit with a good conscience, & the expectation of a blessing. I am a plaine Country Gentleman, yet heare, & see, and observe, as those in the valies best discern the mountaines : this Nation is ruin'd for want of activity on our parts, ; religion & gratitude on all. But, my Lord, I tirannise your patience ; pardon the excesse : I have not often the opportunity, and God knows when I may enjoy another, who daily carry my life in my hands. If the malignity of this sad Contagion spend no faster before Winter, the calamity will be indincible.—But let me now acquainte your Lordship how I passe those moments which my assiduous prayers to God for your prosperity, & my service of his Majestie do not take up. It is now about 2 moneths since I consign'd a large Epistle to Royston : for that piece your Lordship enjoyn'd me to publish in consequence of the former, and which I have made bold to inscribe to my Ld: Chancellor, under somewhat an ænigmatical character, because of the invidiousnesse of the argument. The booke it selfe was quite finish'd, & wrought off ; but Royston being fled, & the

presses dissolv'd, we cannot hope to get our freedome, till it please God in mercy to abate the Contagion. This is that which hinders us from that most incomparable piece of Mr. Stillingfleete's friend against Searjeant, and divers other particulars, which though printed will not as yet be publish'd ;—both venders, & buyers, & readers being universally scathed. As to our Philosophical concernes, Dr. Wilkins, Sir William Petty, & Mr. Hooke, with our operator, live altogether at my Lord Geo. Barclay's at Durdans neere my Brother, where they are excogitating new riggings for Ships, new Charriots, & new Ploughs, &c. so as I know not of such another happy conversation of Virtuosi in England. And now I mention'd my Bro: I were ungratefull to omitt my acknowledgement of the infinite honor he tells me, my Ld: Chancellor was pleas'd to do me, before so many persons of Quality and Gent: of our County of Surrey as came in to waite on him at Farnham, at my Lord Bishops of Winchester table ; when his Lordship was pleas'd to mention me with an eulogy, and kindnesse so particular & obliging, as I can never hope to merite from his goodnesse. But I would esteeme it the most fortunate day of my life, that should present me with an occasion, in which I might signalize my prone & most ardent inclynations to his service, as being professedly more engag'd to his Lordship than to any person living in this world. And if God heare the humble prayers which I poure out for the continuance of your prosperity, I shall have perform'd but my duty, who am with a most unfained resignation,

My Ld:

Yours &c.

Sayes-Court, 9th September, 1665.

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To My Lord Viscount CORNEBERY, Lord Chamberlaine to  
her Majestie.

My Lord:

By this most agreeable opportunity I continue to p'sent your Lordship with my faithfull service, and if it arrive seasonably, to supplicate your Lordships pardon for the style, the mistake, and the length of mine of the ninth instant ; it will excite in you different passions, and *one*, my Lord, not an unpleasant one. Smile at my intelligence, and pity all the rest ; for it will deserve it, and find a way to your noble breast. My Servant (whom I there mention to have sent from my house for feare of the worst) will recover, and proves sick only of a very ougly surfeit ; which not only frees me fro' infinite apprehensions, but admiits me to give my Wife a visite, who is at my Brother's, and within a fortnight of bringing me my seaventh sonne ; and it is time, my Lord, he were borne ; for they keepe us so short of monys at Court, that his Majesties Commissioners had neede of one to do Wonders, and heale the Sick and Wounded by Miracle, 'till we can

maintaine our Chyrurgeons. My Ld: I do not forget your injunction of waiting on you this moneth at Cornebery; but I am momentarily threatned to be hurried to the Sea-side againe, after this Conflict of my Lord Sandwich;—and the Woman in the straw I would gladly see out of perill. I will not question your Lordships being at Oxford this approching reconvention of Parliament: My Father-in-law waites there, and it must go ill with me if I kisse not your hands. Just now I heare the Gunns from the Tower: This petty Triumph revives us much; but the miserably afflicted Citty, and euen this our poore Village, want other consolations: my very heart turnes within me at the contemplation of our calamity. God give the Repentance of David, to the Sinns of David! We have all added some weights to this burthen; Ingratitude, and Luxurie, and the too, too soone oblivion of Miracles.

The Almighty preserve your Lordship, and my best friend in the world my most honored Lord Chancellor. I would say a thousand affectionate things more to conjure your Lordships beliefe, that I am

My L: your &c.

Sayes-Court, 12 September 1665.

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Sir PHILIP WARWICK to JOHN EVELYN, Esquire.

Cousen,

I am to seek how to answeere your Letter; for without passing any compliment vpon you how much I am concern'd in your safty, which I find endangered by your Employment—without professing how sensible I am, that scarce any perticular in the Nauy ought to haue that care & tendernes wait vpon it as the Sick and Wounded men, and the Prisoners, though a lesse regard in respect I heare ours are not soe well vsed; and that the Embassador Servant seems to take such little care for Exchanges, as if he meant to burthen vs with them: and that these fellowes are soe stuborne they will not worke, nay beat any that will—yet a shame it is if they be not in the proportion the King allowes them prouided for. The ill effect of both these I acknowledge if they be neglected. And when I haue said this you'll wonder what I can say next, that my Lord Tr'r makes not the prouision. Sir: I must say, though I offend my good friend Sir George Carteret, that from the first my Lord Tr'r told him this charge was a cheife part of the expence of the Nauy, & by his Assignments to be prouided for. It was the first sin transferring faults one from another; & therefore I am asham'd to be making such returnes, & know that will as little feed the hungry & cloath the naked, as a mouth that's open with a benediction & a hand closed with the money. And yet how to make you judge of this I cannot, without showing you how the whole Royall Ayde is distributed. (And this I assure you, the distribution of the whole £2500000 is not of perticular concerne vnto me, fine p'd.)

	£.
Of the Citty for the Nauy before the Parliament borrowed	200000
Of the Dunkirk mony (This is to be repaid) .....	050000
13 Counties wholly assigned .....	1277604
County of Bucks for the Nauall Regiment .....	0047346
The first 3 months of all the other Counties .....	0096047
Vpon 17 other Counties 102 <sup>mill</sup> & 40 <sup>mill</sup> And now lately the dispute being that he had noe proper assignment for the sick & wounded, my Lord told him he would assigne him £28000 of those Counties particularly for them .....	0170000
but I feare that will not doe you any seruice, Sir George saying the assignment being upon the 3rd year, he can- not borrow vpon it.	
This hath bin already the Nauys Portion of the Royall Ayde .....	1,840,997
Ordnance hath had assigned vnto it .....	0367686
Guards hath Counties sett out for .....	0170616
Garrisons .....	0045121
Wardrobe had on Wales .....	0025000
Rem: on the 17 Counties 50 <sup>mill</sup> } on Wales ..... 59 } 109 <sup>mill</sup>	0608423
And now do you see by whose friendship you have receiued that small refreshment, which I say not to diminish his kindnes, but to shew you that properly you were a care of Mr. Vice Chamberlin's.	
	Total 2449420
	Rem: 0109000
	2558420

All I can adde is, my Lord T'rer will endeavor to dispose the Vice Chamberlin; & if it be in his power, for I thinke him as much overlaid as others, I doubt not he'l vndertake your charge. And because the Assignment which remaynes to be made vpon Wales, which is about £30000 for the second yeare & the first quarter of the third, may better please him, my Lord T'rer will offer him that, or offer it to Sir William D'Oyly & yoursele, if you can procure credit vpon it. He'l make an essay whether out of the present Prizes (which if his Majesty will not employ to this vse, being a better fond of credit, he may be repaid from this Assignment) he can get you a considerable sum. His Lordship is ready to assigne out of Wales or the 17 Counties £50000 for this seruice singly. And if I could give you a better & more perti-

cular account I would, for I valew both yours and Sir William's integrities and informations soe much, you may both assure yourselues I'l not be wanting. And am really sensible of your cares & dangers, which we want not (being for all comers) euen here ; but being in our station & depending on Prouidence, I hope none of us shall miscarry. Wee are now seperated & in motion, but I'l hast the Resolution. In the mean tyme you may reserue this to yourselfe. Only co'municate it to Sir William D'Oyley, to whom I cannot at present write, for hauing receiued your L'res but late this night, and the Post goeing away in the morning, & I have to send my L'r six myle thither. I begge his pardon & yours, & remayne with all truth & affection

Your most faithful

kinsman & servant

P. WARWICK.

Stratton, Sept. 16, 1665, 8 at Night.

To Sir PHILIP WARWICK, Secretary to my Lord High Treasurer.

Sir,

Your favour of the 16th current from Stratton has not only enlightened mine eyes, but confirm'd my reason ; for sure I am I durst write nothing to you which could cary in it the least diffidence of your most prudent œconomy ; and you are infinitely mistaken in me if you thinke I have not establish'd my opinion of your sincerity & candor in all that you transact, upon a foundation very remote from what the World dos ordinarily build upon : I am sufficiently satisfied to whose care our Supplies did naturaly belong : for I do not believe the sums we have received to carry on our burthen thus far (trifling as they have been compar'd to the occasion) proceeded from his (Sir George's) good nature (which I have been much longer acquainted with then you), but to shift the clamor which our necessities have compell'd us to ; whilst our Task-masters exacted brick without allowing us straw. And if I have express'd any thing to you in a style more zealous then ordinary, it has been to lay before you a Calamity which nothing can oppose but a suddaine supply ; and for that my Lord Arlington (to whom I have frequently said as much) directed me to the proper object. Nor was what I writ a prophesy at adventure : One fortnight has made me feeble the uttmost of miseries that can befall a person in my station and with my affections : To have 25000 prisoners, & 1500 sick & wounded men to take care of, without one peny of mony, and above £2000 indebted : It is true I am but newly acquainted with buisnesse, and I now find the happy difference betwixt Speculation and Action to the purpose ; learning that at once, which others get by degrees ; but I am sufficiently punish'd for the temerity, and I acknowledge the burthen insupportable : Nor indeede had I been able to obviate this impetuous torrent, had not his Grace the Duke of Albemarle and my

Ld: Sandwich (in pure compassion of me) unanimously resolv'd to straine their authority, and to sell though not a full quorum) some of the Prizes, & breake bulke in an Indian Ship, to redeeme me from this plunge : and all this, for the neglect of his personal care—whom you worthily perstringe, though for domestiq respects & other relations they were not willing to expresse their resentments. Sir, I am in some hopes of touching the £5000 some day this weeke ; but what is that, to the expense of £200 the day ? Is there no exchange or pecuniary redemption to be propos'd ? or is his Majestie resolv'd to maintaine the Armies of his Enemyes, in his owne bosome ? whose idlenesse makes them sick, and their sicknesse redoubles the charge ! I am amaz'd at this method but must hold my tongue. Why might not yet the French, who are numerous in this last action (and in my conscience have enough of the Sea) be sent home to their Master, not to gratifie but plague him with their unprofitable numbers ?

Sir, I most humbly acknowledge your goodnesse for the confidence you have in me, and for that *Arcanum*, the Accoumpt of the disposure & assignement of this prodigious Royall Ayd of £2,500,000 which you have so particularly imparted to me, & that I should have preserv'd with all due caution, though you had enjoyn'd me none. If I obtaine this small sum of £5000 it will be a breathing till I can meete my Bro: Commissioners at Oxford, whither I am sum'on'd to joyne for the effects and settlement of some of those more solid appointments mentioned in your Audit, & which you have promis'd to promote, & therefore I will trouble you no further at present, then to let you know, that upon that account of your encouragment (I meane the providence of God & my sole desires of serving Him in any thing which I hope He may accept, for I sweare to you no other consideration should tempt me a second time to this trouble) I am resolv'd to maintaine my station, and to refuse nothing that may contribute to his Majesties service, or concerne my duty, who am, Sir, Your, &c.

Sayes-Court, 30 September 1665.

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To Sir WILLIAM COVENTRY, Secretary to his Highness the Duke of YORKE, and one of the Privy Council.

May it please your Honor,

Nothing but a calamity which requires the application of the speediest redresse to preserve the lives of men, the honor of his Majestic, and (as I conceive) a concernement of the weightiest importance to the whole Nation, could have extorted this repetition of the sad posture our affaires are in, for want of those monys and effects we were made believe should be assign'd us for the carrying on of the province intrusted to us. I will not torment you with the particulars of my owne story, which you know so well by all that has prevented my complaints ; but I perfectly apprehend the funeste and calamitous issue

which a few days may produce, unlesse some speedy course be taken to stop it : Nor am I so little acquainted with the respect which I owe to the persons I now write to, as not to know with what decency and reserve I ought to make my addresses upon any other occasion ; but the particulars I have aleg'd are very greate truths, and it were to betray his Majesties gracious intentions, and even his honor, to extenuate here. Sir William D'Oily and my selfe have neere ten thousand upon our care, whiles there seemes to be no care of us ; who having lost all our Servants, Officers, and most necessary Assistants, have nothing more left us to expose but our persons, which are every moment at the mercy of a raging Pestilence (by our daily conversation) and an unreasonable multitude ; if such they may be call'd who having adventur'd their lives for the publiq, perish for their reward, and dye like doggs in the street unregarded. Our Prisoners (who with open armes, as I am credibly inform'd by eye-witnesses, embrac'd our men, instead of lifting up their hands against them) beg at us, as a mercy, to knock them on the head ; for we have no bread to relieve the dying creatures. Nor dos this County afford Goales to secure them in, unlesse Leeds Castle (for which I am now contracting with my Ld: Culpeper) may be had ; if at least half of them survive to be brought so far to starve when they come there. As for the pittance now lately order'd us, what will that benefit to our numbers and the mouthes we are to feede ? Neither is that to be had suddainely, and will be spent before we touch it. I could assemble other particulars of a sad countenance relating to the miserys of our owne Countrymen. I beseech your Honor let us not be reputed Barbarians ; or if at last we must be so, let me not be the executor of so much inhumanity ; when the price of one good Subject's life is (rightly consider'd) of more value then the wealth of the Indies. It is very hard, if in now a twelve moneth's time that we have cost you little more then £30000 through all England where we have supported this burthen, there should not have been a sufficient fond consecrated & assign'd as a sacred stock for so important a service ; since it has been a thing so frequently & earnestly press'd to their Lordships ; And that this is not an affaire which can be menag'd without p'sent moneyes to feede it ; because we have to deale with a most miserable indigent sort of people, who live but from hand to mouth, & whom we murther if we do not pay daily or weekly ; I meane those who harbor our Sick & Wounded men and sell bread to our Prisoners of Warr. How we have behav'd o'selves for his Majesties advantage & honor, we are most ready to produce the Accoumpts, and to stand to the comparison of what it cost a former Usurper, & a Power which was not lavish of their expenses. Let it please your Honor to consider of the premises, and if you can believe I retaine so much of servile in me, as to informe you of tales, or designe to magnifie my owne merits (whatever my particular & private sufferings have

been), let me be dismiss'd with infamy ; But let me beg of your Honor to receive first the relation of his Majesties principal Officers & Commissioners of the Navy which accompanies the Paper of

Right Honorable

Your &c.

Sayes-Court, 2 Octob: 1665.

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To SAMUEL PEPYS, Esq. Clerk of the Admiralty, and one of the principal Officers of his Majesty's Navy, &c.

Sir,

I have according to your com'ands sent you an hasty draught of the Infirmary, and Project for Chatham, the reasons, & advantages of it ; which challenges your promise of promoting it to the use design'd : I am myselve convinc'd of the exceeding benefit it will every way afford us. If upon examination of the particulars, and your intercession, it shall merit a recom'endation from the rest of the Principall Officers, I am very confident the effects will be correspondent to the pretence of the Papers which I transmit to accompany it. In all events, I have don my endeavour ; and if upon what appeares demonstrable to me (not without some considerable experience, and collation with our officers, discrete & sober persons) I persist in my fondnesse to it, from a prospect of the singular advantages which would be reaped by setting it on foote, I beseech you to pardon my honest endeavours, with the errors of

Sir, Your &c.

Sayes-Court, 3 Jan. 1665-6.

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To my Lord Viscount CORNBURY.

My Lord,

*Ubi Amor, ibi Oculus*, excuses the glaunces we cast upon desireable objects ; my hand cannot containe it selfe from this presumption when I have any thing to write which affords me the least pretense ; and though you should not answer my Letters, yet, till you forbid me writing, I please myselve that you vouchsafe to reade them. Great persons pay deare for such addresses, who afford them that honor ; and especialy those that (like your Lordship) know so well to value their tyme. One period more, my Lord, and *beso los manos*.

Upon Wednesday last I went to London and spent the whole afternoone in viewing my Ld: Chancellors *new House*,<sup>1</sup> if it be not a solecisme to give a Palace so vulgar a name: My uncessant businesse had 'till that moment prevented my passionate desires of seeing it since it was one stone advanc'd: but I was plainely astonish'd when I beheld what a progresse was made. Let me speak ingenuously ; I went with

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon House. built by Mr. Prat : since quite demolished by Sir Thomas Bond, &c. who purchased it to build a streete of tenements to his undoing. J. E.

prejudice. and a critical spirit ; incident to those who fancy they know anything in Art: I acknowledge to your Lordship that I have never scene a nobler pile: My old Friend and fellow Traveller (cohabitants & contemporarie at Rome) has perfectly acquitted himselfe. It is without hyperbolies, the best contriv'd, the most usefull, gracefull, and magnificent house in England,—I except not Audley End ; which, though larger, and full of gaudy & barbarous ornaments, dos not gratifie judicious spectators. As I sayd, My Ld: here is state and use, solidity & beauty most symetrically combin'd together: Seriously there is nothing abroad pleases me better ; nothing at home approches it. I have no designe, my Ld: to gratifie the Architect, beyond what I am oblig'd, as a profess'd honorer of virtue wheresoever 'tis conspicuous ; but when I had seriously contemplated every roome (for I went into them all, from the cellar to the plat-forme on the roose) scene how well and judiciously the Walls were erected, the Arches cut, & turn'd, the timber braced, their scantlings and contignations dispos'd, I was incredibly satisfied, and do acknowledge myselfe to have much improved by what I observed: What shall I add more? *rumpatur Invidia*, I pronounce it the first Palace of England, deserving all I have said of it, and a better Encomiast.

May the greate & illustrious Person, whose large & ample heart has honor'd his Country with so glorious a structure, and by an example worthy of himselfe, shew'd our Nobility how they ought indeede to build, and value their qualities, live many long yeares to enjoy it ; and when he shall be pass'd to that upper *building not made with hands*, may his Posterity (as you my Lord) inherite his goodnesse, this Palace, and all other circumstances of his grandure, to consum'ate their felicity ; with which happy augure, permitt me in all faithfullnesse, and sincerely, to subscribe my selfe, My Lord,

Yours, &c.

Sayes-Conrt, 20th Jan. 1665-6.

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To the Dean of Rippon (Dr. WILKINS) afterwards Lord Bishop of Chester.

Sir,

I have read Mr. Tillotson's 'Rule of Faith,' and am oblig'd to render him thanks for the benefit I acknowledge to have receiv'd by it ; Never in my life did I see a thing more illustrated, more convincing, unlesse men will be blind because they will be so. I am infinitely pleas'd with his equal style, dispassionate treatment, & Christian temper to that importunat Adversary: For my part, I looke upon that businesse as dispatch'd, and expect onely the grimaces and agonies of dying & desperate men for the future: plainly the wound is mortal.

Sir, that I presume to send you the consequence of what I formerly publish'd in English, in the Controversy 'twixt the Jesuites and Jan-

senists, speakes rather my obedience to a com'and from that greate Person, my Lord Chancellor, than my abilities to have undertaken, or acquitted my selfe of it as I ought: I have annext an Epistolary Preface, not to instruct such as you are in any thing which you do not know: but for their sakes, who reading the booke, might possibly conceive the French Kings to have ben the onely persons in danger; & because I hope it may receive your suffrage as to the pertinence of it *pro hic et nunc..*

I am heartily sorry that some indispensable avocations frequently deprive me of your meetings at Gresham-Colledge, & particularly that I cannot be there on Wednesday: his Majestie having enjoyn'd me to repaire to-morrow to Chatham, for the taking order about erecting an Infirmary capable to entertaine about 500 sick persons, & all to be finish'd against the next occasion. If Almighty God do not vouchsafe to accept this service, as well as the King my Master, I shall be an intollerable looser, by being so long diverted from a conversation so profitable and so desirable. But Warrs will once have a period; and I now & then get a baite at Philosophy; but it is so little and jejune, as I despair of satisfaction 'till I am againe restor'd to the Society, where even your very fragments are enough to enrich any man that has the honor to approach you. Sir, I thinke I have at last procured the Mummia which you desired: be pleas'd in the name & with authority of the Royal Society to challenge it of the injurious detainers, therein using the addresse of Mr. Fox; Sir Sam. Tuke having written most effectually in our behalfe, who deserves (together with the Hon. Mr Hen. Howard of Norfolk) a place among our benefactors.

Sir, I am, &c.

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To my Lord High Chancellor:

Sir EDWARD HYDE, afterwards Earl of CLARENDON.

My Lord

I did the other day in Westminster Hall give my Lord Cornbery, your Lordship's sonne, my thoughts briefly concerning a most needfull reformation for the transmitting a clearer streame for the future from the Presse, by directing to imaculate Copys of such Bookes as being vended in greate proportions do for want of good Editions amongst us export extraordinary sums of mony, to our no lesse detriment than shame: And I am so well satisfied of the honor which a redresse in this kind will procure even to posterity (however small the present instance may appear to some in a superficial view) that I thinke my selfe obliged to wish that your Lordship may not conceive it unworthy of your patronage. The affaire is this:

Since the late deplorable conflagration, in which the Stationers have been exceedingly ruin'd, there is like to be an extraordinary penury & scarcity of Classic Authors, &c. us'd in our Grammar Scholes; so as

of necessity they must suddainely be reprinted. My Ld: may please to understand, that our Book-sellers follow their owne judgement in printing the antient Authors according to such text as they found extant when first they entred their copy ; whereas, out of MSS. collated by the industry of later Critics, those authors are exceedingly improved. For instance, about 30 yeares since, Justine was corrected by Isaac Vossius, in many hundreds of places most material to sense & elegancy ; & has since ben frequently reprinted in Holland after the purer copy : but with us, still according to the old reading. The like has Florus, Seneca's Tragedys, & neere all the rest : which haue in the meane time been castigated abroad by severall learned hands, which, besides that it makes ours to be rejected, & dishonors our Nation, so dos it no little detriment to learning, & to the treasure of the Nation in proportion : The cause of this is, principaly the Stationer driving as hard & cruel a bargain with the Printer as he can ; and the Printer taking up any Smatterer in the Tongues, to be the lesse looser ; an exactnesse in this no wayes importing the stipulation : by which meanes errors repeate & multiply in every Edition, & that most notoriously in some most necessary Schole-bookes of value, which they obtrude upon the Buyer, unlesse men will be at unreasonable rates for forraine Editions. Your Lordship dos by this perceive the mischievous effects of this avarice, & negligence in them.

And now towards the removing these causes of the decay of Typography not onely as to this particular, but in generall : It is humbly propos'd to consider whether it might not be expedient ; First, that inspection be had, what Text of the Greeke & Latine Authors should be follow'd in future impressions : Secondly, That a Censor be establish'd to take and caution of all Presses in London, that they be provided with able Correctors, principaly for Schole-bookes, which are of large and iterated impressions. Thirdly, That the charge thereof be advanc'd by the Company, which is but just, and will be easily reimburs'd upon an allowance arising from better and more valuable cypys ; since 'tis but reason that whoever builds an house be at the charges of surveing : and if it stand in relation to the publiq (as this dos) that he be obliged to it.

My Lord ; these reflections are not crudely represented, but upon mature advice & conference with learned persons with whom I now & then converse ; & they are highly worthy your Lordships interesting your power & authority to reforme it, & will be inserted into the glorious things of your story, & adorne your memory ; greate persons heretofore did take care of these matters, & it has consecrated their names. The season is also now most proper for it, that this sad calamity has mortified a Company which was exceedingly haughty & difficult to manage to any usefull reformation ; & therefore (well knowing the benefit which would accrue to the publiq by so noble an attempt) I

could not but reco'mend it to your Lordship out of the pure sense of gratitude I have to wish your Lordship all the happy occasions of increasing your honor, for the favors you always shew me, and the obligations I have to your particular friendship and kindnesse. My Lord, if this Paper find acceptance, I would be bold to add some farther hints for the carrying it on to some perfection ; for besides all I have sayd, there will neede paines in reading, consulting MSS. & conference with learned men, good Indexes, apt divisions, Chapters and Verses as the *Dutch Variorum*, embellishment of Roman and Italiq letters to separate inserted speeches (especialy in Historians & sententious Authors) and which adds to the use and lustre, together with a choyce of succinct Notes after more terse & profitable copys. For 'tis a shame, that ever such as our owne countryman Farnaby has publish'd, should be sold us from other Countries ; because our owne Editions are so much inferior to them. If your Lordship would set your heart upon other particulars, concerning the Reformation of our English Presse, I could give instance in some of high reputation, & no meane advantage. But I would rejoyce to see but this take effect. My Lord, I kisse your Lordships hands, &c.

Sayes-Court 27 November 1666.

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TO ABRAHAM COWLEY, Esq.

Sir

You had reason to be astonish'd at the presumption, not to name it affront, that I who have so highly celebrated Recesse, and envied it in others, should become an Advocate for the Enemie, which of all others it abhors and flies from. I conjure you to believe that I am still of the same mind, & that there is no person alive who dos more honor and breathe after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and adorne by your example : But as those who prays'd Dirt, a Flea, and the Gowte<sup>1</sup>. so have I *Publiq Employment* in that trifling Essay<sup>2</sup>, and that in so weake a style compar'd to my Antagonists, as by that alone it will appeare I neither was nor could be serious ; and I hope you believe I speake my very soule to you ; but I have more to say which will require your kindnesse. Suppose our good friend were publishing some Eulogies on the Royal Society, and by deducing the originall, progresse and advantages of their designe, would bespeake it some veneration in the world? Has Mr. Cowley no inspirations for it? Would it not hang the most heroic wreath about his temples? Or can he desire a nobler or a fuller Argument either for the softest Aires or the loudest Echoes, for the smoothest or briskest strokes of his Pindaric Lyre?

<sup>1</sup> Dornavius's '*Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-seriae*' contains a large Collection of those Facetiae, in prose and verse, with which the Scholars of those times relieved their serious studies.

<sup>2</sup> Public Employment, &c. preferred to Solitude, 1667.

There be those who aske, What have the Royal Society done? Where their Colledge? I neede not instruct you how to answer or confound these persons, who are able to make even these informe Blocks and Stones daunce into order, and charme them into better sense. Or if their insolence presse, you are capable to shew how they have layd solid foundations to perfect all noble Arts, and reforme all imperfect Sciences. It requires an History to recite onely the Arts, the Inventions, & Phænomena already absolved, improved, or opened. In a word, our Registers have outdone Pliny, Porta, & Alexis, and all the Experimentists, nay the great Verulam himselfe, & have made a nobler and more faithfull Collection of real seacrets, usefull and instructive, than has hitherto been shewn.—Sir, We have a Library, a Repository, & an assembly of as worthy and greate Persons as the World has any; and yet we are sometimes the subject of Satyr and the songs of Drunkards; have a King to our Founder, and yet want a Mæcenas; and above all a Spirit like-yours, to raise us up Benefactors, & to compell them to thinke the Designe of the Royall Society as worthy their regards, & as capable to embalme their names, as the most heroic enterprise, or any thing Antiquity has celebrated; and I am even amaz'd at the wretchednesse of this Age that acknowledges it no more. But the Devil, who was ever an enemy to Truth, and to such as discover his præstigious effects, will never suffer the promotion of a designe so destructive to his dominion, which is to fill the world with Imposture & keepe it in Ignorance, without the utmost of his malice and contradiction. But you have numbers and charmes that can bind even these Spirits of Darknesse, and render their instruments obsequious; and we know you have a divine Hyme for us; the luster of the Royal Society calls for an Ode from the best of Poets vpon the noblest Argument. To conclude: here you have a field to celebrate the Greate and the Good, who either do, or should favour the most august and worthy designe that ever was set on foot in the world: and those who are our real Patrons and Friends you can eternize, those who are not you can conciliate & inspire to do gallant things.—But I will add no more, when I have told you with very greate truth that I am,

Sir &c.

Sayes Court 12 March, 1666-7.

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From ABRAHAM COWLEY to J. EVELYN, Esq.

Sir

Chertsea, May 13, 1667.

I am asham'd of the rudenesse I have committed in deferring so long my humble thanks for your obliging Letter which I received from yow at the beginning of the last month: my laziness in finishing the Copy of Verses vpon the Royal Society, for which I was engag'd before by Mr. Sprats desire, & encouraged since by yow, was the caus of this delay, haueing designed to send it to yow enlosed in my Letter;

but I am told now that the History is almost quite printed, & will bee published so soon, that it were impertinent labour to write out that which you will so suddenly see in a better manner, and in the company of better things. I could not comprehend in it many of those excellent hints which yow were pleased to give mee, nor descend to the praises of particular persons, becaus those things affoord too much matter for one copy of verses, and enough for a Poem, or the History itself: some part of which I have seen, & I think yow will bee very well satisfied with it. I took the boldness to show him your Letter, & hee says hee has not omitted any of those heads, though hee wants your eloquence in expression. Since I had the honour to receive from yow the reply to a book written in praise of a Solitary Life<sup>1</sup>, I haue sent all about the town in vain to get the author, haveing very much affection for the subject which is one of the noblest controversies both Modern and Ancient, & you have delt so civilly with your Adversary as makes him deserve to bee look'd after. But I could not meet with him, the books beeing all, it seems, either burnt or bought up. If yow pleas to do mee the favour to lend it to mee, & send it to my Brothers hous (yet was) in the King's Yard, it shall bee return'd to yow within a few days with the humble thanks of your most faithfull obedient Servant,

A. COWLEY.

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To HENRY HOWARD, Esq. of Norfolk, heir apparent to  
that Dukedom<sup>2</sup>.

Sir

It is not without much regret and more concernement as it regards your honorable & illustrious Family, that I have now so long a time beheld some of the noblest Antiquities of the World, & which your Grandfather purchased with so much cost and difficulty, lye abandoned, broken, & defaced in divers corners about Arundel House & the Gardens belonging to it. I know your honour cannot but have thoughts and resolutions of repairing & collecting them together one day; but there are in the meane tyme certaine broken Inscriptions, now almost obliterated with age, & the ill effects of the weather, which will in a short time vtterly be lost & perish, vnlesse they be speedily removed to a more benigne & lesse corrosive ayre. For these it is, I should be an humble suitor that you would think fit to make a present of them to the University of Oxford, where they might be of greate vse and ornament, and remaine a more lasting record to posterity of your munificence, than by any other application of them whatsoever; and

<sup>1</sup> Sir Geo. Mackenzie's 'Moral Essay upon Solitude, preferring it to Public Employment,' &c. 1668.

<sup>2</sup> This Letter procured all the Marmora Arundeliana, Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Urnes, Altar, Tables, &c. now at Oxon. J. B.

the University would thinke themselves oblig'd to inscribe your name and that of your illustrious Family to all significations of gratitude.

I have also long since suggested to your Honor that you would cause the best of your Statues, Basso-relievos, & other Antiquities standing in your Gallery at Arundell House, to be exquisitely designed by some skillfull hand, and engraven in copper, as Mons: Liancourt did those of Rome by Perrier, & long before him Raphael himselfe, Sadeler, and other incomparable sculptors: because by this meanes they would be com'unicated to the world, and diuers greate & learned persons, studious of Antiquity, might be benefited by them: and if such a thing were added to the impression of the *Marmora Arundeliana* (which I heare the University of Oxon are now preparing for a second impression) how greatly would it adorne that admirable work, & do new honors to your illustrious name & family, as it as formerly, & yet dōs to divers noble Italians, & others, who have not ben able to produce such a collection as you are furnished with; but which perish in obscurity, & yeild not that to the publiq, who would be obliged to celebrate you, for want of a small expence! Methinkes, whilst they remaine thus obscur'd & neglected, the very Marbles are become vocal, and cry to you for pittie, & that you would even breathe life into them. Sir, you will easily see, I have no other designe in this then to expresse the honour I have for your person and for your illustrious Family; and because I find this would be one of the most glorious instances to augment and perpetuate it, I cannot but wish that it might take effect. I have no more to add but that I am, &c.

Sayes Court, 4 Aug. 1667.

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To Dr. BATHURST, President of Trinity College, Oxon.

Sir,

I heartily wish I had the good fortune to be as serviceable to you in particular for the many favours I have received, as I doubt not but I shall be to a place, which for your sake as well as my owne, I have so much reason to honour, I meane the University; if at least it may be esteemed a service to have obtained of Mr. Henry Howard of Norfolk, the freely bestowing upon you all those learned Monuments which passe vnder the famous names of *Marmora Arundeliana*. This, Sir, the interest which that illustrious person has allowed me in his friendship has wrought for you; and I dare pronounce it highly worthy your acceptance. For you shall not onely be masters of some few, but of all; and there is nothing more to be don, than after you have taken notice of his munificence (which I desire, and wish may be speedily don in a publiq Adresse as from the body of the University) to take order for their transportation to you; for which effect, I conceive it would be worth your while to delegate Mr. Obadiah Walker, or Dr. Wren (Sir Christopher), persons that I much honor, who may take

care, and consult about the best expedients for their removall ; for they being marble & some of them Basse relievos rarely cutt, will deserve to be guarded from injuries: And when they are at Oxford, I conceive they can no where be more fitly placed than in some part about the new Theatre, except you should think fit to protect some of the more curious & small ones, as Urnes &c. in the Galleries next the Library, where they may remaine secure. I have assured Mr. Howard that the University will not faile in their sense of this noble gift and munificence, by decreeing him a publiq and conspicious Inscription which shall consecrate his memory : And if I have hinted it more particularly to Mr. Walker, it is what I think will become your justice & such gratefull Beneficiaries. I shall intreate you to acquainte Mr. Vice-Chancellor with what I have don, as also Dr. Barlow, & Dr. Pierce, the Warden and Presidents of Queenes & Magdalen Coll: my worthy friends, and beg that through your addresse this service of mine may be acceptable to the University from

Sir, Your &c.

Lond: 9th Sept: 1667.

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To the Earl of SANDWICH, Lord Ambassador in Spain, at Madrid.  
My Lord,

I could hardly obtaine of myselfe to give your Excellency this trouble, or dare to mingle my impertinencies amongst your publiq and weighty concernes, 'till reflecting on the greatnesse of your genius, I concluded it would neither be disturb'd, nor disdaine my humble addresse, that confident of your com'unicative nature, I adventur'd to supplicate your Excellency's favour in behalfe of a work of mine upon the Hortulan subject ; and in particular, that your Excellency would vouchsate by the meanest of your servants to give me some short descriptions of the most famous Gardens and Villas of Spaine<sup>1</sup>, and what other singularities of that kind might occur to the adorning of a labour wherein I chiefly pretend to gratifie greate & illustrious persons, and such as like your Lordship are the most worthy to cultivate and enjoy these amœnities. The Catalogue which I here presume to send your Excellency, and the paines I have already taken to render it no trifling or un-usefull speculation, will in some degree com'ute for this bold addresse ; especialy since I could never hope to receive so much light from any but your Excellency, to whom I am confident there can be nothing curious in this argument conceal'd, how close & reserv'd so ever the Spaniards are. I have heard that there is lately a German at Madrid, who pretends to a successful Invention for the setting of Corne by a peculiar sort of plow. This, I am sure cannot have escaped your

<sup>1</sup> Which he sent me from Madrid, many sheets of paper written in his owne hand, together with the *Sembrador* or plough itselfe, which I gave to the R: Society, & is describ'd in their "Transactions."—J. E.

Excellency: and it will be due to the R: Society, the History whereof, now at last publish'd here with infinite applause, I doubt not is come to your hands, and that you will judge it worthy the most accurate Translation: But, my Lord, I shall leave that to the joynt request of the Society, and accumulate no more to these extravagances of mine, after I have supplicated your Excellency's pardon, who am,

May it please your Excellency, your &c.

Sayes Court, 13 Dec: 1667.

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To the Rev. JOSEPH GLANVIL, Chaplin in Ordinary to his Majesty, and F. R. S. a native of Devonshire<sup>1</sup>, and a distinguished writer of the seventeenth century.

Sir,

I received so wellcome, and so obliging a token from you by the hands of Mr. Oldenburgh, that after all I can say in this Letter in acknowledgment of that particular favour, I must continue to subscribe my selfe your debtor: For what have you seene in any of my productions, which should make you augure so favourably of that trifle of mine, upon so trite and humble a subject; or mention me amongst the Heroes whom you so meritoriously celebrat! I cannot find any thing to support it, but your most obliging nature, of which the comely and philosophic frame is abundantly conspicuous, by this worthy vindication both of your selfe and all usefull Learning, against the Science (falsely so called) of your snarling Adversary<sup>2</sup>. I do not conceive why the Royall Society should any more concern themselves for the empty and malicious cavells of these delators, after what you have say'd; but let the Moon-dogs bark on, 'till their throats are drie; the Society every day emerges, and her good Genius will raise up one or other to judge and defend her; whilst there is nothing which does more confirme me in the noblenesse of the Designe, than this spirit of contradiction which the Devil (who hates all discoveries of those false & præstigious ways that have hitherto obtain'd) does incite to stirr up men against it. But, Sir, you have discours'd this so fully in this excellent piece of yours, that I have no more to add, but the suffrage and subscription of, Sir,

Your, &c.

Sayes Court 24 June 1668.

<sup>1</sup> He sent me his Booke, intituled, '*Plus Ultra*; or the Progress and Advancement of Knowledge, since the Days of Aristotle,' octavo, Lond. 1668. J. E.—An account of this may be seen in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Stubbe, an inveterate enemy of the Royal Society, which he set forth in many Pamphlets. He also wrote an Answer to Mr. Glanvil, intituled '*The Plus Ultra* reduced to a *Non Plus*; or a Specimen of some Animadversions upon the *Plus Ultra* of Mr. Jos. Glanvil.' Quarto, 1670.

To the Earle of SANDWICH, Ambassador Extraordinary in the Court of Spaine, at Madrid.

My Lord,

I am plainly astonish'd at your bounty to me, and I am in paine for words to expresse the sense I have of this greate obligation<sup>1</sup>.

And as I have ben exceedingly affected with the Descriptions, so have I ben greatly instructed in the other particulars your Lordship mentions, and especialy rejoyce that your Excellency has taken care to have the draughts of the Places, Fountaines, & Engines for the Irrigation & refreshing their plantations, which may be of singular use to us in England. And I question not but your Excellency brings with you a collection of Seedes ; such especially as we may not have com'only in our Country. By your Lordship's description, the *Encina* should be the *Ilex major aculeata*, a sucker whereoff yet remaines in his Majesties Privie-Gardens at White Hall, next the dore that is opposite to the Tennis Court. I mention it the rather, because it certainly might be propagated with us to good purpose, for the father of this small tree I remember of a goodly stature ; so as it yearely produc'd ripe Acorns ; though Clusius, when he was in England, believ'd it to be barren : & happily, it had borne none in his tyme. I have sown both the Acorns of the tree, and the Cork with successe, though I have now but few of them remaining, through the negligence of my Gardiner ; for they require care at the first raising, 'till they are accustom'd to the cold, and then no rigour impeaches them. What your Excellency meanes by the *Bama de Joseph*, I do not comprehend ; but the *Planta Alois*, which is a monstrous kind of *Sedum*, will like it endure no wett in Winter, but certainly rotts if but a drop or two fall on it, whereas in Summer you cannot give it drink enough. I perceive their culture of choyce & tender Plants differs little from ours in England, and as it has ben publish'd by me in my *Calendarium Hortense*, which is now the third time reprinting. Stoves absolutely destroy our Conservatories ; but if they could be lin'd with cork, I believe it would better secure them from the cold & moisture of the walls, than either matrasses, or reedes with which we co'monly invest them. I thinke I was the first that ever planted Spanish Cardons in our country for any culinerie use, as your Excellency has taught the blanching ; but I know not whether they serve themselves in Spaine with the purple beards of the Thistle, when it is in flower, for the curdling of Milk, which it performes much better than Reinet, and is far sweeter in the Dairy than that liquor, which is apt to putrifie.

Your Excellency has rightly conjectur'd of the Pome-Granad : I have allways kept it expos'd, and the severest of our Winters dos it no prejudice ; they will flower plentifully, but beare no fruit with us, either kept in cases & in the repository, or set in the open ayre ;

<sup>1</sup> Upon his communicating particulars of Horticultural matters in Spain.

at least very trifling, with the greatest industry of stoves & other artifices.

We have Asparagus growing wild both in Lincolnshire & in other places ; but your Lordship observes, they are small & bitter, & not comparable to the cultivated.

The red Pepper, I suppose, is what we call Ginny-Pepper, of which I have rais'd many plants, whose pods resemble in colour the most oriental & polish'd corall : a very little will set the throat in such a flame, as has ben sometimes deadly, and therefore to be sparingly us'd in sauces.

I hope your Lordship will furnish your selfe with Melon seedes, because they will last good almost 20 years ; & so will all the sorts of Garavances, Calaburos, & Gourds (whatever Herrera affirme) which may be for divers œconomical uses.

The Spanish Onion-seede is of all other the most excellent : and yet I am not certaine, whether that which we have out of Flanders & St. Omers, be all the Spanish seede which we know of. My Lady Clarendon (when living) was wont to furnish me with seede that produc'd me prodigious cropps.

Is it not possible for your Excellency to bring over some of those Quince and Cherry-trees, which your Lordship so celebrates ? I suppose they might be secur'd in barrells or pack'd up, as they transport other rarities from far countries. But, my Ld: I detain your Excellency too long in these repetitions, & forget that I am all this while doing injury to the publiq, by suspending you a moment from matters of a higher orb, the Interest of States, & reconciling of Kingdomes : And I should think so of another, did I not know withall, how universal your comprehensions are, & how qualified to support it. I remaine, my Lord,

Sayes-Court, 21 Aug. 1668.

Your &c.

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To Doctor BEALE

Sir,

I happen'd to be with Mr. Oldenburg some time since, almost upon the article of his receiving the notice you sent him of your fortunate and usefull Invention ; and I remember I did first of all incite him, both to insert it into his next Transactions, and to provoke your farther prosecution of it ; which I exceedingly rejoice to find has ben so successfull, that you give us hopes of your farther thoughts upon *that*, and those other subjects which you mention.<sup>1</sup> You may happily call to remembrance a passage of the Jesuite Honorati Fabri, who speaking of Perspectives, observes, that an object looked on through a small hole

<sup>1</sup> The paper alluded to is intituled, 'An Experiment to examine what Figure and Celerity of Motion begetteth or encreaseth Light and Flame.' Philosophical Transactions, vol. I. p. 226.

appears magnified ; from whence he suggests, the casting of two plates neatly perforated, & fitted to looke through, preferable to glasses, whose refractions injure the sight. Though I begin to advance in yeares (being now on the other side of 40) yet the continuance of the perfect use of my senses (for which I bless Almighty God) has rendred me the less solicitous about those artificial aydes ; which yet I foresee I must shortly apply my selfe to, and therefore you can receive but slender hints from me which will be worth your acceptance upon that argument: Onely, I well remember, that besides Tiberius of old (whom you seeme to instance in,) Joseph Scaliger affirmes the same happned both to his Father Julius and himselfe, in their younger yeares. And sometimes methinks, I my selfe have fansied to have discern'd things in a very dark place, when the curtaines about my bed have been drawne, as my hands, fingers, the sheete and bed-clothes ; but since my too intent pouring upon a famous Eclipse of the Sun, about 12 yeares since, at which time I could as familiarly have stared with open eyes upon that glorious Planet in its full lustre, as now upon a glow-worme (comparatively speaking) I have not onely lost that acuteness of sight, but much impair'd the vigour of it for such purposes as it then serv'd me. But besides that, I have treated myne eyes very ill neere these 20 yeares during all which tyme I have rarely put them together, or compos'd them to sleepe before One at night, & sometimes much latter: that I may in some sort redeeme my losses by day, in which I am continually importun'd with visits from my neighbours & acquaintance, or taken up by other impertinencies of my life in this place. I am plainly asham'd to tell you this, considering how little I have improv'd my selfe by it, but I have rarely ben in bed before 12 o'clock as I sayd, in the space of 20 yeares ; and yet I reade the least print, even in a jolting Coach, without other assistance <sup>1</sup> save that I now & then use to rub my shut eye-lids over with a spirit of wine well rectified, in which I distill a few Rose-marie Flowers, much after the processe of the Queene of Hungarie's Water, which does exceedingly fortifie not onely my sight, but the rest of my senses, especialy my hearing and smelling ; a drop or two being distill'd into the nose, or eares, when they are never so dull ; and other *καλλυριον* I never apply. Indeede, in the sum'er-time, I have found wonderfull benefit in bathing my head with a decoction of some not & aromaticall herbs, in a lixivium made of the ashes of vine-branches, and when my head is well washed with this, I im'ediately cause aboundance of cold fountain-water to be poured upon me *stillatim*, for a good halfe-hour together ; which for the present, is not onely one of the most voluptuous and gratefull refreshments imaginable, but an incredible benefit to me the whole yeare after ; for I never neede other powdering to my hair, to pre

<sup>1</sup> The Editor is thankful to God that he can see the handwriting of Mr. Evelyn, mentioned above.

Gallants do ; but which dos certainly greatly prejudice transpiration by filling up, or lying heavy upon the pores. Those therefore, who (since the use of Perruqs) accustome to wash their heads, instead of powdering, would doubtlesse find the benefit of it ; both as to the preventing of aches in their head, teeth, and eares, if the vicissitude & unconstancy of the weather, and consequently the use of their monstrous Perruqs, did not expose them to the danger of catching colds. When I travell'd in Italy, and the Southern parts, I did sometimes frequent the publiq Bathes (as the manner is), but seldome without peril of my life, 'till I us'd this frigid affusion, or rather profusion of cold water before I put on my garments, or durst expose my selfe to the ayre ; and for this method I was oblig'd to the old and noble Rantzow, in whose booke *de conservanda valetudine* I had read a passage to this purpose ; though I might have remember'd how the Dutch-men treat their labouring Horses, when they are all over in a froth, which they wash off with severall bucketts of cold water, as I have frequently observ'd it in the Low-Countries<sup>1</sup>.

Concerning other aydes ; besides what the Masters of the Catoptrics, Phonocamptics, Otacoustics, &c. have don, something has ben attempted by the R: Society ; and you know the industrious Kircher has much labour'd ; as the rest of those artificial helps are sum'd up by the Jesuite And. Schottus. I remember that Monsieur Huygens (author of the Pendulum), who brought up the learned father of that incomparable youth Monsieur de Zulechum, was us'd to prescribe to me the benefit of his little Wax Taper (a type whereof is, with the history of it, in some of our Registers) for night elucubrations preferable to all other Candle or Lamp light whatsoever. And because it explodes all glaring of the flame, which by no meanes ought to dart upon the eyes, it seemes very much to establish your happy invention of *Tubes* instead of Spectacles, which have not those necessary defences.

Touching the Sight of Catts in the night, I am not well satisfied of the exquisitnesse of that sense in them. I believe their smelling or hearing dos much contribute to their dexterity in catching Mice, as to all those animals who are born with those prolix smelling haire. Fish will gather themselves in sholes to any extraordinary light in the darke night, & many are best caught by that artifice. But whatever may be say'd of these, and other senses of Fish, you know how much the sagacity of Birds & Beasts excelle us : how far Eagles & Vultures, Ravens & other Fowles will smell the Carcase ; *Odorumq; Canum Vis*, as Lucretius expresses it, & we daily find by their drawing after the Game. Gesner affirms that an Otter will wind a Fish four miles distance in the Water, and my Ld: Verulam, Cent: 8. speakes of that element's being also a medium of sounds, as well as ayre : Eeles do manifestly stirr at the cracking of thunder, but that may also be attri-

<sup>1</sup> The common practice with Post horses in England, in the present day.

buted to some other tremulous motion ; yet Carps & other Fish are known to come at the call and the sound of a Bell, as I have ben inform'd. Notorious is the story of Arion, and of Lucullus's Lamprys which came *ad nomen* (and would lick the hand of Cæsar) ; and you have formerly minded me of Varro's Greeke-Pipe, of which Lucian and Cicero ad Atticum take occasion to speake. Pliny's Dolphin is famous, and what is related of the American Manati ; but the most stupendious instance, that of the Xiphia or Sword Fish, which the Mamertines can take up by no other stratagem than a Song of certaine barbarous words, as the thing is related by Thom. Fazellus. It is certaine, that we heare more accurately when we hold our mouthes a little open, than when we keepe them shut ; and I haue heard of a dumb gentleman in England, who was taught to speake (and therefore certainly brought to heare in some degree) by applying the head of a Bass-Viole hard against his teeth, & striking upon the strings with the bow : You may remember the late effect of the Drum extending the Tympanum of a deafe person, to great improvement of his hearing, so long as that was beaten upon ; and I could at present name a friend of mine, who though he be exceedingly thick of hearing, by applying a strait stick of what length soever, provided it touch the instrument, and his eare, dos perfectly, and with greate pleasure heare every tune that is playd : All which with many more will flow into your excellent Work, whilst the argument puts me in mind of one Tom Whittal, a Student of Christ Church, who would needes maintaine, that if a hole could dextrously be board through the Skull to the Brain in the midst of the Forehead, a man might both see, and heare, & smell without the use of any other organs ; but you are to know, that this learned Problematist was brother to him, who preaching at St. Maries, Oxford, tooke his text out of the History of Balaam : Num. 22. 'Am I not thine Asse ?' Deare Sir, pardon this rhapsody of

Sir,

Your &amp;c.

Sayes-Court, 27 Aug. 1668.

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To the Right Honourable Sir THOMAS CLIFFORD, Treasurer of his Majesty's Household, &c. (Afterwards Lord High Treasurer of England.)

Right Honourable,

In my conversation sometimes amongst bookes to redeeme my tyme from other impertinences, I think it my duty to give your Honor notice of some pieces which have come to my hands, the subjects whereof I cannot but esteeme highly prejudicial to the honor of his Majestie and the whole Nation, especialy two Bookes, the *one* written in French, the *other* in Latine (not inelegantly) both with approbation of their Superiors, the States of Holland licencing their publication. The argument of them is a remonstrance to all the World, of the Occasion,

Action, and Successe of the late War betweene the English & the Dutch ; but with all the topics of reproach and dishonor as to matter of fact ; every period being filled with the dissembled instances of our injustice, ingratitude, cruelty, and imprudence ; and the persons of divers particular gallant men engag'd in that action, injuriously treated and accus'd, & in summ, whatever they can else suggest to render his Majestie and people cheap and vile, the subjects of derision and contempt. I should think in my poore judgment (under submission to a better) that there is nothing which ought to be more precious to a Prince, or his people, than their Reputation : sure I am, it is of more value with a man of honor, than his life ; and certainly, a greate Kingdom, which comprehends so many individuals as have ben one way or other concern'd in the publiq interest, ought to be tender of their fame, and consequently oblig'd to vindicate it, and cannot without a crime do lesse, without being wanting to themselves in a most necessary defence.

I know it may be say'd, that this is but a Paper quarell ; but your Honor dos consider, what effects such malevolent suggestions do produce, & with what a black & deepe malice contriv'd, how far they flie, and how universally understood the Latine & French tongues are, the one amongst the grave and more intelligent sort (not by way of pamphlet, but of a formal & close Treatise) and the other amongst the Vulgar ; to which is also joyn'd, for the better fixing their injurious ideas, the several Types & Figures cut in Brasse, to represent our Misfortunes ; as in particular our want of conduct (as they terme it) in the first encounter, our basenesse in surprising a few poore Fishermen, and the firing of Schelling, revenged in the dire conflagration of London, the Metropolis of our Nation, the descent they made on Sheer Nesse, and their glorious exploit at Chatham, where they give out we so ridiculously lost, or betraid the creame of our Fleete, and bullwarks of the Kingdom, by an unparallel'd supinenesse : nor this crudely, or in a trifling way of writing ; but so as may best affect the passions, & prepossesse the judgement and beliefe of the Reader. I say nothing of some personal reflections on my Lord Arlington, Sir Rob: Holmes, and even the King himselfe, whom they represent deliberating in a paniq consternation of a flight to Windsor, &c. nor many other particulars pointed at ; nor of a thousand other notorious indignities plainly insupportable : But I have sayd enough to inflame a breast sensible of honor, and generous as I know yours to be, to approve, or at least to pardon the proposal which I shall humbly submit to your consideration and encouragement, for the Vindication of his Majestie and the Nation's honor, and especialy, of an Action in which your Honor bore so greate & so signal a part : And that were doubtlesse by employing an able Pen, not to a formal, or studied Reply to any particular of this  
regious Libell (which might now happily be thought unseasonable),

but to compose a solid and usefull History of the late War, according to the truth of circumstances, and for the honor of those very many brave men who were actors in it, whose names deserve as well to be transmitted to Posterity as our meaner Antagonists ; but which must else dye in obscurity, and what is worse, with obloquy and scorn, not of Enemyes alone, but of all that shall reade what these men are permitted to scatter abroad in the world, whilst there is no care taken amongst us at home to vindicate them from it.

When I have mention'd to your Honour the employment of an able Pen upon this occasion, I prevented all pretences to it as relating to myselfe ; who have neither the requisite talents, nor the least presumption for it<sup>1</sup>. But I would humbly suggest, how worthy, and glorious in your Honour it would be, to moove my Ld: Arlington, and with him, to provoke his Majestie, to impose his province upon some sober and well instructed person, who dignified with the character of his *Royal Historiographer*, might be oblig'd to serve and defend his Majesties honor, and that of the publiq, with his pen ; a thing so carefully and so industriously observed by the French King, and other greate Potentates, who have any regards or tendernesse to their owne or their People's glory, the encouragement of gallant men, and prospect of their future stories, as there is nothing more notorious. It is History alone (however the writers of them may be esteem'd) which renders the greatest Princes, and the most deserving persons, what they are to the present age ; which perfumes their names to posterity, inspires them to an emulation of their virtues, and preserves them from being as much forgotten as the co'mon dust in which they lie mingled. If your Honor thinke this worthy your thoughts, (and worthy of them I pronounce it to be) all that I shall humbly supplicate to you is, that through your favour, I may present his Majestie with a person highly deserving it ; as being one, who has not onely ben a sufferer in his capacity, but one who is perfectly able and accomplish'd to serve his Majestie: a learned industrious person, and who will esteeme himselfe gratified with a very modest subsistence, to be allways at hand, and allways laborious ; and not to weare a title (as some triflers have lately don) to the reproch of it. If there be already a tollerable honorary appendant to the place of Historiographer, we have no more to beg, but the graunt of it ; if not, that through your mediation, some encouragement may be procur'd. It will not be one of your least noble things, for which you will merit a just veneration of your memory. But I shall add no more at present because I will beg the grace of a particular permission to dis-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Evelyn was however appointed to write this History, and had made considerable progress, when upon the conclusion of the war he was ordered to lay it aside. What he had written is unfortunately lost, except the Preface, which he published in 1674, as a distinct Treatise, under the title of 'Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progresse : ' this highly pleased the King, but because it gave great offence to the Dutch, it was for a time suppressed. See Letters in this Volume.

course this affaire to you, and with the joynt request of my worthy friend Mr. Williamson<sup>1</sup> (who will likewise present your Honour with a specimen of the persons abilities) bespeake your Honour's favourable encouragement, who remaine,

Your Honour's &c.

Sayes-Court, 1 Feb. 1668-9.

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To my Lord HENRY HOWARD of Norfolk.

My Lord,

I am not prompted by the successe of my first addresses to your Honour, when, as much for your owne glory, as that of the University's, I prevail'd with you for the Marbles, which were Inscriptions in stone; to solicit you now on the same account for the Books, which are Inscriptions but in parchment: but because I am very confident your Honour cannot consult a nobler expedient to preserve them, and the memory of your Name & illustrious Family, than by wishing that the Society (on whom you have so generously bestow'd your Library) might exchange the MSS. (such onely, I meane, as concerne the Civile Law, Theologie, and other Scholastical Learning) for Mathematical, Philosophical, and such other Books, as may prove most usefull to the designe and institution of it: Especialy, sincethe University do not onely humbly desire it (as I can testifie by divers letters which I have seene from the Vice-Chancellor, and other eminent persons there), but desire it with a designe of owning it yours, and of perpetuating your munificence, by dignifying that appartiment where they would place them, with the title of *Bibliotheca Arundeliana*, than which, what can be more glorious and conspicuous? The learned Selden, Sir Ken: Digby, Archbp. Laud (not to mention Sir Tho: Bodley their founder, and severall others, who are out of all exception) esteem'd this a safer Repository, than to have consign'd them to their mansions and posterity; and we have seene that when their persons, families, and most precious moveables have suffer'd (some of them the uttmost violences and dispersion) their Bookes alone have escaped untouch'd in this sacred Asylum; and preserv'd the Names of the Donors through all vicissitudes. Nor in saying this do I augure lesse of the Royal Society, should they thinke fit to keepe them in their owne Library; but, because by thus parting with such as are foraigne to their studies to the University, your illustrious Name and Library will be reserv'd in both places at once with equal zeal, and no lesse obligation; when as many as shall have recourse to such bookes at Oxon: as are under the Arundelian title, will have occasion to mention it in their workes and labours to your eternal honour. For my part, I speake it with greate sincerity, and due veneration of your Lordships bounty, that if I would to the uttmost of my power consult the advancement of your Lordships glory in this

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Sir Joseph Williamson, Principal Secretary of State.

gift, it should be by declaring my suffrage in behalfe of the Universitie's request. I sayd as much in the late Council, where I must testifie that even those who were of a contrary sense to some others of us, were yet all of them equally emulous of your Lordships honour. But, since it was the unanimous result to submit this particular to your Lordships decision, I cannot, upon most serious reflection on the reasons which I have aledged, and especialy that of preserving your Name and Library by a double consignation, but implore your Lordships favour and indulgence for the Universities, where your munificence is already deeply engraven in their hearts, as well as in their marbles; and will then shine in letters of a more refulgent lustre: For, methinkes I hear their Publiq Orator, after he has celebrated your Name amongst the rest of their glorious Benefactors and Heros, end his panegyric in the resounding Theater, as once the noble Poet, in the person of the Young Arcadian

*Ecl: 7: Nunc te Marmoreum pro tempore fecimus—*

We yet, greate Howard, Thee but in Marble mould,  
But if our Bookes increase, Thou shalt be Gold.

I am your Lordships, &c.

Sayes-Court 14 Mar: 1669.

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To Dr. MERIC CASAUBON, IS. F.  
Prebend of Canterbury, &c.

Reverend Sir,

Tho' I am a stranger to your person, yet the name & the learning which you derive both from inheritance, as well as acquisition, draw a just veneration to them. Sir, whilst it has ben lately my hap to write something concerning the nature of Forest Trees, & their Mechanical Uses, in turning over many books treating of that & other subjects, I met with divers passages concerning Staves, which have in a manner obliged me to say something of them in a Treatise which I am adorning: but whilst I was intent on this, I began to doubt whether I should not *actum agere*; remembring this passage of your Father (τῷ μακαρίτῳ) in his Com'ent on Theophrastus, p. 172. Edit. 1638: *Sed hæc hactenus; nam de Baculis et eorum forma, multiplicique apud veteres usu, plurima quæ observavimus ad lucem multorum Scriptorum veterum, alibi, τὰν ὁ Θεὸς ἐθέλη, commodius proferremus.* That which I now would entreate of you, Sir, is to know whether your learned Father did ever publish any expresse Treatise concerning this subject, & it not, that you'll be pleased to afford me some short hints of what ycu find noted in his Adversaria about it: By which means you will infinitely oblige me, who shall not faile to let the world know to whose bounty & assistance I am indebted. Sir, that worthy & communicative nature of yours, breathing in your excellent writings, prompts me to this greate confidence; but, however my request succedes, be pleased to

pardon the liberty of, Reverend Sir, your most humble, tho' unknowne  
 Servant &c. Sayes-Court, 17 Jan. 1669-70.

TO JOHN EVELYN, Esquire.

Sir,

You might have had a more speedy answer to your kind letter, but that soon after the receipt of it I fell into my ordinary distemper, which is the Stone, but with more then ordinary extremities, which hath continued these 3 or 4 days already, and what will be the end God knows ; to whom, for either life or death, I heartily submit.

Presently after the reading of your's I set my selfe to search my Father's Adversaria and Papers, and after a little search I found a proper head or title *de Baculis*, as an addition to what he had written upon Theophrastus ; and under that title, many particular references to all kind of ancient authours, but soe confusedly that I thinck noe man but I, that have been used to his hand and way, can make any thing of it. There are 2 full sides in quarto. Sir, if God grant me life, or some respite from this present extremitie, it shall be one of the first things I shall doe, to send you what he hath written, copyed out in the same order as I find it.

Whilst I was searching my Father's papers, I lighted on a note concerning Plants and Trees, which I thought fit to impart unto you, because you tell me you have written of trees ; you have it here enclosed. Besides this I remember I have, but know not where to find it at this time, Wormij Literatura Danica, where, if I be not much mistaken, he hath somewhat *de Baculis*, there, or in some other treatise I am pretty confident. Sir, I desire you to beleieve that I am very willing to serve any Gentleman of your quality in soe reasonable a request. But if you be the Gentleman as I suppose, who have set out the first booke of Lucretius in English, I must needes confesse my selfe much indebted to you, though I never had the opportunitie to professe it, for your honourable mention which you were pleas'd to make of me in your preface. Whatsoever I should thinck of your work or translation, yet civility would engage me to say soe much. But truly Sir, if you will beleieve me, who I thinck was never accounted a flatterer by them that have known me, my iudgment is, that you have acquitted yourselfe of that knotty business much better then I thought could be done by any man, though I thinck those excellent parts might deserve a more florid and proper subject ; but I submit to your better iudgement.

Sir, it hath been some taske to me to find soe much free time to dictate soe much : if there be any thing impertinent, I desire you will be pleased to consider my case. Soe I take my leave, and rest,

your very humble Servant, MERIC CASAUBON<sup>1</sup>.

Jan: 24, 1669-70.

<sup>1</sup> This letter is not written by Mr. Casaubon, but only bears his signature.

To Dr. MERIC CASAUBON, ISAACI Fil.

Reverend Sir,

There was no danger I should forget to return you notice of the favour I yesterday receiv'd, where I find my obligations to you so much improv'd, by the treasure they convey'd me ; and that it is to you I am to owe the greatest and best of my subsidiaries. There are many things in your paper which formerly I had noted ; but more which I should never have observ'd ; and therefore both for confirming my owne, & adding so many more, & so excellent, I think my selfe sacredly engag'd to publish my greate acknowledgements, as becomes a Beneficiarie. As to the crude and hastie putting this trifle of mine abroad into the world, there is no danger<sup>1</sup> ; since I should thereby deprive my selfe of those other assistances which your generous bounty has in store for me ; nor are those materials which lie by me, brought into any tollerable order yet, as not intended for any worke of labour, but refreshment, when I am tired with other more serious studies. Thus, Sir, you see me doubly oblig'd to returne you my thanks for this greate humanity of yours, and to implore the Divine goodnesse to restore you to your health, who am

Reverend Sir

Sayes Court, 24 Jan. 1669-70.

Your &c.

To my Lord High Treasurer of England [CLIFFORD].

Right Honourable

I should much sooner have made good my promise of transmitting to your Honour, the inclosed Synopsis (containing the briefe, or heads of the work I am travelling on) if, besides the number of bookes & papers that I have ben condemn'd (as it were) to reade over & dilligently peruse, there had not lately ben put into my hands a monstrous Folio, written in Dutch<sup>2</sup>, which containes no lesse than 1079 pages, elegantly and carefully printed at the Hague this last yeare ; and what fills me with indignation, derogating from his Majestie & our Nation: the subject of it being principaly the Warr with England not yet brought to a period, which prompts me to believe there is another volume preparing on the same argument. By the extraordinary industrie used in this, and the choice pieces I find they have furnish'd the author with, his Majestie and your Lordship will see that to write such an Historie as may not onely deliver truth & matter of fact to posterity, but vindicate our Prince & his people from the prepossessions & disadvantages they lie under (whilst, remaining thus long silent, we in a manner justify their reproches) will require more time to finish than at the first

<sup>1</sup> Amongst Mr. Evelyn's papers there is a small fragment of this Treatise in Latin, consisting only of 2 or 3 pages : it does not appear that it was ever finished. From an introductory paragraph, it should seem to have been intended as a jocular piece ; but the small part which is written is grave and solemn. It begins with the Staff which Jacob used when he met his brother Esau.

<sup>2</sup> 'Saken van Stuet en Oorlogh door d'Heer Lieuwe Van Aitzema,' &c

setting out could well have ben imagin'd. My Lord, I dare affirme it without much vanity, that had I ben ambitious to present his Majestie with a specimen onely of my diligence, since first I received his com'ands, I could long ere this have prevented these Gent. who, I am told, are already upon the Dutch War. There had nothing ben more easy than after a florid preamble to have publish'd a laudable description & image of the severall Conflicts, & to have gratified abundance of worthy persons who were actors in them; but since my Lord Arlington and your Lordship expect from me a solemn deduction and true state of all affaires & particulars from his Majestie's first entering into Treaty with the States at his arrival in England, to the yeare 1667, nay to this instant period (which will comprehend so greate & so signal a part of his glorious reigne), I easily believe his Majestie will neither believe the time long nor me altogether indilligent, if he do not receive this Historie so soone as otherwise he might have expected: All I will add in relation to myselfe is this; that as I have not for many moneths don any thing else (taking leave of all my delightfull studies), so by God's help I intend to prosecute what I have begun, with the same fervour & application. Your Lordship will consider how irksome a taske it is to reade over such multitudes of Books, Remonstrances, Treatises, Journals, Libells, Pamphlets, Letters, Papers, & Transactions of State, as of necessity must be don before one can set pen to paper: It would affright your Lordship to see the heapes that lie here about me, & yet is this the least part of the drudgerie & paines, which consists in the judgment to elect & cull out, and then to dispose & place the materials fitly; to answer many bitter & malicious objections, & dextrously, & yet candidly, to ward some unlucky points that are not seldome made at us; and after all this, the labour of the pen will not be inconsiderable. I speake not this to inhaunce of the instrument, but rather that I may obtaine pardon for the lapses I may fall into, notwithstanding all this zeale & circumspection: and that his Majestie will graciously accept of my endeavors, and protect me from the unkindnesses of such as use to decry all things of this nature, for a single mistake; or because some lesse worthy men find not themselves or relations flatter'd, and be not satisfied that (tho' they deserve not much) they are no where disoblig'd. As to the method, I have bethought myselfe of this (if your Lordship confirme it) namely, to transmit the papers (as fast as I shall bring them to any competent period) to my Lo: Arlington and your Lordship: that so being com'unicated (thro' both your favours) to his Majestie before they swell into enormous bulke, he may cast his royal eye over them with lesse trouble, and animadvert upon them 'till they are refin'd and fit for his gracious approbation; since by this meanes I shall hope to attaine two greate things; the performing of his Majestie's pleasure, and that part of a true Historian, which is to deliver Truth; and he (I think) who attaines to this, *omne tulit punctum*.—But, my

Lord, there are yet divers considerable papers and pieces which I want ; Letters, Treaties, Articles and Instructions to Ambassadors, &c. which I can onely receive from Mr. Secretarie and from your Lordship, that so I may not be impos'd on by such Memoires and Transactions of State as I find to my hand (if I durst adventure on the coyne) in the books of our Antagonists publish'd with a confidence so frontlesse. But since I may not well hope for these and other personal and living assistances (as I shall also have neede of) 'till the more urgent affaires of Parliament are over, I do in the meane time employ my selfe in adorning a Preface (of which I here inclose your Lordship a sum'arie) and go on in reading, and collection of materials, that when I shall have receiv'd those other desiderates, I may proceede to the compiling part, and of knitting together what I have made some progresse in.

I am, my Lord, your Honors, &c.

Sayes Court, 20 Jan. 1670.

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To My Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

It is not my fault, but misfortune, that you have not 'ere this receiv'd a full account of the time which (by your particular favour to me) I acknowledge to be wholly yours: your Lordship has sometime since justified the Quæries which I first drew up, that they were material, & promis'd I should not want your assistance in the solution of them ; but the recesse of the Court, and consequently your Lordships absence, & otherways want of opportunity, & pressure of affaires, has depriv'd me of receiving those necessarie directions which so important a subject as that under my hand dos require: But tho' this might serve somewhat to extenuate what may be thought wanting to my industrie, yet I hope I shall not be found to have trifled in that which I am preparing to put shortly into your hands ; namely, the two former parts of the Historie, which (if your Lordship likewise approve) I think of disposing into the following Periods. The First (giving a succinct account of their Original for methods sake) comprehends the state of the Hollanders in relation to England, especially their defection from the Crowne of Spaine, Anno 1586, til his present Majesties happy Restauration 1660 ; and herein, a deduction of all the notorious injuries & affronts which the English have suffer'd from the Dutch, and what rebukes they have received for them from the Powers who first made warr against them, & from his Majestie, whom they compell'd to make another. The Second sets forth at large the course and progresse of the late differences, from his Majesties returne Anno 1660 to the year 1666 (inclusively) by which time (his Majesties Ambassadors being recall'd from their respective ministeries abroad) the Warr was fully indicted. This period more especially relates his Majesties endeavor to have compos'd matters in dispute between his Sublects and the Dutch; answers

all their cavells, vindicates his honor, states the aggression, treaties with Munster ; describes the first battail, the action at Bergen ; transacts with the Dane, the French, the rupture with both : together with all the intercurrent exploits at Guiny, the Mediterranean, West Indies, and other signal particulars, in 169 paragraphs or sections ; and thus far it is already advanced. The Third and last Period includes the *status* or height of the Warr (against the three greate Potentates we named) to the conclusion of it in the Treaty at Breda, 1667, in which I shall not omit any of those numerous particulars presented to his Majestie thro' my Lord Arlington's hands in my first project of the work, nor any thing else which your Lordship shall com'and me to insert.

The two former parts being already dispatch'd, want nothing save the transcribing, which I therefore have not thought convenient to hasten 'til I receive your Lordships directions in the difficulties which I herewith transmit ; upon returne whereof I shall soone present his Majestie with the better part of this worke ; and then, as his Majestie shall approve of my diligence, proceede with the remainder, which I hope will not take up so long a time. If it shall be thought fit hereafter to cast it into other languages, especialy Latine or French, it may be considerably contracted, so very many particulars in the English relating onely to companies & more domestiq concernes, in a legal style, full of tedious memorials and altercations of Merchants: which (tho' now requisite to deduce somewhat more at large for the justification of his Majesties satisfaction of his subjects and as a testimonie publish'd from authentiq records amongst ourselves) will be of little importance to Forrainers, and especialy greate persons, curious & learned men, who are to be entertain'd with refin'd and succinct narratives, & so far with the cause of the Warr as may best imprint the sense of the wrongs we have sustain'd, take off the prejudices our enemies have prepossess'd them with, together with the most shining matter of fact becoming the style of Historie.

I now send your Lordship my preface ; it is in obedience to a particular suggestion of my Lord Arlington's, requiring of me a compleate deduction of the progresse of Navigation & Com'erce, from its first principle to the present age: and certainly not without greate judgement: since (as his Lordship well observ'd) all our contests and differences with the Hollanders at Sea derive onely from that sourse: And if the Introduction (for a page or two) seeme lesse severe than becomes the fore-lorne of so rude a subject as follows it, I have this to say, That as no man willingly embarks in a storme, so I am perswaded your Lordship will not condemne me when you have perus'd it to the end, & consider'd how im'ence an ocean I have pass'd to bring it home to the argument in hand, and yet in how contracted a space I have assembl'd together that multitude of particulars the most illustrious ; taken in all

that is material, and more (permit me to affirme) then is to be found in many Authors of greate bulke, much lesse any one single Treatise, antient or modern ; by which your Lp. may perhapes a little estimate the diligence has ben used, and that I can do nothing which your Lordshipe thinks fit to com'and me, superficially. I confesse it were yet capable of politure, and would shew much brighter in another dresse among the curious, to whom singly it might happily prove no unacceptable entertainment: I could yet also add considerably to it, but some perhaps may think it already too large for a *Vestibule*, tho' that will best appeare when the superstructure is finish'd, which, if my calculation abuse me not (from the model already fram'd & in good part advanc'd) will amount to at the least 800 or 1000 pages in folio, notwithstanding all the care I can apply to avoid impertinences, as far as consists with integrity, & the numerous particulars which necessarily crowd into so active and extensive a Warr. Sure I am (whatever may be objected,) 'tis apposite & proper to the subject and the occasion of it, & stands & falls by your Lordship's suffrage. His Majesty has yet two sheetes, which I beseech your Lordship to retrieve for me ; and after your animadversions on this, I will waite upon your Lordship & receive your farther directions to

My Lord, &c.

Sayes-Court, 31 Aug. 1671.

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To the Same.

My Lord,

I was yesterday at Whitehall to waite on your Lordship, and a little to expostulate with you upon the work enjoin'd me, for want of that assistance which Mr. Secretary promis'd from time to time ; so as unlesse your Lordship interpose and procure those papers, I must desist, and go no further: 'Tis, my Lord, a grave and weighty undertaking in this nice & captious age to deliver to Posterity a Three-years War, of three the greatest Powers and Potentates of Europe against one Nation newly restor'd, and even at that period conflicting with so many calamities besides. If this deserve no application extraordinary, I have taken but ill measures when I entered on it ; but I rely on your Lordship whose com'ands first animated, & by whose influence onely I care to proceede. If the materials I have amass'd lie still in heapes, blame not me, who write not for glory, unlesse you approve of what I write, and assist the deferrent, for I am no more : 'Tis matters of fact his Majesty would have me deliver to the world ; let me have them authentic then, and now especialy in this crisis of exinanition (with grieve & indignation I speake it), and that the whole Nation is sinking. As to the Action at Bergen, I am ready to transmit what I have drawn up, but it shall go no further 'til you cast your eye upon it, since without your Lordship's approbation (after the measures I have taken of your

comprehensive and consum'ate judgement, *quorumq; pars ipse fuisti*, I neither can nor ought to like any thing I do : But this, either your modestie or buisenesse deneys me, & unlesse I overcome it, let all I have don wither and rise no more. Augustus Cæsar had weighty affaires on his hand, but he suffer'd nothing to pine of lesser concerne when he sometimes heard Poems recited ; and Scipio would converse with Lælius, and often with Lucullus too ; and will you let your Country suffer, and that which you with so much earnestnesse and vigour press'd might be publish'd with the greatest expedition, languish now for want of your assistance ? My Lord, what you were wont to say was prediction, and we are already blown upon and profan'd without recovery. The Inscription<sup>1</sup> I here inclose will more than a little discover that it were high time to think of all imaginable ways to recover the dignity of the Nation : and I yet assure myselfe your Lordship has ben inflam'd with a disdaine becoming you at the sound of this disgrace : I do protest solemnly, I have not in my life receiv'd a more sensible mortification. O that ever his Majestie and this glorious Country should in our time (and when your Lordship sits at the helme) succumb under the reproch ; see ourselves buried alive, & our honor (which is ten thousand times more precious than life) borne thus away by a perfid and ungratefull people ! To see our glory drag'd in triumph, and a pillar to our infamie set up on that foule turfe which had not ben a name but for our indulgence. I dare say, my Lord, your heart is as big as your breast can containe, and that you would be one of the first should even devote themselves to tare downe that impudent trophy, and take away our reproch ; And if God Almighty do not shortly stir up amongst us some such generous indignation, I do not for my part desire to live, & see the ruines that are coming on us : But this is reserv'd for men of greate hearts, and for such as your Lordship. My part will be to represent it so, when I come to that cutting period. If it incite not all that call themselves English to rise as one man in rescue of our honour, the whole world will blush at our stupid *lacheté*, and the ingratitude of our foes be styl'd a vertue. Let me therefore, my Lord, receive your further directions seasonably, that whilst you still incite me to dispatch, your Lordship not furnishing me those pieces, render it impossible to advance.

I am, My lord, &c.

Sayes Court, 14 Nov. 1671.

*Desiderata*.—The particulars of the Treaty with the Dutch after the first war with the Parliament, to be found (I suppose) in the Paper Office.—2. What com'ission was given De Ruyter when he went to Ginne, of which we charge the States ?—3. Mr. Hen. Coventries instructions for Sweden, so far as concernes the action at Bergen.—4. Coll. Nicholis instruction, &c. with the Articles of the reddition of

<sup>1</sup> Set up for De Witt on his exploit at Chatham.

New Amsterdam.—5. Lord Fitz Harding's instructions, which I suspect are corrupted in the Dutch relations.—6. The instructions of Sir Walter Vane sent to the Duke of Brandenburg.—7. His Majesties treatie with the Bishop of Munster.—8. By whose importunitie was the saile slacken'd in the first encounter with the Dutch, or whether I am to blanch this particular?—9. What particular Gent. Volunteers, &c. am I more especialy to mention for their behaviour in the first engagement.—10. Was Mr. Boyle's head carried into the Sea from the trunk? 11. Did there no wound or bruse appeare upon my Lord Falmouth's body?—12. On whom is the breaking bulke of the E. India prizes to be really charged?—13. Did Bastian Senten board the Earle of Sandwich, take downe the Blew flag, set up the Orange, & possesse him 3 houres, as the Dutch relations pretend?—14. Sir Gilbert Talbot's letter to the Commander in chiefe at Bergen, which I find not in your Lordships papers.—15. I desire the Order your Lordship promis'd me to the Cleark of the Parliament, that I may search the Journals for those important particulars your Lordship mentioned, &c.

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To my Lord High Treasurer (CLIFFORD.!)

My Lord,

According to my duty I send your Lordship the letters and papers which your Lordship has been pleas'd to trust me withall for the compiling of that part of the History of the late Warr which (having receiv'd both his Majesty's and your Lordship's approbation) I designe to publish, and the rather because I have no other meanes to expresse my greate obligations to your Lordship than to set that forth, in which your Lordship's courage & virtue has been so conspicuous. And now, my Lord, the greate abilitie, uprightnesse and integritie which your Lordship has made to give lustre thro' the rest of those high Offices and Charges which you have rather dignified, than they your Lordship, makes me perfectly deplore your Lordship's so solemn, so extraordinary & so voluntarie a recesse. I am deeply sensible of my owne greate osse by it, because I have found your Lordship has ever ben the most obliging to me; but much more of the publiq. I pray God to blesse your Lordship, and humbly beg this favor, that you will still regard me as your most gratefull beneficiary, & reckon me amongst the number of those who not onely make the sincerest professions, but who really are what they professe, which is to be

My Lord, &c.

Sayes-Court, 21 Aug: 1672.

1 Mr. Evelyn wrote a congratulatory letter to Sir Tho. Clifford on his being made a Peer, and in the margin added this note: 'Who was ever a most obliging friend to me in particular, and after Treasurer (whatever his other failings were) a person of as cleane hands and generous a mind, as any who have succeeded in that high trust.'

## To the Lord Viscount CORNBERRY.

My Lord,

I think it is not unknown to your Lordship that I have sometime since ben com'anded by his Majesty to draw up a Narrative of the occasions of the first Dutch Warr; in order to which my Lord Clifford acquaints me he did formerly and dos still continue to desire of you, that you would be pleas'd to give me the perusal of Sir Geo: Downings dispatches to my Lord Chancelor your Father, which (as I remember) you told me were at Cornbery, where now you are. My Lord, 'tis an extraordinary mortification to me that my un-toward employments here have not suffer'd me to waite upon you all this time of your sweete recesse, that I might also have seen how that place is adorn'd and improv'd since I was there, & where I might likewise have seene those papers without giving your Lordship this trouble; but your Lordship will consider my present condition, & may be assur'd that I shall make use onely of such particulars as conduce to the province impos'd on me by his Majesty. I would likewise be glad to know what light your Lordship can give me out of the letters & dispatches of my Lord Holles, Mr. Coventrie & Sir Gilbert Talbot, which have all of them an influence into that affaire, as it concern'd France, Denmark and Sweden, upon which I am also directed to touch, but shall not be able to do it with any satisfaction, unlesse your Lordship favour me with the com'unication of the subsidiaries in your Cabinet, who am, my Lord, &c.

Whitehall, 17 Sep. 1672.

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To the Duchesse of NEWCASTLE, &c. at Bolsover<sup>1</sup>,  
(when she sent me her Works.)

May it please your Grace,

I go not into my study without reproch to my prodigious ingratitude whilst I behold such a pile of favours, & monuments of your incomparable spirit, without having yet had the good fortune, or the good manners indeede, to make my recognitions as becomes a person so immensely oblig'd. That I presume to make this small present to your Grace (who were pleas'd to accept my collection of Architects, to whom Timber & Planting are subsidiaries) is not for the dignitie of the subject (tho' Princes have not disdain'd to cultivate Trees & Gardens with the same hands they manag'd Scepters), but because it is the best

<sup>1</sup> This letter might be considered as a banter on this extraordinary lady were it not remembered, that the homage paid to high rank and riches at that time of day was excessive; and that Mr. Evelyn was himself very profuse of compliment in his dedications and letters of acknowledgement. If the reader will turn to a very scarce and curious volume, entitled, 'A Collection of Letters and Poems, written by several Persons of Honour and Learning upon divers important subjects to the late Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, London, 1678,' he will find that not only learned men, but learned bodies of men, made use of the same terms in celebrating the talents and accomplishments of these noble authors.

expression of my gratitude that I can returne. Nor, Madamé, is it by this that I intend to pay all my homage for that glorious present, which merits so many encomiums, or write a panegyric of your virtues, which all the world admires, least the indignitie of my style should prophane a thing so sacred; but to repeate my admiration of your genius, & sublime witt so comprehensive of the most abstracted appearances, & so admirable in your sex, or rather in your Grace's person alone, which I never call to mind but to rank it amongst the Heroines, and constellate with the Graces: Such of antient daies were Zenobia Queene of Palmyra, that writ the Historie of her Country, as your Grace has don that of my Lord Duke your husband, worthy to be transmitted to posteritie. What should I speak of Hilpylas, the mother-in-law of young Plinie, & of his admirable Wife! of Pulcheria daughter to the Emp. Arcadius, or of Anna who call'd Alexius father, & writ 15 book's of Historie &c.! Your Grace has title to all their perfections. I passe Cornelia so neere the greate Scipio & mother of the Gracchi, to come to the later wits, Isabella Queene of Castile, wife of Ferdinand K. of Arragon, of which bed came the first Charles, & the mother of foure learned Daughters, of whom one was Catherine wife to our Henry the 8th; Mary of Portugal, wife to John Duke of Braganza (related to her Majestie the Queene Consort), rarely skill'd in the Mathematical Sciences; so was her Sister, espoused to Alexander Duke of Parma; Lucretia d'Esté, of the house of Ferrara; Dutchess of Urbin, a profound Philosopher; Vittoria Colonna wife of Ferdinand d'Avila Marquis of Pescara, whose Poetrie equal'd that of the renowned Petrarch; Hippolita Strozzi, daughter to Fran: D: of Milan; Mary of Arragon; Marques de Vasco, Fabiala, Marcella, Eustochium, St. Catharine of Sienna, St. Bridget & Therese (for even the greatest Saints have cultivated the Sciences), Fulvia Morata, Isabella Andreini, Margarite of Valois (sister to Francis the First and grand-mother to the greate Henry of France) whose Novells are equal to those of the witty Boccaccio, & the Memoires of another Margarite wife of this greate Prince, that name having ben so fertil for Ladys of the sublimest Genius. Catharine de Roches of Poictiers was a celebrated wit, & Claudia de Cleremont Dutchesse of Retz, Mary de Gournay, (daughter of Martigne), & the famous Anna M. Schurman: And of our owne Country Queene Elizabeth, Queene Jane, the Lady Weston, Mrs. Philips our late Orinda, the Daughters of Sir Tho: More; the Queene Christina of Sweden, & Elizabeth daughter of a Queene also, to whom the renowned Des Cartes dedicated his learned worke, & the profound researches of his extraordinary talent: But all these I say, sum'd together, possesse but that divided which your Grace retaines in one; so as Lucretia Marinella, who writ a book (in 1601) *dell' Eccellenzia delle Donne, con difetti è mancamenti de gli huomini*, had no neede to have assembled so many instances & argu-

ments to adorne the work, had she lived to be witnesse of Margarite Dutchesse of Newcastle, to have read her Writings, & to have heard her discourse of the Science she comprehended: I do, Madame, acknowledge my astonishment, & can hardly think too greate of those soules, who resembling your Grace's, seeme to be as it were wholly separate from matter, & to revolve nothing in their thoughts but universal ideas. For what of sublime & worthy in the nature of things, dos not your Grace comprehend, and explaine! What of greate & noble, that your illustrious Lord has not adorn'd, for I must not forget the munificent present of his very usefull book of Horsemanship, together with your Graces Works upon all the profound as well as politer subjects, which I receiv'd of Sir Fran: Tapps from both your Graces hands; but this accumulation ought to be the argument of a fresh and more ample acknowledgement, for which this paper is too narrow. My Wife (whom you have ben pleas'd to dignifie by the name of your Daughter, & to tell her that you looke upon her as your owne, for a Mother's sake of hers, who had so greate a veneration of your Grace) presents her most humble duty to you by, Madame,

Your Grace's, &c.

Sayes-Court, 15 June, 1674.

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To Doctor MERIC CASAUBON, ISAACI Fil

Reverend Sir,

I am infinitely oblig'd to you for your civil Reply to my Letter; but am not a little troubl'd, that it should importune you in a time when you were indispos'd: The Stone is an infirmity, which I am daily taught to co'misserate in my poore afflicted & deare Brother who languishes under that torture, and therefore am much concern'd when I heare of any that are exercis'd under that sad affliction: I will therefore beg of you, that no impertinence of mine (for truly that trifle is no other) may engage you to the least inconvenience, and which may prejudice your health. You have already greatly oblig'd me, by the hints you are pleas'd to send me, & by the notice you are pleas'd to take of that poore essay of mine on Lucretius, so long since escaping me: You may be sure I was very young, & therefore very rash, or ambitious, when I adventur'd upon that knotty piece. 'Tis very true, that when I committed it to a Friend of mine (and one whom I am assur'd you intimately know) to inspect the printing of it, in my total absence from London, I fully resolv'd never to tamper more with that Author; but when I saw it come forth so miserably deform'd, & (I may say) maliciously printed & mistaken, both in the Latine copy (which was a most correct and accurate one of Stephens's) & my version so inhumanly deprav'd, shame & indignation together incited me to resolve upon another edition; & I knew not how (to charme my anxious thoughts during those sad & calamitous times) to go thro' the five remaining

bookes : but when I had don, I repented of my folly, & that I had not taken the caution you since have given us in your excellent *Enthusiasme*, & which I might have foreseene. But, to commute for this, it still lies in the dust of my study, where 'tis likely to be for ever buried.

Sir, I returne you a thousand thanks for the favour & honour you have don me, & which I should have sooner acknowledg'd, had I not ben from home, when your letter came to my house : I shall now beg of God to restore your health, not for the satisfaction of my impertinent enquiries, but for the universal Republiq of Learning, & the benefit which all good men derive from the fruits of your worthy labour, who am  
Sir, your &c.

Sayes-Court, 15 July 1674.

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To the Countess of OSSORIE, &c.

Madame,

I cannot account my self to haue worthily discharg'd my duty to the memorie of my noble Lord, without deeply condoling the losse your Ladyship has sustain'd in the death of that illustrious Person : never did a greate man go off this earthly stage with more regret and universal sorrow, never had Prince a more loyal Subject, never Nation a more publiq losse ; & how greate my owne were in particular, the vn-interrupted obligations of above thirty yeares (joyn'd with a most condescending & peculiar friendship) may serve to declare, that nothing could haue happen'd to me more calamitous. But all this dos but accumulate to your Ladyship's affliction, which were indeede deplorable, had you not, besides the greate & heroic actions of his life, the glorious name he has left behind, the hopefull branches that remaine to imitate his virtues, the consolation, above all, of his being safe, where he has receiv'd a Crown brighter than any earthly Prince. It was my duty (as well as honor) to be with him night & day till I clos'd his eyes, & to joyne in those holy offices which were so devoutly perform'd by the Bishop of St. Asaph to the last article, and during all his Lordship's sickness ; which was pass'd thro' with such Christian patience & resignation, as that alone ought to giue your Ladyship exceeding comfort ; I am sure it dos to me, & your Ladyship is to blesse Almighty God for it, who, after so many honorable hazards in this wicked world, would haue him to a better, & that he is departed hence as a greate man & a true Christian should do, tho' for the present to our infinite losse. And now, Madame, I should beg pardon for entertaining you so long on this mournfull occasion, did I not assure myselfe that the testimony I giue your Ladyship of the religious & pious circumstances of his sickness, would afford you some consolation, as well as to shew how sincerely devoted I was to his Lordship's service, how much obliged for his constant and generous friendship to me, & how much  
I am  
Madame, your &c.

White Hall, 5 June, 1680.

To Mr. PEPYS, &c. [after the Shipwreck in which the Duke of YORK escaped so narrowly, returning out of Scotland.]

Sir,

I have ben both very sorry, & very much concern'd for you, since your Northern Voyage, as knowing nothing of it 'till you were embark'd (tho' I saw you so few daies before) and that the dismal and astonishing Accident was ouer, which gaue me apprehensions & a mixture of passions not realy to be express'd 'til I was assur'd of your safety, and I gaue God thanks for it with as much sincerity as any Friend you haue aliue. 'Tis sadly true there were a greate many poore creatures lost & some gallant persons with them; but there are others worth hundreds saved, and Mr. Pepys was to me the second of those some, and if I could say more to expresse my joy for it, you should haue it vnder the hand & from the heart of

Sir, your &c.

Sayes Court, 5 June, 1681.

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To Dr. MORLEY, Bp. of Winchester.

1 June, 1681.

\* \* \* \* Father Maimbourg has had the impudence to publish at the end of his late *Histoire du Calvinisme*, a pretended letter of the late Dutchesse of York<sup>1</sup>, intimating the motives of her deserting the Church of England; amongst other things to attribute it to the indifference, to call it no worse, of those two Bishops, upon whose advice she wholly depended as to the direction of her conscience, and points of controversie. 'Tis the universal discourse that your Lordship is one of those Bishops she mentions, if at least the letter be not supposititious, knowing you to have ben the most domestic in the family, and one whom her Highnesse resorted to in all her doubts and spiritual concernes, not only during her former circumstances, but all the time of her greatnesse to the very last. It is therefore humbly and earnestly desired (as well as indeede expected) amongst all that are concerned for our Religion and the great and worthy character which your L<sup>p</sup> beares, that your L<sup>p</sup> would do right to it, and publish to all the world how far you are concerned in this pretended charge, and to vindicate your selfe and our Church from what this bold man would make the world believe to the prejudice of both. I know your L<sup>p</sup> will be curious to reade the passage your selfe, and do what becomes you upon this signal occasion, God having placed you in a station where you have no greate ones frownes to feare or flatter, and given you a zeale for the truth and for his glory. With this assurance I humbly beg your L<sup>ps</sup> blessing.

A Note added:—'This letter was soon followed with the Bishops full vindication published in print.'

<sup>1</sup> This letter is printed in a small collection of Letters of Eminent Persons, in 2 vols. 12mo.

To Mr. WILLIAM LONDON, at Barbados.

Sir,

I find myselfe so exceedingly oblig'd for the greate civilitie of your Letter (abating onely for the encomiums you are pleas'd to bestow upon me, & which are in no sort my due), that having nothing to returne you but my thanks. and acknowledgements, I was not to delay that small retribution, for so many usefull & excellent notices, as both your Letter & the Papers inclos'd haue com'unicated to me. I haue indeede ben formerly more curious in the culture of Trees and Plants, & blotted a greate deale of paper with my crude observations (& some of them I have had the vanitie to publish), but they do in no degree amount to the accuratenesse of your designe, which I cannot but applaude, & wish you all the successe so excellent an undertaking deserves. I do not know that euer I saw a more pertinent & exact enumeration of particulars, & if it please God you liue to accomplish what you have drawn the scheme of, I shall not doubt to pronounce it the most absolute & perfect Historie that we haue any where extant of either oure owne, or other Plantations. So that I cannot but highly encourage & augure you all the prosperity imaginable : and I shall not faile, in order to it, to impart your papers to the Royall Sociëty, who I am very confident will be ready to do you any service ; although I do not see that your designe is any where defective. And I perswade my selfe that you will be curious to adorne your work with true & handsome draughts of the Animals, Plants, & other things that you describe in the Natural part. This I am bold to mention, because most of those Authors (especialy English) who haue giuen us their relations, fill them with such lame & imperfect draughts & pictures, as are rather a disgrace than ornament to their books, they hauing no talent that way themselues, and taking no course to procure such as can designe ; & if now & then you sprinkle here & there a prospect of the Countries by the true and naturall Landskipe, it would be of infinite satisfaction, & imprint an Idea of those places you passe thro', which are so strange to vs and so desirable. Gaspar Barlæus (in his elegant Historie of Brasile) has giuen an incomparable instance of this ; in which work the Landskips of divers parts of that Country are accurately exhibited and grauen in copper, besides the Chorographicall Mapps, & other illustrations : But, Sir, I beg your pardon for mentioning a thing, which I am sure you haue well thought of, & will provide for. In your account of Plants, Trees, Fruits, &c. there are abundance to which we are here utter strangers, & therefore cannot but be desirable to the curious. I am told there is newly planted in Barbados an Orange of a most prodigious size ; & such an improvement of the China as by far exceeds these we haue from Portugal, which are of late yeares much degenerated. As for Flowers, I think I have heard that the *Narcissus Tuberosos* grow wild, & in plenty with

you. I haue not the impudence to beg for myselfe any of those rarities you mention, but wish with all my heart I had any thing of my owne worthy your acceptance. I had at the beginning of last spring some forraine, & exotic seedes which I imparted to my friends, & some I sow'd & set, but with very little successe : & as rightly you complaine there is no trust in our mercenarie Seedes men of London for any thing. In the meane time concerning Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Cloues, & those other Aromatics you so reasonably covet, I feare it will be a very difficult province to obtaine such of them from the East Indies, they being mostly in possession of the Hollanders, who are (you know) a jealous people, & as I have ben informed make it capital to transport so much as a single Nutmeg (I meane such a one as being set would produce a Tree) out of their Countrie: the late Sir John Cox, who had often ben at Nova Batavia, told me he could not procure one handfull but such as were effoete and depriv'd of their sprouting principle, upon any tearmes ; much lesse could he obtaine a plant ; & yet I haue ben told by a confident Broaker about the Custome house (whose name occurs not) & who has himselfe ben in the Indies more than once (pretending to curiosities), that he brought away 2 or 3 plants of the true Nutmeg Tree belonging to a certaine Dutch Merchant ; I suppose for the learned Dr. Munting of that Countrie, who has brought vp both Nutmegs & Cinnamon Plants in his garden in Holland, but to what improvement I cannot tell. It were not to be despair'd but that some subtil & industrious person (who made it his businesse) might ouercome this difficultie among some of their plantations, & why not ? as well as that a Countrie man of ours, who some yeares since brought home the first heads of Saffron out of Greece (whence it was death to transport it) in the hollow head or top of his Pilgrime Staff, if what our Hollingshed writes be true: some such contrivance or accident will doubtlesse at last enrich your Western, & propitious Climate with those precious deficients ; as it has don Suggar, Ginger, Indico, & other beneficial Spices & Drougs : & I know not whether the Jamaica Peper be not already comparable to many of those we haue enumerated. I am sure it gratifies the tast & smell with most agreeable qualities, and little inferior to the oriental Cinnamon. There is a Wallnut in Virginia whose nuts prosper very well with us, but we want store of them. It is in the meane time deplorable that the Bermudas Cedar, of all others the most excellent & odoriferous, is (as I am told) almost worne out for want of propagation: if it will thrive in other Countries 'tis pittie but it should be universally cultivated. But, Sir, I tire you. The *Hortus Malabaricus* presents us with the most stupendious & vnheard-of Plants in that elaborate work ; the Cutts being in copper are certainly (of any publish'd) the most accurately don, nor are their shapes & descriptions lesse surprising. Sir, the Royal Society have lately put their Repositorie into an excellent

method, & it euery day encreases, thro' the fauor and beneuolence of sundry Benefactors, whose names are gratefully recorded. If any thing occur to you of Curious (as certainly there daily do innumerable) you will greatly oblige that Assembly of Virtuosi in communicating any productions of the places you trauell thro', vpon the occasion of the returne of vessells from those parts. The particulars they collect are Animals and Insects of all sorts, their Skinnes, and Sceletons, Fruits, Stones, Shells, Swords, Gunns, Minerals, & whateuer Nature produces in her vast & comprehensivę bosome. Sir, your Letter came to me from Mr. Harrwell the 23rd of September, & by the same hand & fauour I returne you the hearty thanks and acknowledgments of

Sayes-Court, 27 Sep. 1681.

Sir, Yours, &c.

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To SAM. PEPYS, Esq. Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

In compliance with your com'ands I have already transmitted to you the two large Sea Charts, & now I send you the sheetes I have long since blotted with the Dutch Warr, for which I should now make another apologie (besides its preface) were it not that you well understand the prejudices I lay under at that time, by the inspection of my Lord Treasurer Clifford, who would not indure I should lenifie my style, when a war with Holland was the subject; nor with much patience suffer that France should be suspected, tho' in justice to truth as evident as the day, I neither would, nor honestly could, conceale (what all the world might see) how subdolously they dealt & made us their propertie all along. The interception of De Lyonne's letters to his Master, p. 226, is sufficient to make this good, and I am plainly astonished it should not long since have opened our Statesmen's eyes: unlesse it be, that we designe to truckle under France, and seeke industriously the ruine of our Country. You will, Sir, pardon this severe reflection, since I cannot think of it without perfect indignation. As to the Compiler's part, 'tis not easy to imagine the infinite fardles of Papers, Treaties, Declarations, Relations, Journals, original Letters, & other volumes of print and writing, &c. which I was obliged to reade & peruse (furnish'd and indeede imposed on me from the Secretaries of State and others) for this small attempt, and that which was to follow; I am onely sorry that I was so hasty to returne some pieces to my Lord Treasurer, which I might honestly have kept, and with better conscience than his carrying them away into Devonshire, *vnde nulli retrorsum*.

I had drawn a Scheme of the intire work down to the Treaty at Breda, and provided the materials; but the late Lord Treasurer Danby cutting me short as to some just pretensions of another nature I had to his more particular kindnesse, I cared not to oblige an ungratefull age; and perhaps the world is delivered by it from a fardle of impertinences.

Clifford (his predecessor) was, with all his other imperfections, a generous man, and I verily believe of cleane hands ; I am sure I was oblig'd to him ; the other had been sometimes so to me & mine, but that's all past. Clifford had greate failings, but was gratefull and firme to his friend.

As to your other Queries, I have not any thing relating to the Prize Office ; and for that Discourse wherein I did attempt to shew how far a Gentleman might become learned by the onely assistance of the modern languages, (written at the request of Sir Samuel Tuke for the Duke of Norfolk) to my grieve I feare I shall never recover it ; for, sending it to the person I nam'd sometime since, he tells me he cannot find it; and so for ought I see it is lost. There is a List in it of Authors, and a method of reading them to advantage, besides something in the discourse which would not have displeased you ; nor was it without some purpose of oné day publishing it, because 't was written with a virtuous designe of provoking our Gourt Fopps, and for encouragement of illustrious persons who have leasure & inclinations to cultivate their minds beyond a Farce, a Horse, a Whore, and a Dog, which, with very little more, are the confines of the knowledge and discourse of most of our fine Gentlemen and Beaus. I will desire Sir James to make another search for it, when next I see him.

In the meane time the particulars which here I send you are,

The battle of Lepanto: A description of the Armada in [15]88, I suppose authentiq.

A Paper written in French touching the severitie of their Marine Laws.

Trajan's Column with Alphonso Ciaconius's notes, referring to the Bass-relieve by the figures. Such as concerne Ships and Gallies, &c. you will find by the figures 57. 243. 260. 153. 24. 236. 239. 152. 155. and especially 303. 235. where he speakes of copper or brass instead of iron-work ; and the best season for the felling of timber ; and there is, as to other notices, subject of a world of erudition beyond what Ciaconius has touched, which would deserve an ampler volume.

A Discourse concerning the Fishery, & duty of the Flag.

A large volume of Sir R. Browne's Dispatches from 1641 to 1644, &c. during his publiq ministrie and character in the French Court. Besides which I have Two folio's more that continue it longer.

I also send you the Journal of Martin Frobisher and Capt. Fenton.

That of Drake I cannot find as yet, so many papers and things there are to be removed and turned over in my confused study.

Item, a Map of an Harbour, whose name I find not to it.

Also an old Map of a Sea fight.

Also a packet of original letters belonging to the former of my L. of Leycesters, in number 14, which are all I have remaining.

With a declaration of the old Prince of Orange, William of Nassau, who was assassinated at Delft.

## The Earle of Leycester's Will.

Another packet of Letters & other matters, and Transactions of State relating to the late times, in number 88, and of which I have thousands more that you may command sight of, but these I think are most material.

A particular of wages due to the Deputy, Army, & other state Officers and affaires relating to Ireland, Anno 1587—1588.

A Packet of 38 papers containing Instructions and matters of State to severall public Ministers abroad, &c.

Item, another Packet of 33 originall Letters to & from greate persons during the late Rebellion here.

A Scheme of the action of the Hollanders at Chatham, 1667, when they burnt our ships, and bloq'd up the Thames.

Order of Council of State (then so called) for the apprehension of Charles Stewart, his present Majesty, so named by the Regicides.

Lastly, a Relation of his Majesty's action & escape at Worcester, when he came out of Scotland with his Army, being as far as Sir R. Browne wrote out of the then Queen Mother's letters at Paris; that which he tooke from his Majesty's owne dictating (when he, after that escape, came into France at Paris) was sent to Monsieur Renodaut, & was publish'd by him in the Weekly Extraordinaire Anno 1651, where you'l find it in French among the volumes of his Gazettes. I am sorry the original was not retri'd from him.

Thus, Sir, you see how diligent I have ben, since I came home, to answer your queries, as I shall in all your other com'ands as far as is in the power of,

Sir, your &c.

These papers, mapps, letters, books and particulars, when you have don with, be pleas'd to take your owne time in returning.

Sayes Court, 5 Dec. 1681.

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To the Bishop of Oxford (Doctor FELL).

My Lord,

It cannot but be evident to your Reverend Lordship, to how greate danger & fatal consequences the *Histoire Critique*, not long since publish'd in French by Pere Simon, & now lately translated (tho' but ill translated) into English, exposes not onely the Protestant & whole Reformed Churches abroad, but (what ought to be dearer to vs) the Church of England at home, which with them acknowledge the Holy Scriptures alone to be the Canon & Rule of Faith; but which this bold man not onely labours to vnsettle, but destroy. From the operation I find it already begins to haue amongst diuers whom I converse with, especialy the young men, & some not so young neither, I euen tremble to consider what fatal mischiese this piece is like to create, whilst they do not look vpon the booke as coming from some daring Wit, or

young Lord Rochester revived, &c. but as the work of a learned Author, who has the reputation also of a sober and judicious person. And it must be acknowledged that it is a master-piece in its kind; that the man is well studied in the Oriental tongues, & has carried on his project with a spirit and addresse not ordinarie amongst *Critics*; tho' after all is don, whether he be realy a *Papist*, *Socinian*, or meerely a *Theist*, or something of all three, is not easy to discouer; but this is evident—as for the Holy Scriptures, one may make what one will of them for him. He tells the world we can establish no Doctrine or Principles vpon them, and then, are not we of the Reform'd Religion in a blessed condition! For the loue of God, let our Vniversities, my Lord, no longer remaine thus silent: It is the Cause of God, and of our Church! Let it not be said your *Chaires* take no notice of a more pernicious plot than any that yet has alarm'd vs. Whilst euery body lets it alone, men think there's nothing to be said against it; & it hugely prevails already, & you will be sensible of its progresse when 'tis too late to take off the reproch. I most humbly therefore implore your Rev. Lordship to consider of it seriously; that the Penns and the Chaires may openly & on all occasions assert & defend the com'on Cause, & that Oxford may haue the honor of appearing first in the field. For from whom, my Lord, should we expect reliefe, if not from you, the Fathers of the Church, & the Scholes of the Prophets? It is worthy the publiq concerne to ward the deadly blows which sap the rootes, & should by no meanes be abandon'd to hazard, or the feeble attempts of any single champion, who, if worsted, would but add to the triumph of our enemies, *Papists* & *Atheists*. My Lord, he who makes bold to transmit this to your Lordship, tho' he be no man of the Church, is yet a son of the Church, & greatly concern'd for her; & tho' he be not learned, he converses much with books, & men that are as well at Court, as in towne & the country; & thinks it his duty to giue your Lordship an account of what he heares & sees, & is expected & call'd for from you, who are the superintendents & watchmen that Christ has set ouer his Church, & appointed to take care of his flock. Sir John Marsham's booke<sup>1</sup> would likewise be consider'd farther than as yet it seemes to have ben, & the obnoxious passages in it not put off to Prefaces & accidental touches onely; while neither to *that*, nor yet to *Spinosa* (made also vulgar) we haue had anything publish'd of expresse, or equal force in a just volume, fitted either for

<sup>1</sup> 'Chronicus Canon Ægyptiacus, Hebraicus, et Græcus, cum Disquisitionibus Historicis et Criticis.' fol. Lond. 1672. He travelled into France, Italy, and part of Germany; studied the Law, and was one of the Six Clerks in Chancery. He suffered as a partizan of King Charles the First, but on the Restoration was restored to his situation, and soon after created a Baronet. He was one of the greatest Antiquaries and most learned Writers of his time. Father Simon calls him the Great Marsham of England. He wrote the Preface to the Second Volume of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, besides the Diatriba above-mentioned. Sir John was ancestor of the present Earl of Romney.

domestic or forraine readers. I know that the late Bishop of Chester<sup>1</sup>, Dr. Stillingfleet, Huetius, & some few others, haue said abundantly to confute our modern Atheists ; but as these start new & later notions, or rally & reinforce the scatter'd enemie, we should, I think, march as often out to meete & encounter them. For the men of this curious & nicer age do not consider what has ben said or written formerly, but expect something fresh, that may tempt & invite them to consider, that for all the bold appearances of the enemie, they are no stronger than heretofore, & can do vs no more hurt, vnlesse we abandon and betray ourselves and giue up the Cause. 'Tis not (my Lord) sufficient to haue beaten doun the heade of the *Hydra* once, but as often as they rise to vse the club, tho' the same weapon be vsed, the same thing repeated ; it refreshes the faint, & resolves the doubtful, & stirrs-up the sloth-full, & is what our adversaries continually do to keepe up & maintaine their owne party, when euer they receiue the least rebuke from vs :—*fas est et ab hoste doceri*. Nor, my Lord, whilst I am writing this, do I at all doubt of your Lordship's greate wisdome, zeale, & religious care to obviate & prevent this and all other adversaries of our most holy Faith, as built vpon the Sacred Scriptures of the Prophets & Apostles, Jesus Christ himselfe being the cheife corner-stone ; But if the excesse of my affection for the Vniuersitie (which I haue sometimes heard perstring'd, as not taking the alarme so concernedly vpon these occasions) haue a little too far transported me, I most humbly supplicate your Lordship's pardon for my presumption, & for my zeale & good-wishes to the prosperity of our Sion, your Lordship's blessing,

Who am, my Reverend Lord,  
Your &c.

Sayes-Court, 19 Mar: 1681-82.

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To SAM. PEPYS, Esq. late Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir

In answer to your Queries, I will most ingenuously declare my thoughts upon second meditation since I publish'd my Treatise of Commerce, & what I haue ben taught, but was not there to speake in publiq without offence. I will therefore reply in the method you seeme to hint ; and then say what I haue concerning our pretence to Dominion on the Seas. To the first:

Boxhornius has written an historie of the Ansiatic Townes ; where you'l find in what condition & credit Holland was for traffiq & com'erce, & in the Danish Annales. It would be enquir'd when the English Staple was remov'd into Brabant, being 100 years since, & now fixed at Dort. How far forth Charles the Fift pursued or minded his interest at sea ? As to Henry the 4th of France, 'tis evident he was not negligent of his interest there, by his many projects for trade,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Wilkins.

& performances at Marseilles; all that Richelieu and his successors in that ministrie produc'd was projected by their Greate Henry, as is plaine out of Claude B. Morisot his Preface. And now

To our title of *Dominion* & the Fishery (which has made such a noise in this part of the world) I confesse I did lately seeke to magnifie & assert it as becomes me *pro hic & nunc* (to speake with logicians), and as the circumstances you know then requir'd. But betweene friends (and under the rose as they say), to tell you realy my thoughts, when such like topics were us'd sometimes in Parliament, 'tis plaine they were passed over there upon important reasons. To begin with the very first. Supposing the old Britains did prohibite forainers to come into their country, what inferrs that to any claime of Dominion in the *Narrow*, but a jealosie rather over their proper coasts? Nor reade we that they euer practis'd it ouer the Gauls. The Chinezes we find forbad all to enter their countrie: are they therefore Lords of the Oriental seas? As for King Arthur (abating what is fabulous, *viz.* his legendarie dominion) the *Comes Litoris Saxonici*, &c. stretch'd to Denmark, Sweden, Norway, & Iseland, infers either too much or nothing. Haue we therefore any right of clayme to those realmes at present? Why then to the Seas? Againe, admitt the most, may not Dominion be lost or extinguish'd? Was not his rather a momentarie conquest or excursion, rather than an establish'd dominion? Was it not lost to the Danes? Had they not all the characters of domination imaginable—Lords of our seas, Lords of our shores too, & the Tribute of *Danegelt* from England and Ireland both? If euer there were a real dominion in the world, the Danes must be yielded to haue had it; and if their title cannot be extinguish'd by subsequent revolutions, I greatly question whether ours will euer be euinced. In short, the story of King Edgar is monstrously romantic, & the pretended deede I doubt will appeare but spurious. Truely, if forraine chronicles had ben as much stuff'd with the renowne of this Prince as with K. Arthur, I should giue more credit to it. In the meane time, what they report of Athelred is totaly against vs, since tis plaine he pay'd the *Danegelt* as a tribute to them, & settled it to the end. One may querie whether the Scots Seas, & Scotland to boote, be not a fee to England; for with as much reason we might challenge it, if the producing Rolls, Records, & Acts of Parliament, & of Statutes to that purpose, were of any importance; because we can shew more to the purpose than in the other case: but how would then that Nation take it, & what become of their Laws about Fishing? 'Tis declar'd in our Laws that we are the Lords of the *Foure Seas*, & so adjudged in our Courts, as to those born upon those Seas; and yet the Parliament of Scotland can impose a Tax on our Fishermen, which is a shrewd argument against vs. Who euer read that the Kings of England prohibited ny to fish on the coast of Scotland? Or charg'd them with vsurpa-

tion for taking Toll and Custome for the Herring-fishery? The truth is, the Licences (which I speake of in my book, from Scarbrough) were onely to fish on the Dogger-bank. Such English as were to fish in the Scottish Seas about Orkney, & Shetland, Iseland, & Fero, &c. did take Licences to fish from the Kings of Norway at Bergen & North-barum; & this jurisdiction & sovreignty vndoubted of the Norwegian Kings is recognis'd by our owne Parliament in a Statute 8 Hen. 6. c. 2., & by in'umerable Treaties betwixt the two Crownes, euen within a century of yeares; and if so, consider how feeble a prooffe is that famous Roll *pro hominibus Hollandiæ*, & how it is to be limited in itselfe (by the historie & occasion that caused it) to the Narrow or Chanell onely. 'Tis also to be considered that the Danes protested at Breda, that the cession of the Scots Fisherie about Orkney & Shetland was neuer made to our King James vpon his marriage of Q. Ann (as our tradition is), nor any time before to any Scottish King; and supposing there were any such authentiq deede, it were better to fix the Fisherie (we contend about) euen in the Dutch, then either permit it to be regulated by the decrees of a Scotch Parliament, or transferr it to that Nation. Now as to the greate Trade, & multitude of English vessels, by the historie of the Haunse Townes, their privileges & power in England, one shall find, that for the bulk our Navies consisted most of hired Ships of the Venetians, Genoezes, & Ansiatics, till Queene Elizabeth, tho' her father Henry the 8. had a flourishing fleete. The Right of Passes, and Petitions thereupon, were formed vpon another part of the *Jus Gentium*, then our pretended Dominion of the Seas; which (to speake ingenuously) I could neuer find recognis'd expressly in any Treaty with forrainers. As to returne to the Fishery, that of the Dutch fishing without Licence, the *Intercursus magnus* (so boasted) was a perpetual treaty, and made as well with all the People as the Princes of Burgundy, & so as to be obligatorie, tho' they rejected their Gouernors, as we see most of them did, & as perhaps they might according to the *Latus Introitus*. And that the Dutch are still, & by Q. Eliz. were so declar'd to be, a *Pars contrahens*, after their Revolt & abjuration of Spaine, dos as much invalidate that proceeding of K. James, & Charles the First, who both signed that *Intercursus*, & were in truth included thereby tho' they had not sign'd it.

But besides all this, the nature of Prescription would be enquir'd into as well when it makes against vs, as for vs; & therefore it should be demanded whether Queen Elizabeth did not first assert the *Mare Liberum* in opposition to the Danes, and whether his present Majestie has not don it at Jamaica against the Spaniard; Pray consider the seale of that Admiralty. To speake plaine truth; when I writ that *Treatise*, rather as a *Philological* Exercise, & to gratifie the present circumstances, I could not clearely satisfie myselfe in sundry of those particulars, nor findreally that euer the Dutch did pay Toll or took

License to fish in Scotland after the contest, from any solid proofes. Indecde (as there I relate) they surpriz'd Brown who came to exact it, & detain'd him in Holland seuerall months; but I think they neuer payd peny for it, tho' the Papers I haue perus'd speake of an *Assize Herring*; nor did I find that any Rent (wheroff in my 108 page I calculate the arreres) for permission to fish, was euer fixed by both parties; & so cannot properly be call'd a settl'd Rent. This would therefore be exquisitely enquir'd into, and perhaps, both for these & many other particulars, a thro' search in his Majestie's Paper Office may afford clearer light, if there haue any due care been taken to collect & digest such important matters. As for the yeares 1635 and 1637, you cannot but espie an intreague in the equipping those formidable flectes; & that they were more to awe the French than terrifie Holland (see how the times & interests change! but no more of that, 'tis now a tender point) I fancy were no difficult matter to prove, and that any Licenses were taken in those yeares, I could neuer be assur'd of: that of 1636 being but a single act of force on some particular men, the States neuer owning them in it; and you know the Admirall Dorp was casheer'd for not quarrelling it with our Northumberland, and our conduct and licenses flatly rejected in 1637, when Capt. Field came. Lastly,

When K. James fixed his Chamber, did he not either renounce the *English Sovereignty* of the Seas, or violate therein his League with Spaine? (as that Nation vrged, pleading that the British Seas were *Territorium Domini Regis*); but he did not the latter, wherefore I am not single in this declaration. In a word, the intire argument of this Fish'ry is too controvertable to be too peremptory decided by the penn, & vpon many other accounts (of which the plenty & wantones of our full fed vnfrugal people, which deterrs them from hard labour, is not the least) a project wholly vselesse as circumstances be, and therefore might with much more benefit, ease, & facility be supplied by increasing our Fishery at New-found-land. Finally,

As to the Co'merce in generall of this Nation: from all that I could observe during my short being of that noble & honorable Council, & informing myselfe as I was able by books & discourses of experienc'd persons; I say, after all this, I considered it a very vaine thing to make any (the most probable, certaine, or necessarie) proposal about Trade, &c. Not that it might not be infinitely improv'd, if Princes & People did unanimously, & with a true publiq spirit, & as our naturall advantages prompt us, apply themselves honestly and industriously about it; but for that, as things now are & have hitherto ben manag'd since the renown'd Queene Elizabeth (for that *encomium* I must give her), the whole advantage this Nation receives thereby is evidently carried on more by antient methods & the sedulitie of private men, than by any publiq encouragement: and as to the present, it certainly languishes

under insupportable difficulties. And thus, Sir, I choose to convey to you my second more digested thoughts, of a point which in your excellent designe & work cannot escape the ample handling as one of the most considerable, when you come to speake of the importance of our Shipping & Trade, or pretence of Dominion, &c. And I do it, you see, with all *selfe denyall* imaginable (& not without some reproach) after what I have publish'd to the contrary, by which you may conclude how suspicious wise men should be of other Histories & Historians too, how confident & specious soever, vnlesse it were almost demonstration, that the Authors had no interest of their owne to serve, & were not influenc'd by their superiors, or the publiq cry. Let this ingenious confession com'ute for my faults in that Treatise, & be put amongst the retractations of

Sir, your &c.

Sayes Court, 19 September 1682.

To SAMUELL PEPYS Esquire, Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

I were very unworthy of your late & former favours should I not render you some assurances, that I am often meditating on them; & that I shall ever (according to my small force & capacitie) obey your com'ands. Without more ceremonie then—I am in the first place to give you an account of *Colours*. But you will be better pleas'd to receive it from the learned Gisbertus Cuperus's *Apotheosis, vel consecratio Homeri* (Amsterdam in 1683, 4to.) in his curious conjectures upon an antique *Sculpture*; where speaking of the Rhapsodists that were vs'd to sing the Ballads of Vlysses' Errors & Maritime Voyages, they were wont to be clad in *Blew*; when his Iliads & fighting Poems, *Red*; & were so superstitious, as allways to cover those bookes or *Rolls* in Parchment of those two colours. He pretends that one Oenomanus first invented distinctions of colours in the *Ludi Circenses*, where *Greene* was the ensigne of Combatants by Land, and *Blew* at Sea: so as when those who were clad in *Greene* gain'd the prize, they look'd on it as a presage of a fruitfull harvest: if the *Blew-Coates* prevail'd, successful expeditions and exploits at *Sea*: the first, it seemes, concern'd the Husbandman, the other the Mariner. He farther observes, that when there was any com'otion or rebellion in the parts of Italy or Gaule, the General of Horse carried a *Blew Cornet*, for as much as that generous creature was produc'd by Neptune's trident, & first manag'd by that Sea God; & that whoever signaliz'd his courage on that element, was honor'd with a Flag of the same colour; which Suetonius gives a remarkable instance of, in the Life of Octavius Augustus: *M. Agrippam in Sicilia, post navalem Victoriam Cœruleo Vexillo donavit*, after the naval victory obtain'd against young Pompey. It were ostentation to cite more Authors, Statius, Diodorus

Siculus, Plutarch in Vit. Themist. &c. Enough to give you an impatient desire of that excellent entertainment Cuperus will afford you, not on this subject onely, but in a world of other choice and curious erudition.

Sir, I do not remember you charg'd me with any other particular of this sort: but as I am both dispos'd & esteeme mysele very happy in serving you, thô but as a *Pioner* to dig materials for a more skillfull hand to square & polish & set in work, so if in my desultory course of reading & among the rubbish I lite on anything which is worthy your notice, & may contribute to it, reckon that you have in me a ready & faithfull servant: acquir'd by many obligations, but (I assure you) by none more than that singular love of virtue, & things worthy an excellent person, which I discover & highly honour in you.

In the notes of Issac Vossius upon Catullus, *Sive utrumque Jupiter simul secundus incidisset in pendem*, &c. he has many learned observations about *Navigation*, particularly, that of sailing to several parts opposite to one another by the same wind, *ijsdem Ventis in contrarium navigatur prolati pedibus*, as Pliny expresses it; & it was (you may remember) on this hint that I inform'd you Vossius had by him a Treatise *Περὶ Ταχυπλοία*; I enquir'd of him (when last I was at Windsore) whether he would publish it; to which he gave me but an uncertaine answer. In the meane time you'l not be displeas'd at what he tells us of a certaine Harmonie produc'd by the snapping of Carters' Whips, vs'd of old at the Feasts of Bacchus & Cybele; & that the Tartars have to this day no other Trumpets, & are so adroit, as at once to make the Whip give three distinct clapps, & that so loude as to be heard very far off; and then speakes of a Coachman at Maestricht who plays severall Tunes with his Lash. To a Louer of Musiq and Harmonie I could not omit this scrap, thô I know you'l laugh at me for it, & pay me with the Tongues and Gridiron. But ere I leave Dr. Vossius, I dare say you have perus'd what he writes in his late Opusculum touching the Reformation of *Latitudes & Eclipses*; and his asserting the Mediterranean & other places to be much larger than our Geographers report. He has something also of the North Passage to the Indies, of the construction of Gallies, the Pico Teneriffe, &c.; of all which you best are able to judge, & doubtlesse have form'd your remarks thereon. Whilst I was running on, comes Mr. Dum'er to give me a visite; and I am so charm'd with his ingenuity, that I looke vpon it as a new obligation to you; & if you find I cultivate it for my owne sake a little, you will let him understand (by all that I am to speake to you of him vpon this short taste) how much I wish him the improvements of your favours, who am for so many mysele.

Sir, your &c.

Sayes-Court, 23 September 1685.

From Mr. SAMUEL PEPYS.

Sir,

Thursday night, 2 Oct. 1685.

Very sorry I am that I was not in the way to enjoy you to-day, being gone (the only time I have beene able to doe it this summer) to make a visit to good Mrs. Ewer at Clapham. But I have 2 reasons to desire you will give mee your company to-morrow noone, first because wee will bee alone, & next I have something to shew you, that I may not have another time.

Your most obedient Servant,

S. PEPYS.

To this letter Mr. Evelyn has subjoined the following curious note:

'That which was shew'd mee were *two papers*<sup>1</sup> attested by his present Majesties hand to be a true Copie of the Originals which some day before he had shewed Mr. Pepys privately :— That his late Brother Charles the Second was of long time since a Roman Catholique. The papers contained severall *points* of Religion, labouring to cast Heresy, Schism, &c. on the Church of England, but on my judgement without any force or reason, & a thousand times confuted.'

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To the Countesse of SUNDERLAND (Lady ANNE SPENCER).

Madame,

I am not un-mindfull of the late com'and you lay'd vpon me, to give you a Catalogue of such Books as I believ'd might be fit to entertaine your more devout & serious hours: and I looke vpon it as a peculiar grace & fauour of God to your Ladyship, that amidst so many temptations, and grandeur of Courts, the attendants, visites, diver-

<sup>1</sup> The following is extracted from the life of King James II. published by the Rev. J. S. Clarke.

'Some few days after the late King's death, his Majesty looking into the papers he had left behind him, found two relating to Controversie, one in the strong box, the other in the Closet, both writ in his own hand: they were short but sollid, and shewed that tho' his Conversion was not perfected til a few houres before his death, his conviction was of a longer date. The King thought fit to shew them one day to the Archbishop of Canterburie in his Closet, no body being by, who seem'd much surpris'd at the sight of them, and pawsed almost half a quarter of an houre before he said anything: at last tould the King, He did not think his late Majesty had understood controversie so well, but that he thought they might be answer'd: 'If so,' sayd the King, 'I pray let it be done gentleman-like and sollidly, and then it may have the effect you so much desire of bringing me back to your Church:' to which the Archbishop reply'd, 'It would perhaps be counted a disrespect in him to contradict the late King:' but his Majesty reassured him in that point, by telling him the change it might produce in himself (if answer'd effectually) was of that consequence as to out-balance any other consideration: and therefore desired he might see a reply either from him or any other of his perswasion: but tho' he, my Lord Dartmouth and others were several times reminded of this matter, and earnestly press'd to it, never any formal reply was produced during his Majesty's reign in England. It is true there was something of an answer published by an unknown hand, but the drift of it was rather to proue that the papers were not the late King's (which was a libel in reality upon the present) than any reply to the arguments of it, and it is probable the Archbishop despair'd of answering it so efectually as to bring back his Majesty to their Communion, whereas the publishing a reply would have own'd and published the papers too: and he had reason to apprehend, that the authority and arguments of their dying Prince would influence more persons to that Religion, than his answer would perswade to relinquish it.' Vol. II. page 8.

sions (& other circumstances of the Palace, and the way you are engag'd in) you are resolu'd that nothing of all this shall interrupt your duty to God, & the religion you professe, when euer it comes in competition with the things of this world, how splendid soever they may appeare for a little & (God knows) uncertaine time: Madame, 'tis the best, & most gratefull returne you can make to Heaven for all the blessings you enjoy, amongst which there is none you are more happy in, then in the vertue, early & solid piety of my Lady Anne, and progresse of your little Son. Madame, the foundation you haue lay'd in those two blessings, will not onely build, but establish your illustrious Family, beyond all the provisions you can make of gallant and greate in estimation of the world; and will find the comfort of it, when all this noise & hurry shall vanish as a dreame, & leaue nothing to support vs in time of neede. I am persuaded you often make these reflections, from your owne greate judgment and experiences of the vicissitudes of things present & prospect of future, which is onely worth our solicitude.

I am, &c.

Sayes-Court, 12 Sep. 1686.

To my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at Dublin Castle.

[HENRY Earl of CLARENDON.]

My Lord,

I had ere this giuen your Excellency my most humble thanks for yours of the 7th past, but that I was expecting the event of some<sup>1</sup> extraordinary things then in suspence; and when I haue sayd this, I neede not tell your Lordship what I am assur'd you have receiu'd from better hands, nor make any farther reflections on it, than to acquaint your Excellency, that I know of no new Com<sup>2</sup>issions, which your Lordship desires to vnderstand the meaning of, & that make (it seemes) no lesse noise with you than they do here. The character your Excellency giues of the huffing greate Man, Lord Tyrconnel, is just: how the noyse he makes will operate I know little of; what it dos with you (and would euery where else do) is sufficiently evident; but God is above all, and your Lordship's prudence, courage, & steady loyaltie, will, if it not surmount all malevolence, purchase you the estimation of all good Subjects, & I doubt not, but of his Majestie also. I am plainly amaz'd at what your Excellency tells me of Ireland, which country we haue seene giuen twice conquer'd into his Majesties Father's & Brother's (our late Souraines) hands, at no small expense of blood & treasure; & therefore question not but his present Majestie dos both see & well consider the infinite importance of cherishing its improvements and tranquillitie.

<sup>1</sup>The Co<sup>3</sup>miss. of Ecclesiastical Affaires which suspended the Bp. of Lond. &c. and gaue offence to all the nation. J. E.

My Ld. Teviot, I think, has quite abandon'd vs ; 'tis neere 4 moneths since we haue receiu'd any assistance from him at the *Seale*; so as I haue not ben able to make any excursion as yet this Sum'er, & when I shall now make my flight to Swallow-field, I am uncertaine. I haue agen ben to enquire out my Lord Cornbery : but his Lordship is still so employ'd twixt the Court & his Military Charge, that I cannot expect the happinesse I promis'd my selfe of accompanying him thither, and to go without him would be a melancholy thing. The Ladys are still at Tunbridge, tempted by the continuance of this Paradisian season ; whilst we are here mightily in the dark, & curious (if lawfull) to vnderstand, whether a certaine new Countesse came lately ouer hither with his Majesties knowledge & permission. I tell the inquisitive, I know nothing of it, but that I am sure your Excellency dos nothing saue what becomes you, & with good advise. Now that Buda is taken, all our eyes are on Hambrow & Denmark :—I pray God giue peace to Christendome, and continue it in little England, with all prosperitie & blessing on your Excellency & illustrious Family : these are the assiduous prayers of, my Lord,

Your Excellency, &c.

Sayes-Court, Sep. 1686.

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To my Son, &c.

Son,

I just now receiv'd the narrative of the Princes march, and the political remarks you have made upon the occurrences where you have ben. My Lord Clarendon would gladly have conferred with you on several points seasonable at that juncture ; but all have now it seemes submitted, and the bells and the bonfires proclaime as much joy & satisfaction as those are capable of, who have beheld so many changes & revolutions, without being able to divine how all this will conclude at last, & remembering that precept of the *wisest of kings*, (Proverbs, ch. xxiv. v. 21) which I neede not repeate to you. It will be no newes (I perceive) to you, to acquaint you with his Majesty's late recesse, nor of his being stop't at Feversham, &c. But of his coming back to White-hall, and what has since intervned, you may not yet have heard. On Friday last there went thither my Lord Midleton, Earle of Alesbury, Lord Feversham, Sir Step: Fox, and Mr. Grahame, where the rabble had detain'd the King (the vessel wherein he was embark'd with Sir Ed. Hales, & Ralph Sheldon, which were all his attendance, coming in for want of balast), till the newes of it being brought to the Lords of the Council, those Lords & Gent: I named were sent to perswade his Majesty to returne, or if not prevailing, to conduct and waite upon him with two troopes of horse, to what other port or place he should please to go. The King, at last induced to come back to London, arrived at White-Hall on Sondag evening, went to masse at his

Chapel on Monday, three priests officiating ; the usual number of Roman Catholics, & a world more, filling the bedchamber and all the roomes with extraordinary acclamation. In this manner his Majesty went thence to dinner (a Jesuite saying grace), and all things seemed to passe in such order, as the *eclipse* the Court suffered, by his Majesties four dayes absence, was hardly discernable, all the clouds (as we thought) were vanishing, and a bright day againe appearing. So soone as he was retired, he sent my Lord Feversham with a letter under his owne hand to invite the P: of Orange to St: James's: the message was accepted, but the *messenger* arested & made prisoner at Windsor ; upon which politicians make reflexions. But 'tis pretended, that a *general* of an enemy ought not by the law of armes to come into the quarters of his antagonist without a trumpet & a passeport : others say, that his Highnesse was much displeased at the Earle's disbanding his Majesty's forces under his co'mand, without disarming them, and un-pay'd, as thereby leaving them in danger of seeking some desperate resolution, of disturbing the measures he had taken ; and there are who believe upon some other account, which time will discover. Tuesday morning came the Marq: of Halifax (who with the Lord Godolphin had ben sent commissioner to the Prince) from Windsor, to let his Majesty know, the Prince would be the next day at St. James's ; but withall (foreseeing it might be dangerous to have his army quarter'd about the towne, so necessary to his safety whilst the King's guards were so neere) he desires his Majesty that he would make choice of Hampton Court, or some other place about that distance, to repaire to, for the avoiding jealousies & inconveniences, which might happen betweene the guards of different interests. You will easily believe this was not very kindly taken, after so generous an invitation ; & that it was the more surprizing for its coming to him at one o'clock in the morning, when he was weary & fast asleepe. The King upon this rises, & goes immediately to Council, where severall things being propos'd (but what I undertake not to say) & altogether rejected ; and whilst by this time White-Hall and all its environs were crowded with Dutch souldiers, his Majestie put himself into his barge, accompanied with my Lord Alesbery (now in waiting), the Lords Dumbarton, Arran, & one or two more, follow'd with three other barges and small boates, filled with a Dutch guard, & a troop of horse by land, steering their course towards Rochester againe, from whence he so lately had return'd. Thus have you the second recesse, or something more *dismaly boading* : which, whilst I my selfe, with Sir Chas: Cotterell & Sir Step: Fox, beheld from one of the windows of the new buildings—*vix tempero à lachrymis*.—I should have told you that the Prince being yesterday at Syon sent Sir Rob: Howard & Hen. Powle with a letter to the Citty, acquainting them with his approach, with other complements of course. This was read before the Lord Mayor & Com: Council, and was answer'd

with all submission & respect, & with an invitation that his Highnesse would honour their Citty by vouchsafing to lodge in it, rather than at St. James's. On this there stood up an Alderman, & moved that an Adresse might first be made to congratulate his Majesty's gracious returne to White-Hall. But the proposal was not approv'd of, one of them saying, '*they had given a good pail of milke, and that this were to kick it downe againe.*'

Thus, Son, I have given you as minute an account of the *Proteus* here as I am able for the present. The hero is now at St. James's, where I have seene him, and severall of my old acquaintance. I dined at the E: of Clarendons, whom I did not find altogether so well satisfied as I expected, considering that his son my Lord Cornebery tooke so considerable a stroke in this turne. I wish he do not *πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*.—By what I collect, the ambitious & the covetous will be canvassing for places of honour, and rich employment; and that my Lord will withstand the mercat, and neglect, if not slight his applications, upon confidence of his neerer relation, & the merites of my Lord his son, if not upon other principles. If none of this happen, and that successe do not quite alter the principles of men in power, we are to expect *Astrea* upon earth againe: But as I have often told you, I looke for no mighty improvement of mankind in this declining age & Catalysis. A Parliament (*legaly call'd*) of brave & worthy *Patriots*, not influenced by faction, nor terrified by power, or corrupted by selfe interest, would produce a kind of new creation amongst us. But it will grow old, and dissolve to *chaos* againe, unlesse the same stupendious Providence (which has put this opportunitie into men's hands to make us happy,) dispose them to do just & righteous things, and to use their empire with moderation, justice, piety, & for the publiq good. Upon the whole matter, those who seeke employment, before the grantees are served, may suspend their solicitation, the Queene having ('tis sayd) carried away the *Great Seale*: most of the *writs* being burnt by his Majesty, it will cost time, & excogitation of expedients how legally to supply them, if his Majesty should designe to travell againe, or the doore (which I feare most likely) be shut after him. These, and sundry other difficulties will render things both uneasy and uncertaine. Onely I think Popery to be universally declining, and you know I am one of those who despise *not prophesying*: nor, whilst I behold what is daily wrought in the world, believe *miracles* to be ceas'd.

Sir Ed: Hales & Obadiah (his old tutor) are both in gaole at Maidstone. C. Justice Herbert, Rob: Brent, & Peters above all, are not yet heard of. Poore Roger (for want of better *observation*) is carried to New-gate, and every houre is pregnant of wonders.

*Anno Mirabil.* Lond. 18 Dec. 1688.

To Mr. PEPYS.

Sir,

I was on Wednesday last (afternoone) to kisse your hands ; but finding you abroad, and my selfe obliged to returne that evening, that I might receive the Countess of Sunderland, who sent me word she would call at my house the next morning early before her embarkment for Holland, I do now write, what I should have said to you, if time had permitted ; and that is to let you know, that upon your late communicating to me your desire of adorning your choice Library with the Pictures of men illustrious for their parts & erudition, I did not in the least suspect your intention of placing my shallow head amongst those heroes, who knowing my unworthynesse of that honour, will in spite of your good opinion of Mr. Kneller for his skill of drawing to the life, either condemne his colouring that he made me not blush : or me for impudence that I did not. But this is not all : for men will question your judgment, or suspect you of flattery, if you take it not downe ; for in good earnest, when I seriously consider how unfit I am to appeare in the classe of those learned Gentlemen, I am perfectly asham'd, & should say with much more reason than Marullus (after a recension of the famous Poets)

*Nos, si quis inter cæteros locat Vates, Onerat, quam honorat verius.*

'Tis pittie and a diminution, so elegant a place & precious collection should have any thing in it of vulgar, but such as Paulus Jovius has celebrated, and such as you told me you were procuring : the Boyles, the Gales, & the Newtons of our Nation : what, in God's name, should a planter of Colewart do amongst such Worthies ? Setting him aside, I confesse to you I was not displeas'd with the fancy of the late Lord Chancellor Hyde, when to adorne his stately Palace (since demolished) he collected the Pictures of as many of our famous Countrymen as he could purchase or procure, instead of the heads and busts of forreigners, whose names, thro' the unpardonable mistake or (shall I call it) pride of painters, they scorne to put to their pieces, imagining it would dishonour their art should they transmit every thing valuable to posterity besides Faces, which signifie nothing to the possessor (vnlesse their Relations were to live for ever, & allways in being), so as one cannot tell whether they were drawn from any of their Friends or Ancestors, or the picture of some Porter or squalid Chimney sweeper, whose prolix head and wrinkled forehead might passe him for a Philosopher. I am in perfect indignation at this folly, as oft as I consider what extravagant sums are given for a dry scalp of some (forsooth) Italian painting, be it of Raphael or Titian himselfe ; which would be infinitely more estimable, were we assured it was the picture of the learned Count of Mirandula, Politian, Guicciardini, Machiavel, Petrarch, Ariosto, or Tasso ; or some famous Pope, Prince, Poet, or other Hero of those times. Give me Carolus Magnus, a Tamerlaine, a

Scanderbeg, Solyman the Magnificent, Matt: Corvinus, Lorenzo, Cosimo Medicis, Andrea Doria, Ferdinando Cortez, Columbus, Americus Vespusius, Castracani Castruccio, and a Storza; the effigies of Cardan, and both the Scaligers, Tycho Brahe, Copernicus, and Galileo: I say give me the portraits of an Isabella of Aragon or Castile, and her foure Daughters; Lucretia d'Este, (to whom our Queene is related), Victoria Colonna, Hippolita Strozzi, Petrarch's Laura, A. Schurman, and above all Hellen Cornaro, daughter of a Procurator of St. Marco (one of the most illustrious families of Venice) who received the degree of Doctoresse at Padua for her universal knowledge & erudition, upon the importunity of that famous University prevailing on her modesty. She had ben often sought in honorable marriage by many greate persons, but preferring the Muses before all other considerations, she preserved herselfe a virgin, and being not long since deceased had her obsequies celebrated at Rome by a solemn procession, & Elogie of all the Witts of that renowned citty. Nor may I forget the illustrious of our owne Nation of both sexes: the Westons, Moores, Seymours, Sir J. Cheke, Ann Countess of Oxon (whose monument is in Westminster Abbey), the late Mrs. Philips, & Princesse Elizabeth eldest daughter to the unfortunate Queene of Bohemia, to whom the greate Des Cartes dedicates his bookes, with a world of more renowned memorie famous for armes and arts, rather than the most beautiful Courtezan or Prostitute of them all, who has nothing to commend her but her impudence & that she was a painted strumpet. Did it ever prejudice the glory of the inimitable Holbein, for putting the names of our greate Duke of Norfolk, Henry the Eighth when lesse corpulent, Edward the Sixth & Treasurer Cromwell, Jane Seymour, Anne Bulleyn, Charles Brandon, Althea Talbot Countesse of Arundel, Card. Wolsey, Sir Thomas More & his learned Daughters, Sir Brian Tuke, Dr. Nowel, Erasmus, Melancthon, and even honest Frobenius, among innumerable other Illustrious of that age for learning & other vertues? I aske if this were the least diminution to the fame of one who realy painted to the life beyond any man this day living? But, in truth, they seeme from the beginning jealous of their owne honour, & afraid of being forgotten: hence we find ΓΑΥΚΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ insculpt on the Farnesian, Hercules, and *Michael Angelo fecit, P. P. Rubens pinxit, Marc. Antonio cælavit, &c.* There is not that wretched print but weares the name of the no-Artist, whilst our Painters take no care to transmitt to posterity the names of the persons whom they represent; through which negligence so many excellent pieces come after a while to be dispers'd amongst Brokers & Vp-holsters, who expose them to the streetes in every dirty & infamous corner. 'Tis amongst their dusty lumber we frequently meete with Queene Elizabeth, Mary Q. of Scots, the Countesse of Pembroke, Earles of Leycester and Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Philip Sidney.

Cecil, Buckhurst, Walsingham, Sir Francis Bacon, King James & his favourite Buckingham, and others (who made the greates figure in this nation), of John Husse, Zisca, Luther, Calvine, Beza, Socinus, William & Maurice Princes of Orange, Charles the Fifth, Philip the Second, Francis the First : the Dukes of Alba, Parma, Don John of Austria, and Count Egmont : Authors of Sects, Greates Captaines and Politicians (famous in our history in other countries), flung many times behind the hangings, covered with dust & cobwebs. Upon this account it is, men curious of books & antiquities have ever had Medals in such estimation, & rendered them a most necessary furniture to their Libraries, because by them we are not onely inform'd whose real image & superscription they beare, but have discover'd to us, in their reverses, what heroical exploits they perform'd ;—their famous Temples, Bazilicæ, Thermæ, Amphitheaters, Aquæducts, Circus's, Naumachias, Bridges, Triumphal Arches, Columns, historical & other pompous Structures & Erections by them ; and which have ben greatly assistant to the recovery of the antient & magnificent Architecture, whose real monuments had ben so barbarously defac'd by the Goths & other truculent invaders, that without this light (and some few ruines yet extant that justifie those types) that so vsefull order and ornament of columns & their concomitant members were hardly to be known by the text of Vitruvius, and all his learned Commentators : and till Daniel Barbaro, Leon Alberto, Raphael, M. Angelo, & others, rais'd it out of the dust & restor'd that noble art, by their owne and other learned men consulting & comparing the reverses of Medals & Medallions : besides what they farther contribute to the elucidation of many passages in Historie, Chronologie, & Geography. So as I do not see how Mr. Pepy's Library can be long without this necessary adjunct. It is amongst the Medals we meete the antient legislators, Lycurgus, Solon, Numa, &c. There we find Orpheus, Linus, & the old Bards, and there is mention of *Numus Homericus* by Strabo, & (if I well remember) by Aristotle him-selfe too, as there is stil extant those of the brave Hector & Achillies : so as among them we may see what kind of persons were Aristides, Themistocles, Epaminondas, Miltiades, Alexander & Cyrus, Darius, &c. The grave Philosophers Socrates, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Zeno, and Demosthenes, shew their faces to this day revered in our Medals. Those of the Hebrew represent to us the rod of Aaron & pot of Manna, & shew how Juda was led captive. We come by Medals to understand the antient Weight & Measures, and the value of Monies : You will see there when it was that Princes assum'd the radiant Crownes, and what the Diademe was. I might proceede to the Punic Hanibal, Juba, &c. to the Consular & Imperial of the Romans from Romulus, the Scipios, Catos, down to this age of ours, if after Pertinax, and decline of that

empire, Sculpture & all good arts had not fall'n with it. You will therefore be curious of having the first Cæsars, the greate Julius (after his Pharsalian Victorie) being the first honour'd with having his effigies, old, leane & bald as he was, in medal, or rather in monie, which are rare to procure in gold or small copper. There are of these and the other Emperors with Greecke inscriptions also. Who is not delighted to behold the true effigies of the famous Augustus, cruel Nero & his Master Seneca? Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus, Severus, the greate Constantine & his devout mother Helena? For we have in Medals the beautiful Cleopatra & her paramour; Drusilla, Livia, Julia Agrippina, Antonia, Valeria Messalina, Octavia, Sabina Poppæa, all of them Augustas; and sundry more of the faire sex, who rul'd the world. I have seene a series of the Popes from St. Peter, & amongst the reputed Heresiarchs, that Medalion of John Huss & Hierome of Prague's Martyrdome, with the memorable inscription *Post centum annos vos Cito*, which fell out at the appearing of Martin Luther exactly at that period. But, Sir, I am sensible I have quite tir'd you by this time with Medals, & therefore I will say nothing concerning those observations in the filing, sharpness, & due extanic vernish, & other markes, necessary to be critically skill'd in to prevent the being cheated & impos'd upon by copies & counterfeits for antique & original: (tho' yet all copies, if well dissembled, stamp'd or cast, are not to be rejected), because you will both for this and all the rest, consult Fulvius Ursinus, Goltzius, Monsieur St. Amant, Otto, Dr. Spont Vaillant, Dr. Patin and (*instar omnium*) the most learned Spanhemius in that Treatise *de præstantia et usu Numismatum Antiquorum*. You will likewise make vse of your friends Dr. Gale, Mr. Henshaw, Hill, and Mr. Justell, vpon whose skill & judgment you may relie! tho' even the most skillfull may now & then be mistaken: But you shall be sure not to be paied with trash, such as I do not (as I say'd) call the *Antiquo Moderno* if well imitated. These persons your Friends whom I mention'd, will I am sure be ready to assist you in this laudable curiositie. And if they can be purchas'd together, as accidentally they sometimes may, it will save you a greate deale of paines, & enrich you at once. But otherwise, they are likeliest met withall amongst the goldsmiths, & casuall as one walkes the streetes on foote, & passes by the stalls. Mr. Ashmole, our common friend, had collected all the antient & modern Coines of this Kingdome, which were very rare, together with seuerall Medalls of our British, Saxon, & other Kings vpon occasion of Births, Coronations, Marriages, & other solemnities. I know not whether they escap'd the burning of his study at the Middle Temple. But for the most accurate ordering & disposing of Medals, so as one may more commodiously take them out of their repositories, Mr. Charlton of that Society, has a peculiar method, as he is the most elegant & rarely furnish'd in all his other Collections. In the meane

time, the curious of this sort of erudition (I meane of Medalls) were formerly, & I belieue at present, very few in England. For besides Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Selden, Sir Simon D'Ewes, Sir Tho. Hanmer of Hanmer, Sir William Paston, and the late Mr. Hervey, I find hardly any. That greate lover of antiquity Thomas Earle of Arundel had a very rich collection as well of Medalls as other Intaglias, belonging to the Cabinet he purchas'd of Daniel Nice at the cost of ten thousand pounds, which with innumerable other rarities, haue ben scatter'd & squander'd away by his Countesse when she got that treasure to Amsterdam, whilst my Lord was in Italy, where he died. Aboundance of them she bestow'd also on the late vnhappy Viscount Stafford, her beloved son; & such as remained, Lely, Wright, & the rest of the Painters, *Panders* and *Misses*, haue cheated the late Duke of Norfolk of. The same fate befell a noble Collection of Medals belonging to the then curious Sir Simon Fanshaw of Ware-park; they were after his decease thrown about the house (as that worthy gent: his son Sir Richard, Lord Ambassador in Spain, from whom I had the relation, has told me) for children to play at counter with: as were those elegant Types of Sir Henry Savills at Eaton, which that learned Knight procur'd with greate cost for his edition of St. Chrysostome, & as it com'only fares with such curiosities where the next heire is not a Virtuoso. So vaine a thing it is to set ones heart vpon any thing of this nature with that passion & mania, that unsatiable Earle whom I mention'd did, to the detriment of his estate and family;—*mediocria firma*. The medals in our Universitie Libraries are not yet at all considerable, tho' Obadiah Walker were an industrious promoter of it, & not vnskillfull in them. Mr. Ralph Sheldon of Weston in Warwickshire, left a very handsome Collection both of Gold, Siluer, & Copper, antient, and moderne, part of which were bequeathed to a Sister of my Lady Tuke's, who not long since offer'd to haue sold them. I brought Monsieur Justell to see them, but they were much ouer-valu'd, & whether she haue since dispos'd of them I neuer inquir'd. At present I know of none who can show a better chosen set of Medals than the Earle of Clarendon, to whose late Father (after all this tedious parenthesis) I returne, & haue a mind to entertaine you a while longer with what I had begun, where I spake of his purpose to furnish all the roomes of state & other apartments with the Pictures of the most Illustrious of our Nation, especialy of his Lordships time & acquaintance, & of diuers before it. There were at full length, and as I doubt not but you well remember to haue seene, the greate Duke of Buckingham, the brave Sir Horace & Francis Vere, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Phil. Sidney, the greate Earle of Leicester, Treasurer Buckhurst, Burleigh, Walsingham, Cecil, Lord Chancellor Bacon, Elsmere, & I think all the late Chancellors & graue Judges in the reigns of Q. Elizabeth, & her successors James & Charles the first. For there was Treasurer Weston, Cottington, Duke Hamilton,

the magnificent Earle of Carlisle, Earles of Carnarvon, Bristol, Holland, Lindsey, Northumberland, Kingston, and Southampton: Lords Falkland and Digby (I name them promiscuously as they come into my memorie), & of Charles the Second, besides the Royal Family, the Dukes of Albermarle and Newcastle, Earles of Darby, Shrewsbury, St. Alban's, the brave Montrosse, Sandwich, Manchester, &c. and of the Coife, Sir Ed. Coke, Judge Berkeley, Bramston, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Jeofry Palmer, Selden, Vaughan, Sir Rob. Cotton, Dugdale, Mr. Camden, Mr. Hales of Eaton. The Archbishops Abbot & Laud, Bishops Juxon, Sheldon, Morley, and Duppa: Dr. Sanderson, Brownrig, Dr. Donne, Chillingworth, & seuerall of the Cleargie & others of the former and present age. For there were the Pictures of Fisher, Fox, Sir Tho. More, Tho. Lord Cromwell, Dr. Nowel, &c. And what was most agreeable to his Lordships general humor, Old Chaucer, Shakspeare, Beaumont & Fletcher, who were both in one piece, Spencer, Mr. Waller, Cowley, Hudibras, which last he plac'd in the roome where he vs'd to eate & dine in publiq, most of which, if not all, are at the present at Cornebery in Oxfordshire; together with the Library, which the present Earle has considerably improv'd, besides what Bookes he has at Swallowfield not contemptible, & the Manuscript Copies of what concerns the Parliamentary Records, Journals, & Transactions which I haue heard both himself & the late vnfortunate Earle of Essex (who had also the same curiosity) affirme cost them £.500 transcribing & binding, & indeede furnish a prety large roome. To compleate & encourage this noble and singular Collection, I sent his Lordship a List of the names following; Cardinals Pole and Wolsey: Gardener Bp. of Winchester, Cranmer, Ridley, old Latimer, Bp. Usher, Mr. Hooker, Occham, Ripley, John Duns, Roger Bacon, Suisset, Tunstal Bp. of Duresme (correspondent with Erasmus), Tompson, Ven: Bede, if at least to be met with in some ancient Office or Masse Booke, where I haue seene some of those old famous persons accurately painted either from the life or from copies: Sir John Cheke, Sir Tho. Bodley, Smith, Jo. Berkeley, Mr. Ascham, Sir Fulk Greuil, Buchannan, Dr. Harvey, Gilbert, Mr. Oughtred, Sir Hen. Wotton (I still recite them promiscuously & not like an Herauld), Sir Fra. Drake, Sir Rich. Hawkins, Mr. Cavendish, Martine Frobisher, &c.; some of which his Lordship procured, but was you know interrupted, and after all this apparatus and grandeur, died an exile, & in the displeasure of his Majestie & others who envied his rise & fortune—*tam breues Populi Romani amores!* But I shall say no more of his ministrie, and what was the pretence of his fall, than that we haue liued to see greate Revolutions. The Buffoons, Parasites, Pimps, & concubines, who supplanted him at Court, came to nothing not long after, & were as little pittied. 'Tis something yet too early to publish the names of his Delators, for fear of one's teeth. But Time will speake Truth, and

sure I am the event has made it good. Things were infinitely worse manag'd since his disgrace, & both their late Majesties fell into as pernicious counsels as euer Princes did: whilst whateuer my Lord Chancellor's skill, whether in Law or Politics, the offices of State & Justice were filled with men of old English honor & probitie; lesse open bribery & ostentation; there was at least something of more grauity and forme kept up (things, howeuer railled at, necessary in Courts): magnificent & ancient hospitalitie in his Majesty's houses, more agreeable to the genius of this Nation than the open & avowed luxurie & prophaness which succeeded, *a la mode de France*, to which this Favorite was a declared enemy vpon my certaine knowledge. There were indeede heinous matters laied to his charge, which I could neuer see prov'd; & you & I can tell of many that haue fall'n and yet suffer under that calamitie.

But what's all this, you'll say, to our subject? Yes, He was a greate Lover at least of Books, & furnish'd a very ample Library, writ himsele an elegant style, fauour'd & promoted the designe of the Royal Society: and it was for this, and in particular for his being very kind to me both abroad & at home, that I sent Naudæus to him in a dedicatory Adresse, of which I am not so much asham'd as of the Translation. There be some, who not displeas'd with the style of that Epistle, are angrie at the application: But they do not consider that Greate Persons, & such as are in place to doe greate & noble things, whateuer their other defects may be, are to be panegyryz'd into the culture of those vertues, without which 'tis to be suppos'd they had neuer arived to a power of being able to encourage them. *Qui monet ut facias*—you remember the sequel. And 'tis a justifiable figure; nor is it properly adulation, but a civilitie due to their characters. As for the Translation, it has ben so insufferably abus'd at the presse, that the shame any uncorrected copy should come abroad has made me suppresse as many as I could light on, not without purpose of publishing a new Edition, and which now perhaps might be more seasonable, since the humor of exposing Books *sub hasta* is become so epidemical, that it may possibly afford some direction to gentlemen who are making their collections out of them. Besides, the first impression is I heare prety well worne out, and I should be very unfortunate it should miscarry twice, or meete with such another accident as happen'd, it seemes, to the blotted Manuscript at Oxford: the circumstances whereof I will not now trouble you withall.

And so I haue don with my Lord Chancellor. But not so soone with my worthy friend Mr. Pepys, to whose learned & laudable curiosity of still improving his choice Collection I should not aduise a solicitous expense of hauing the Pictures of so many greate persons painted in oyle, which were a vast & unnecessary charge; tho' not so extraordinary a one to my Lord Chancellor as one may imagine, because

when his designe was once made known, euery body who either had them of their owne or could purchase them at any price, strove to make their court by these presents; by which meanes he got many excellent pieces of Vandyke, and other originals of Lely, & the best of our modern Masters hands. But if, instead of these, you think fit to add to your title-pages, in a distinct Volume, the Heads & Effigies of such as I haue enumerated, and of as many other as either in this or any other age have ben famous for Armes or Arts, in *taille douce*, and with very tollerable expense to be procur'd amongst the Print-sellers, I should not reprove it; I am sure you would be infinitely delighted with the assembly, and some are so very well don to the life, that they may stand in competition with the best paintings. This were a cheape and so much a more vsefull curiosity, as they seldome are without their Names, Ages, and Elogies of the Persons whose Portraits they represent: I say you will be exceedingly pleas'd to contemplate the Effigies of those who haue made such a noise & bustle in the world, either by their madnesse & folly, or a more conspicuous figure by their wit & learning. Nor would I yet confine you to stop here, but to be continually gathering as you happen to meete with other instructive types. For vnder this classe may come in Batails, Sieges, Triumphs, Justes & Tournaments, Coronations, Cavalcads, & Enteries of Ambassadors, Processions, Funerall & other Pomps, Tombs, Tryals & Executions: stately Edifices, Machines, Antique Vases, Spoiles, Basse Relievs, Intaglios, & Cameos taken from Achates, Onyxes, Cornelians, & other precious stones; Ruines, Landskips, if from real subjects, not fancies which are innumerable & not necessary, but such as relate to Historie, and for reasons specified more at large in my Treatise of Chalcographie. Your Library being by this accession made suitable to your generous mind & steady virtue, I know none liuing master of more happinesse, since besides the possession of soe many curiosities, you vnderstand to vse and improue them likewise, & haue declar'd that you will endeauor to secure<sup>1</sup> what with so much cost & industrie you haue collected, from the sad dispersions many noble Libraries & Cabinets haue suffer'd in these late times: one Auction, I may call it diminution, of a day or two, hauing scatter'd what has ben gathering many yeares. Hence it is that we are in England so defectiue of good Libraries among the gentlemen & in our greatest townes: Paris alone, I am persuaded, being able to shew more than all the three Nations of Greate Brittain: those of Mem'ius, Puteane, Thuanus, Cordesius, Seguire, Colbert, Condé, & others innumerable of Bishops, Abbots, Advocates, Antiquaries, & a world of learned persons of the Long Robe; besides the Publiq Libraries at St. Victoire, the

<sup>1</sup> This Mr. Pepys did, giving his Books and collection of Prints to Magdalen College, Cambridge, where they now are under the name of the Pepysian Library, in the original book-cases and presses, placed in a room which they exactly fit.

Sorbonne & about all, that of Mazarin (now with Richlieu's & sundry others swallow'd vp in the present King's), far exceeding any thing we can shew at home, tho' we have as much (if not greater) plenty & variety of the best books as any Country in the learned world. But, as I said, they are in private Cabinets, & seldome well chosen, vnlesse in the Vniuersities, where, if one may judge by the few productions of so many learned men as are there at leasure, they signifie so very little to the learned world. This greate & august City of London, abounding with so many witts and letter'd persons, has scarce one Library furnish'd & indow'd for the publiq. Sir John Cotton's, collected by his noble Vnkle, is without dispute the most valuable in MSS. especialy of British & Saxon Antiquities; but he refuses to impart to us the Catalogue of his Treasure, for feare, he tells me, of being disturb'd. That of Westminster is not much considerable: still lesse that of Syon Colledge. But there is hope that his Majesties at St. James's may emerge & be in some measure restor'd againe, now that it comes vnder the inspection of the learned Mons. Justell, who you know was owner of a very considerable one at Paris. There are in it a greate many noble Manuscripts yet remaining, besides the *Tecla*; and more would be, did some royal or gencrous hand cause those to be brought back to it, which still are lying in mercenary hands for want of two or three hundred pounds to pay for their binding; many of which being of the Oriental Tongues will soone else find Jewes & chapmen that will purchase & transport them, from whence we shall neuer retrieve them againe. For thus has a Cabinet of ten thousand Medals, not inferior to most abroad, & far superior to any at home, which were collected by that hopefull cherisher of greate and noble things Prince Henry, been imbezil'd and carried away during our late barbarous Rebellion, by whom & whither none can or is like to discouer. What that collection was, not onely of Bookes and Medals, but of Statues and other elegant furniture, let the learned Library-keeper Patritius Junius tell you in his notes ad Epist. Saincti Clementis ad Corinthos: *quem locum*, (speaking of St. James's) *si vicinam pinacothecam Bibliothecæ celeberrimæ conjunctam, si Numismata Antiqua Græca ac Romana, si statuas & signa ex ære et marmore consideres, non im'erito Thesaurum Antiquitatis et rapuēion instructissimum nominare potes*, &c.

Were not this losse enough to break a Lover's heart? The Royal Society at Gresham Colledge has a mixture, tho' little apposite to the institution & designe of that worthy assembly, yet of many excellent Books & some few MSS. given them at my instance by the late Duke of Norfolck, which is but a part of that rare collection of good Authors which by the industrie & direction of Francis Junius, the learned son of the learned Patrick, Mr. Selden, & the purchase of what was brought at once of Germaine, was left neglected at Arundel House before it was demolished & converted into tenements. I now mention Mr.

Selden. There is a Fragment of that greate Antiquarie's Librarie at the Middle Temple ; but his Manuscripts & best collections were bequeath'd to the Bodleian at Oxford, to which both himselfe & especialy Archbishop Laude were the most munificent Benefactors: tho' with all these, so poore in Manuscripts that they were ashamed to publish their Catalogue with that of the *Impressorum*, but which might yet have ben equally enriched with any perhaps in Europe, had they purchas'd what was lately offer'd them by the executors of Isaac Vossius, tho' indeede at a greate price, who have since carried them back into Holland, where they expect a quicker mercate. I wish'd with all my heart some brave and noble Macænas would have made a present of them to Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, where that sumptuous structure (design'd for a Library) would have ben the fittest repository for such a treasure. Where are our Suissets, Bodleys, Lauds, Sheldons, Bishops & opulent Chancelors? Will the *Nepotismo* neuer be satisfied.—*Sed præstat motus componere*. The next to that of the Bodleian are the Librarys of Magdalen Coll., Christ Church, Vniversity, & Baliol, which last is furnish'd with diuers considerable MSS. & lately (thro' the bounty of Sir Tho. Wendie) with a number of other curious books. But to returne againe neerer this citty: That at Lambeth, replenish'd at present with excellent books, ebbs & flows like the Thames running by it, at euery Prelat's succession or translation: there's at present a good assembly of Manuscripts in a roome by themselues. The Bishop of Ely has a very well stor'd Library ; but the very best is what Dr. Stillingfleet, Deane of St. Paule's, has at Twicknam, ten miles out of towne. Onely that good & learned man (Dr. Tennison) of St. Martine's, neere you, has begun a charity, for so I reckon it as well as that of his two Scholes, &c. worthy his publiq & generous spirit, and the esteeme of all who know him. Our famous lawyer Sir Edw. Coke purchas'd a very choice Library of Greeke & other MSS. which were sold him by Dr. Meric Casaubon, son of the learned Isaac ; & these, together with his delicious Villa Durdens, came to the possession of the present Earle of Berkeley from his Vnkle Sir Robert Cook. He has sometimes told me he would build a convenient repository for them, which should be publiq for the use of the Cleargie of Surrey ; but what he has don, or thinks to do herein, I know not. Why is not such provision made by a publiq Law & Contribution in euery County of England. But this genius dos not allways preside in our representatiues. I haue heard that Sir Henry Sauill was master of many precious MSS. & he is frequently celebrated for it by the learned Valesius, almost in euery page of that learned man's Annotations on Eusebius & the Ecclesiastical Historians publish'd by him. The late Mr. Hales of Eton, whom I mention'd, had likewise a very good Library ; and so had Dr. Cosin (late Bishop of Duresme), a considerable part of which I had agreed with him for my

selfe during his exile abroad, as I can shew under his owne hand<sup>1</sup>; but his late daughter, since my Lady Garret, thought I had not offer'd enough, & made difficulty in deliuering them to me 'till neere the time of his Majesties restauration, & after that, the Deane her father, becoming Bishop of that opulent See, bestow'd them on the Library there. But the Lord Primate Usher was inferior to none I haue named among the Cleargie for rare MSS. a greate part of which being brought out of Ireland, & left his son-in-law Sir Timothy Tyrrell, was dispos'd of to giue bread to that incomparable Prelate during the late fanatic War: such as remain'd yet at Dublin were preserv'd, and by a publick purse restored and placed in the Colledge Library of that City. I haue already mention'd what Isaac Vossius brought ouer, that had ben his learned Father's, & many other Manuscripts which Isaac had himselfe brought from Queene Christina out of Sweden in recompense of his honorarie, whilst he was invited thither with Salmasius, Des Cartes, Blundel, & others, by the heroic & royal errant. But those birds, as I sayd, haue taken their flight, & are gon. I forbear to name the late Earle of Bristol's & his kinsman's Sir Kenelm Digby's Libraries, of more pompe than intrinsiq value, as chiefly consisting of modern Poets, Romances, Chymical, & Astrological books, for I had the Catalogue in my possession before they were disposed of, put into my hands by my Lord Danby, then Treasurer, who desir'd me to giue my opinion of them, which I faithfully did. As for those of Sir Kenelm's, the Cata-

<sup>1</sup> The following letter from Dr. COSIN, afterwards Bishop of Durham, to Mr. Evelyn, is probably here alluded to :

Sir,

I haue here set the Prices (which I paid) to the Bookes which you have added. but there be 4 or 5 of them (marked with -+) which I desire to keep, because I haue written some notes in them of my owne. The remaynder of the whole summe (as you will see at the foote of the inclosed paper) will be £105. And truly, Sir, I thought I had prevented any further motion of abatement, by the large offer that I made to you, of putting your Wives Confident [friend] (for it concernes her only) to lose the third part of what her friend paid: specially considering that she is now forced to pay very neere £200 for the Library, besides what it cost at first. I doe not conceive that it wilbe any great charge to you to have them brought to London, where they wilbe subject to lesse hazard then in other places, & to no more there then all other worldly things are in all other places besides. If you consider their number, I desire you would be pleased to consider likewise, that they are a choicc-number, & a company of the best selected Books among them all. When these & other of the like sort are gone, I haue good hope, that those who come to buy the remaynder & the worst sort of them all, will not desire to have above a third part of the price abated them; and therefore the better sort (such as you haue chosen) might in reason goe at a better rate; and indeed I haue advised her, not to abate above a 4th part for most of them, & for some to hold them at the same or a greater price then they cost; as for example, There is in your note Plinie's Natural Historie in English priced at 36s. which is worth £3. Camden's Errors, pric'd at 5s 6d for which I haue seene 20s. given; Paulus Jovius at 20s, which sells now in Paris at 4. pistols and Pol. Virgil at 10s, which sells here for £10. Will'm Malmesbury at 15s. for which they demand here £30. and Asser Menev, &c. at 14s. which they will not part with here nor elsewhere abroad for £20. In regard whereof I made accompt, that you would rather have said the abatement had ben too large then too little, which was made and offered so

ly by

Your humble servant,

is 18th of July, 1661.

T. C.

logue was printed, & most of them sold in Paris, as many better haue lately ben in London. The Duke of Lauderdaile's is yet intire, choicely bound, & to be sold by a friend of mine, to whom they are pawn'd : but it comes far short of his relation's, the Lord Maitland's, which was certainly the noblest, most substantial, & accomplished Library that euer pass'd vnder the speare, and it heartily grieu'd me to behold its limbs, like those of the chaste Hippolytus, separated & torne from that so well chosen & compacted body. The Earle of Anglesey's, & several others since, by I know not what invidious fate, pass'd the same fortune, to what euer influence & constellation now reigning malevolent to Books & Libraries, which can portend no good to the future Age.

And now I haue in good earnest don with Libraries ; but yet not quite with Mr. Pepys. For I mention none of all these as if I thought it necessary euery private gentleman's study should be made common, but wish we had some more communicatiue & better furnish'd with good Books, in one of the greatest Citties of the Vniverse (London) ; & for that end that a stately Portico were so contriu'd at the West end of St. Paule's, as might support a Palatine, capable of such a designe ; & that every Company and Corporation of the Citty, euery Apprentice at his freedom, assisted at first by a general Collection thro-out the Nation, a Copy of euery Booke printed within the Citty and Vniuersities, did cast in their symbals for a present stock & a future ample funde. But this we are to expect when Kings are Philosophers, or Philosophers Kings ; which I think may happen not in this but in Plato's Revolution. All that I shall add concerning Gentlemen being furnish'd with competent Libraries & for most part residing in towne is, how obliging a thing it were, & of infinite effect to the promoting a noble and vsefull conversation of Learned Gentlemen, if, as there is a Society for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge, and which was fit should be first, since Things were before Words, so there were an Academie for that of Art & Improvement of speaking & writing well ; of which sort there are (you know) some in Paris, & almost in euery considerable Citty of Italy, which go under the devises of *La Crusca*, *Humoristi*, *Insensati*, &c. ; as that of the *Beaux Esprits* in France, set vp by the late greate Cardinal de Richelieu, for the polishing & in-riching of the Language, publishing those many accurate pieces which it has from time to time produc'd. It is in these Assemblies, where a select number of learned men, persons of the first qualitie, not onely come to heare, but esteeme it an honour to haue their ingenious exercises passe the test & censure of so many ciuil & polish'd Wits. And all the apparatus for this is onely the use of one competent roome in the Gentleman's house, where there are chaires & a table, where the person who declaimes being seated with a little more eminency, like the Roman Rostrum, & choosing his subject in prose

or verse, recites or reades his composures before the company. This, for being but one halfe day or afternoone in the weeke, & retiring in due houre, is of very little inconveniency to the master of the house. Here it is, I say, Gentlemen & Scholars bring their Essays, Poems, Translations, & other oratorious productions vpon a thousand curious subjects. Here they giue Law to Words & Phrases, & the *Norma Loquendi*. These passe censure & bring Authors to the touch, reject or entertaine, & indenizon Exotics, &c. I neede not inlarge to Mr. Pepys the benefit & noblenesse of such assemblies, who has himselfe scene what illustrious persons vs'd to honour Mr. Justell : how many greate Dukes & blew-ribbons, Ambassadors as well as Bishops, Abbots, Presidents, and other Learned men & Trauellers, this brought together into conversation the most humane & obliging in the world ; & how exceedingly to be wish'd some noble and worthy Gent. would give a diuersion so becoming & usefully entertaining as it would be. We should not then haue so many crude and fulsome Rhapsodies impos'd vpon the English World for genuine Witt, Language, & the Stage, as well as on the Auditors & Spectators, which would be purg'd from things intollerable. It would inflame, inspire, & kindle another genius and tone of writing, with nervous, natural strength & beauty, genuine and of our owne growth, without allways borrowing & filching from our neighbours. And indeede such was once design'd since the Restauration of Charles the Second (1665), and in order to it three or fowre Meetings were begun at Gray's Inn, by Mr. Cowley, Dr. Sprat, Mr. Waller, the D. of Buckingham, Matt. Clifford, Mr. Dryden, & some other promoters of it. But by the death of the incomparable Mr. Cowley, distance & inconvenience of the place, the Contagion, & other circumstances interuening, it crumbled away & came to nothing : what straw I had gather'd towards the bricks for that intended Pyramid (having the honour to be admitted an inferior labourer) you may command & dispose of, if you can suffer my impertinences : and that which I haue not shew'd you, the Plan I drew & was laying before them for that designe, which was, I said, the polishing of the English Tongue, & to be one of the first intentions & chiefest subjects of the Academists.

And now for shame haue don ! Methinks I heare you cry out, "What a ramble has Mr. Evelyn made ! what a deale of ground, for so little game !" Well, you see what the setting up an empty noddle has produc'd, what a deale of inke is run to waste. And indeede I had ben criminally vnanswerable of detriment to the publique as well as to your owne repose, should I haue dar'd to debauch you with so tedious & intemperate a scribble, whilst you were not (*tuo jure*) your owne man. But if for all that, this prove an affliction also, as I haue cause to apprehend it may, the onely expedient to rid yourselfe of such impertinents will be, to assume your late buisy & honourable charge

again; when no man can be so impudently uncivil as to expect you should read his long letters, when he considers how many you will then be obliged to write.

Sayes-Court, 12 Aug. 1689.

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To the Countesse of SUNDERLAND.

Madame,

I had prepar'd a Letter, to congratulate my young Lorde & your Ladyship, & all your illustrious Families happy arrival & returne to Althorp, when just as I was writing came the sad tidings of the death of that excellent lady your daughter the Countesse of Arran, which struck such a damp in me that I was forc'd to breake off from a gratefull subject, to condole with your Ladyship, and those whom I thought it my obligation to endeavour the comforting; And this was the more afflicting, that after such assurances of her Ladyships perfect recovery, vpon which I was meditating to write to you, this fatal newes should dash our hopes againe without any reserue. But so is the will of God, & this the constitution of all things here: no true satisfaction, no permanent felicity to be found on this side Heaven: whateuer other circumstances of happinesse, as far as we can reckon any such thing in the power of this world to giue us, may seeme to promise of more lastingnesse & stabilitie, 'tis all but a seeming, a meere shew & false appearance; for either the things which we hope to enjoy are taken from vs & perish in the fruition, or we are taken from them when we think ourselues most secure. Surely if in this life any thing were desirable, the hauing & the leauing virtuous & gracious Children behind us (such as might be examples of virtue, adorne & improue the age,) were to be esteemed the most valuable of blessings. But as such blessings are rare, so when God bestows them they are soonest taken from vs againe. They can no more liue in so corrupt an age than a healthfull body in a vitiated aire. What then are we to do when we loose them? Not to consider them as lost, but happily absent. Madame, you know how easy 'twere to say abundance of fine things on this subject—no topiq more fruitfull; but what's all this? The wound is deepe and in a sensible part, and tho' time and reason mitigate the present smart, I cannot say it has healed what I often times suffer when the losse of some deare Children & Friends come into my thoughts. One onely consideration remaines, that as I said they are so far from being lost or dead, that they liue & are now immortal, & would not for all the world be with us againe. Why then grieue we for them? Why, plainly for ourselues, whom we loue more than God, whose will it is we should part with them, and whateuer He pleases to take from vs heare, & depend on Him alone, who alone will neuer faile, neuer forsake vs, but giue us that which shall neuer be taken from vs. Live we then, Madame, in this religious indifference & resignation. But still

God has not left your Ladyship without those blessings. He has but in part eclips'd, & rather borrowed for a while than taken them away. Besides my Lord your Husband, whom you haue seene restored, & which to see so, you esteemed so greate a mercy : you haue a Daughter & a Son, who are & ought to be all that you can wish or desire in children. And him will Almighty God preserue : in both you will see the fruites of your pious care & reward of your submission to the will of God, and receiue all the discipline you haue past thro' as a greater mark of his fauour & loue than if you had neuer suffer'd the least checq or diminution of your former prosperity. This I am so well perswaded of you feelee already, howeuer now by this lugubrious accident as by others sometimes interrupted, that you would not exchange your inward consolation, for the returne of all those external fugitiues you once injoy'd to be depriv'd of this. Madame, this is a seacret knowne onely to those who feelee it, which, since I am sure you do, I leaue you to that God who giues it, who is your stay, your refuge, and may He be all that you can want & desire to supply this losse, & more than you can wish.

Sayes Court, 25 July 1690.

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To Lady SUNDERLAND.

Deptford 4 Aug. 1690.

As for the 'Kalendar' your Ladyship mentions, what ever assistance it may be to some Novice Gardiner, sure I am his Lordship will find nothing in it worth his notice but an old inclination to an innocent diversion, & the acceptance it found with my deare (and while he liv'd) worthy friend Mr. Cowley, upon whose reputation only it has survived seaven impressions, & is now entering on the eighth with some considerable improvements, more agreeable to the present curiosity. Tis now, Madame, almost fourty yeares since first I writ it, when Horticulture was not much advanc'd in England, and neere thirty since first 'twas publish'd, which consideration will I hope excuse its many defects. If in the meane time it deserve the name of no un-usefull trifle, 'tis all it is capable of.

When many yeares ago I came from rambling abroad, observ'd a little there, & a greate deal more since I came home than gave me much satisfaction, & (as events have prov'd) scarce worth one's pursuite, I cast about how I should employ the time which hangs on most young men's hands, to the best advantage ; and when books & severer studies grew tedious, & other impertinence would be pressing, by what innocent diversions I might sometimes relieve my selfe without compliance to recreations I tooke no felicity in, because they did not contribute to any improvement of the mind. This set me upon Planting ' Trees, & brought forth my 'Sylva,' which booke, infinitely beyond expectations, is now also calling for a fourth impression, and has

ben the occasion of propagating many Millions of usefull Timber-trees thro'out this Nation, as I may justifie (without im'odesty) from the many letters of acknowledgment receiv'd from gentlemen of the first quality, and others altogether strangers to me. His late Majesty Cha. the 2d. was sometimes graciously pleas'd to take notice of it to me, & that I had by that booke alone incited a world of planters to repaire their broken estates and woodes, which the greedy Rebels had wasted & made such havock of. Upon this encouragement I was once speaking to a mighty man, then in despotic power, to mention the greate inclination I had to serve his Majesty in a little office then newly vacant (the salary I think hardly £300) whose province was to inspect the Timber trees in his Majesties Forests, &c. and take care of their culture and improvement; but this was conferr'd upon another, who, I believe had seldom ben out of the smoke of London, where tho' there was a greate deale of timber, there were not many trees. I confesse I had an inclination to the imployment upon a publique account as well as its being suitable to my rural genius, borne as I was at *Wotton*, among the Woods.

Soon after this, happen'd the direfull Conflagration of this Citty, when taking notice of our want of Bookes of Architecture in the English tongue, I published those most usefull directions of Ten of the best Authors on that subject, whose works were very rarely to be had, all of them written in French, Latine, or Italian, & so not intelligible to our mechanics. What the fruite of that labour & cost has ben (for the sculptures which are elegant were very chargeable) the greate improvement of our workmen, & several impressions of the copy since, will best testifie.

In this method I thought properly to begin with planting Trees, because they would require time for growth and be advancing to delight & shade at least, & were therefore by no meanes to be neglected & deferr'd, while building might be raised and finish'd in a sum'r or two if the owner pleas'd.

Thus, Madame, I endeavour'd to do my Countrymen some little service, in as natural an order as I could for the improving & adorning their estates & dwellings, &, if possible, make them in love with these usefull & innocent pleasures, in exchange of a wastfull & ignoble sloth which I had observ'd so universally corrupted an ingenious education.

To these I likewise added my little History of Chalcography, a treatise of the perfection of Paynting, & of erecting Libraries, . . . . . Medals, with some other intermesses which might divert within dores, as well as altogether without.

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To Mr. ANTHONY A. WOOD.

Sir

Having lately received an account from Mr. Aubrey (as formerly by the Specimen & Proposals you have publish'd) of the progresse of your intended Historie (Athenæ Oxonienses), and that you desire to be inform'd who one Mr. Welles (sometime since of Deptford) was: the best light I can give you will be from the Inscription vpon his Wife's Monument in that Parish-Church. Of what county, or family of that name, he originally was, I cannot say; but it might happily be conjectur'd by the Armes, had not the Cleark (whom I order'd to send me the inclos'd note) forgotten that circumstance. Thus much onely I can add, that Mr. Welles the husband married into a very antient & worthy family of the Wallengers and Gonstones, of which the last (namely Benjamine) had ben Treasurer of the Navy Royal during the reignes of Hen. VIII. K. Edw. VI. Q. Mary & Eliz. a place of greatest trust & honour. And to these two families, my wife has a neere relation.—But to returne to Mr. Welles. He was the author of a booke of *Shadows* or *Dialing*, an excellent mathematician, well acquainted with Mr. Gunter, Gelibrand, Doctor Gilbert, Mr. Oughtred, & other famous mathematicians of his time: I have several Horoscopes, & other schemes of his, among my papers. He had two sons (whom I well knew), whereof the eldest succeeded in his Father's office of Store-Keeper in the Naval Arsenal, a place of good credit, & requiring extraordinary application: His second son, Ben. Welles, Physitian, formerly fellow of All Soules in Oxon, a very good scholar, lately deceased at Greenewich, leaving onely two daughters.

This, Sir, being all I can at present learne of Mr. Welles, I take the opportunity to superadd something which more immediately concernes mysele: 'Tis some time since that Dr. Plot, communicating to me your noble designe, required me (as from your selfe) to give him some account of my owne family, &c.: what then I writ I do not now so well approve of: & divers circumstances since that intervening, both as to my fortune (which may possibly transfer my hitherto abode here at Sayes-Court in Kent to the seate of my ancestors in Surrey) and an honorable charge, which his late Majestie conferr'd on me, of one of the Commissioners of the Privie-Seale, seemes to require some other account from me than that which Dr. Plot exacted of me, which I desired he would intreate you to manage, not as written by me in my owne person (which were a vanitie insupportable), but that you would vse the sponge, as you thought fit, & as becomes the modestie of one who has no other ambition in this, than that (if needes you will take notice of an inconsiderable man) thô I can contribute little to your worthy labour, I may yet endeavor, that the honour you intend me, & the glorious Vniversitie who is pleas'd to owne me, may not suffer

thré your too greate civilitie, or reproch me of presumption, or ingratitude. I am,

Sir, Yours, &c.

Sayes-Court, May 29, 1691.

Sir,

If I may be so bold I should esteeme it a greate favour, if at least you have prepar'd any thing concerning me, that you would transmitt me a copy thereof before you print it.

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To my Lord Bishop of LINCOLN. (Dr. THOMAS TENNISON.)

My Lord,

Whatsoever my opinion had been concerning the cause of Earthquakes, I am sure it had become me to have submitted to your Lordship's better judgement. But, indeede, I have long had no other sentiments of it than what I find confirm'd by your Lordship with so greate reason, by so many experiments, & pregnant instances of the irresistible effects of niter, which no chaines can bind. An experiment which was long since made at Gressham Colledge, were enough to convince one. They prepar'd a ball of solid yron, about the thicknesse of a pretty cannon bullet, which was hammer'd both hot and cold, to render it as hard & tough as possible. In this they drill'd a small hole to the center, and after having dropp'd in a few graines of gunpowder, and stopping them up by forcing in a screw, exceedingly well riveted at the top, they set it on a pan of charcoale, in a large quadrangle of the Colledge, which no sooner thereby heated, but with a terrible explosion it brake the ball into a thousand pieces. Now tho' this was common gunpowder, yet 'tis not the sulphur, but the niter which operates with this pernicity, & breakes all bands whatsoever. The sulphur & coale which enter into the composition and blacken the cones, are onely (your Lordship knows) in order to its speedily kindling, adding little else to its force. The consideration whereof frees me from all questionings of the being and power of spirits (I meane intellectual ones), & of creatures & beings invisible. The dire effects of compressed and incarcerated aer, when the turn-key fire [sulphur] but with astonishment: nor passe I by a windmill without wonder, to see a stone of that magnitude, & so ponderous, & of so many tuns weight, whirl'd about with that swiftnesse by something which we do not see, & sometimes hardly feele, for a very little breath will set it going. Indeede it was to this pent-up vapour, which the antient meteorologists attributed those coliques & convulsions of the earth; but they did not dreame of niter, which tho' no more than aer contracted, has so much the more violent operation when expanded, as inclines me to think it has raised all the famous fires we meete with, & not onely the *vulcanos* at present burning (such as Hecla, Vesuvius, Ætna, Stromboli, &c.) but perhaps most of the mountaines of the

world, which I fancy might have ben thrust up by the force of subterranean fires. Powder'd alabaster, chalke & sand being put into a vessell, & set on the fire, will (when hot) boile, & bubble up to some pretty & odd resemblances of such protuberances. Nor is it unlikely that where the hills are highest, the caves are as profound underneath them; & that there are vast ones under those Alpes & Sierras from whence our rivers derive their plentifull streames, and haue their supplies from some such capacious cisterne & *Hydrophylatia* as Kircher mentions. Besides these, may there not also be many dry & empty *Cryptas*, sometimes above, & sometimes beneath these water receptacles, where Vulcan and the Cyclops are perpetually at work? And that in processe of time, the fire arriving at a bed of niter & sulphure blowing up all incumbences, not onely cause these concussions, but frequently spew out greate quantities of water? 'Tis evident that the very glebe & soile all about Naples is natural fuel, where I have in many places taken up *sulphur vivum*, both under and above the surface. All the ground both under that noble citty & country about it, sounds hollow like a tub. The hot bathes, natural stoves, & other extraordinary things of this kind thro' all that teritorie, are the effects of subterranean fires, which feeding on the bituminous & other unctuous & inflammable matter (which it copiously finds) when it comes once to meete with a *stratum* of *niter*, it forces up all above & about it, & makes that prodigious havock, however thick, deepe & heavy be the incumbent weight or matter. Thus did Vesuvius Ao 1630, and now since (more terrible at Catanea, ejecting stones and huge rocks of monstrous bulk; belching out flames, & scattering ashes some hundred leagues distance from the eruption. Now when this niter has don its execution, and one thinks it quite at rest (for so it seem'd to be for about a thousand years, nay I think ever since the elder Plinie perish'd there<sup>1</sup>) emitting only a little smoke, it was all this while, it seemes, lurking 'till it came to another *stratum*, and then up went all againe, and thus 'tis evident haue ben made those deepe & dreadfull *Calderras* both of Vesuvius & Ætna. Whither at first these fires were kindled by lightnings from without (as your Lordship well conjectures) or from corruscations within, or by the collision of *Pyrites* & other stones of the arched caverns, the prepar'd matter soone conceives a kindling, which breaking into a flame, rarifies the stagnant aer, which bursts those rocky barrs, which 'till it breaks out puts oftentimes a whole country in those paroxisms and ague fitts which we call earthquakes. The noise, explosion & inconceivable swiftnesse of its motion, affecting so many distant places in the same moment almost of time, shewes thro' what recesses, long extended channels & hollow passages (as in so many mines) this sulphurous niter lies in traine, ready for the *Lin-stock*. These furnaces are doubtlesse the *laborato-*

<sup>1</sup> For in this confidence they built cities and palaces, and planted viniards and places of  
 sure. J. E.

*ries* where minerals are concocted into metals; *fluors* sublimated, *salts* and juices condens'd, & precious stones, the several ferments imparting various qualities to earths and waters, and promoting vegetation; nay who knows (& I pray God we may never know) whether local Hel be not the central fire: or whether this vast terraqueous globe may not one day breake like a granado about our eares, & cast itselfe into another figure than the deluge did according to the ingenious Doctor's<sup>1</sup> theorie? .

But, my Lord, from philosophising and conjecture, I am rambling I know not whither, when all that I would signifie is my full assent to your Lordship's reasoning; verily believing the cause of Earthquakes to proceede from the ingredient mention'd, mutually inkindled, & then in searching vent, teares all up, where it finds the obstacle, & shaking all about it. 'Tis observable that Ægypt and the lower regions seldome feel these concussions, whilst the mountainous countries are most obnoxious, as most cavernous; especialy in hot climats. Sad instances of this are the yet ruines of old Antioch, Smyrna, &c. and in our days Ragusa, Benevento, Smyrna againe, & that terrible one of Jamaica, which had its operation & was felt as far as England but a few days since. All the mountainous countries of Sicily & Greece & along Dalmatia's side are hollow, perhaps for thousands of miles, even under the very sea itselfe; as I believe from Vesuvius to Ætna, and thence to other further remote mountaines & *Vulcanos*, perhaps as far as Iseland, China, & the Andes of Peru, which are full of *picos*, whereof Potosi (that inexhaustible magazine of silver and other metalls) seemes to be no other. Those furious ravages may also probably have made so many rugged rocks, cliffs, *hiatus's* & *Peloponesus's*, & have seperated those many Ilands, & scatter'd, nay, as it were sow'd about the ocean, & divided from the continent; & what if raised in the very sea itselfe, as the Terceras were & Teneriffe in the grand Canaries, not to insist on the new mountaine neere the Baïæ: So that (my Lord) I am in no distresse at all to solve this *phænomenon*, at least to my owne satisfaction. But when all is said, tho' all proceede from natural causes, yet doubt I not their being inflicted & directed, by the Supreme Cause of causes, as judgements upon a sinfull world, and for signes of greate calamities, if they work no reformation: if they do, of chastisements. Upon these accounts I looke on them as portentous & of evil præsaige, and to shew us that there is no stabilitie under heaven, where we can be safe & happy, but in Him alone who laied the foundations of the earth, the rock of ages that shall never be removed, when heaven & earth shall passe away.

As to our late Earthquake here, I do not find it has left any considerable marks; but at Mons 'tis said it has made some demolitions. I happen'd to be at my brother's at Wotton in Surrey when the shaking

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Burnet of the Charter-House.

was, & at dinner with much companie ; none of us yet at table sensible of any motion. But the mayd who was then making my bed, & another servant in a garret above her, felt it plainely, and so did my wife's laundry mayd here at Deptford ; and generally wherever they were above in the upper floores they felt the trembling most sensibly, for a reason I neede not explaine to your Lordship. In London & particularly in Dover street (where my son's house is) they were greatly affrighted. But the stories that go about in this neighbourhood, by many who are lately return'd from Jamaica, are many, & very tragical. I doubt not at the next meeting of Gressham Coll. (which will now shortly be after their usual recess during summer) we shall have ample & authentic histories & discourses on this subject from several places of their correspondents. I cannot in the meane time omitt acquainting of your Lordship with one very remarkable, which we have received here from credible hands: that during this astonishing & terrible paroxysme, multitudes of people running distractedly out of their tottering houses, & seeing so many swallow'd up & perishing ; divers of them espying the Minister of the towne at some distance, ran and compass'd him all about, desiring him to pray for them, as im'ediately he did, all falling on their knees, when all the ground about them suddenly sinking, the spot onely upon which they were at prayer remained a firme & steady iland, all the rest of the contiguous ground turning into a lake, other places into gulphs, which drown'd & buried all that stood upon them, & which were very many. And now, my Lprd, 'tis time to implore your pardon for this tedious paper, together with your blessing.

Sayes-Court, 15 October 1692.

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To Doctor PLOT.

Worthy Doctor,

Our com'on and excellent friend Mr. Pepys acquaints me, that you would be glad to know upon what I am at present engaged relating to *Coines*, there being (it seemes) a designe of publishing something about that subject as they concerne the Monye of this Nation. It is true indeede (& as I remember to have told you) that I had blotted some sheetes upon an argument of that nature, but without the least reference to current mony antient or modern, but on such *Medals* as relate purely to something historical, which dos not at all interfere with other coines, unlesse it be such as our *Spur-Royal* as they call it, being a single stamp of gold, and, as you know, suggesting something of our storie here in England, beside its intrinsic value, upon which account I may have occasion to mention it. For the rest, I meddle not with them. But this prompts me to send my request to you, for the assistance you promis'd, by imparting to me what you had of this kind, which might

contribute to what I am now preparing, & by which you will very much oblige

Sir, your, &c.

Sayes-Court, 27th August 1693.

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To JOHN EVELYN, Esq.  
Thredneedle Street, London, October 2nd, 1693.

Honoured Sir,

According to your desire I have look't out all the Historicall Medalls I have in my possession, which I have laid aside for your use, whenever you please to call for them. In the mean time I must begg a favour of you in behalf of the University of Oxford, who are now publishing a Tract of Plutarch's concerning Education, & would gladly ad another of St. Chrysostom publish't in France by Combefis in Greek, could they meet with the book. Pauls Church yard & Little Britain have been search't for it without successe, nor is there now any hopes left but in you, who it seems have translated it into English, wherefore they presume you must have the Greek copy, which they promise themselves (upon my importunity) you will be pleased to accommodate them with. Wherein you are also desired to be very speedy, because they designe to have both tracts out before Christmass. Our common and most excellent friend Mr. Pepys told me this day he hoped to see you this week, with whom, should I be out of towne (as I guess I may on Wensday & Thursday in quest of some Roman Antiquities now under my consideration) I desire you would leave the book, wherein you will very much oblige the whole University, and amongst them more particularly

Your most humble and obliged servant,  
ROB. PLOT.

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To my Lord SPENCER.

My Lord,

Tho' I have not had the opportunitie of waiting on your Lordship so often as I ought and should do, was I perfectly at my owne disposeure (which by reason of many impediments in my circumstances of late I neither have ben, nor as yet am): yet my worthiest thoughts & inclinations are never absent from you; and I often revive my selfe with the meditation of your virtues, & some very few noble young persons more, when that of the sad decadence of the age we live & converse in interposes its melancholy prospect.

I was with greate appetite coming to take a repast in the noble library which I heare you have lately purchas'd (& by the catalogue I have seene, must needs be a very chosen collection), when at the same time I understand you are taking a journey with resolution of making a toure about England, thereby joyning to books and paper-

descriptions, experience ; and to speculation, the seeing of the things themselves. It has certainly ben a greate mistake & very preposterous in our education, the usually sending our young gent: to travell abroad, & see forraine countries, before they have seene or known any thing of their owne. Your Lordship remembers who says it, *Ne sis peregrinus domi* ; & therefore worthily don & memorable in my Lord Treasurer Burleigh, to hinder the Council, who in those days it seemes us'd to give passes to trauel, from granting them to any who had not first seene and could giue a good account of their owne countrie. Your Lordship therefore has taken the best & most natural method : & I know not what can now be added to the rest of your accomplishments, but the continuance of your health, which I shall pray may attend all your motions, who am,

My Lord, Your &c.

Deptford, 4 September 1693.

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To Mr. GIBSON<sup>1</sup>, &c. (afterwards Bishop of London.)

Sir,

To the notes & papers you desired of me, I have since endeavour'd to informe my selfe in those particulars you mention'd, & which I presume are come to you ; & now by this letter from a friend of mine, well acquainted with the *trustees of Dog Smith* (as he is call'd), I send you the particulars of that extraordinary benefactor to this County. You may please to take notice, that besides what I writ to you of Geo. Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury, & his bro: Robert Bishop of Salisbury, he had at the same time Moris another bro: who was Lord Mayor of London : all sons of the same cloathier, & natives of Guildford. Also that Hammond whom I mention'd, was not onely a benefactor to the schole there, but founder of a felowship at Balliol Coll. Oxon. Io. de la Haye died about 300 yeares since, about whom & other particulars expect in my next, for I would not retard the printer longer than is necessary, who remain

Your &c.

Wotton, 31 May 1694.

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To the Bishop of LINCOLNE (Dr. TENNISON.)

My Lord,

It is none of the least mortifications, that besides other circumstances obliging me to be at this distance from my old abode, I cannot haue the opportunitie of waiting on your Lordship, & receiving those advantages & improvements which I allways return'd with whenever I came from my Lord of Lincolne. We are here in no unpleasaunt solitude : some good books which I find here, with a cart load which I brought

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<sup>1</sup> The learned person who published the Saxon Chronicle, and was now setting forth a new  
 1 of Camden's Britannia, with additions. J. E.

along with me, serve to alleviate the tediousness of sitting still ; but we know nothing of new, but what our friends from your side impart to us. Mr. Pepys sent me last week the Journal of Sir Jo. Narbrough & Capt. Wood : together with Mr. Wharton's preface to his intended history of the Life of A: Bishop Laude. I do not know whether I might do the learned *editor* (for it seems he only publishes a MSS. written by that great Prelate of his own life) any service, by acquainting him with a passage relating to that person, namely the *Jubile* which the sacrifice of the bishop caused among some at Rome ; it being my hap to be in that city, and in company of divers of the English *fathers* (as they call them) when the news of his suffering & the sermon he made upon the scaffold arrived there ; which I well remember they read & commented on, with no small satisfaction, & (as I thought) contempt, as of one taken off who was an enemy to them, and stood in their way ; whilst one of the blackest crimes imputed to him was (we may well call to mind) his being popishly affected. I know not, I say, whether the *Memoirs* may be of any import to Mr. Wharton, with whom I have no acquaintance ; I therefore acquaint your Lordship with it, and in the forms almost that I have mentioned & subjoined it to my Discourse of *Medals* under that of this Arch-Bishop's figure, which together with my copy, I have now sent Ben: Tooke to print (as he desires) if it be worth his while. I add nothing more but that of my Wife's humble service to you & my lady, & that there is still a part of our small family at Sayes-Court, where my daughter Draper & husband are the young *Economists*, & all of us concerned to beg your Lordship's blessing and prayer, especially

Your &c.

I should rejoice to hear how Mr. Bentley proceeds with the Library at Whitehall. I hope your Lordship will mind him of the Sermons he owes us & the public ; I hear nothing of the Bish: of Chichester, who is likewise in our debt.

Wotton, 29 May, 1694.

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To Mr. BENJAMIN TOOKE (Printer.)

Mr. Tooke,

*Tarde, sed tandem.* At last I send you the copy you have so long expected ; never the worse, I hope, for coming no sooner. I wish it may answer the pains I have taken in compiling ; for it would amount to the value of many Medals. I was indeed unwilling it should scape from me without something more than an ordinary treatise. It will therefore require a more than ordinary supervisor. You tell me, such a one you have ; if not, pray make use of the poor man I directed to you, who is also acquainted with my hand, & will be ready to assist you. There being abundance of writers on this subject in all other polite European languages, & but one very short & partial one in ours,

will I hope render this the more acceptable, & give ferment to the curious. I expect attaques from some peevish quarter, in this angry age, but so it make for your interest, & satisfy equitable judges, I shall not be much concern'd.

The *Medals* which are here sent you, pray take care of, & deliver but one by one to your Graver, nor supply him with any other till he returns you that he is graving with the plate. You'll find I have mark'd the paper, wherein you must keepe the plates, & apply to the pages as directed, by which you'll avoid mistakes, easily fallen into without some such method. Such as you are to have from the Earle of Clarendon, Dr. Plot, &c. I will take care to procure you by the time these are dispatch'd. As for the graving, so the contours and outlines be well design'd, I am not solicitous for the hatching (as they call it), since we have laudable examples of the other in Gruter, Spanheim, & other excellent authors. Mr. White, if he have leisure, will be your best man; & for the Volume, I should think a thin moderat folio, with a faire letter, most desireable. As for the Title, Epistle, & Preface, I shall provide you in good time, & as I see cause; onely I pray take special care of the insertions & paragraphs which I have marked [: when all this is finished, I purpose a very accurate Index. This being all at present, I wish you good succeſſe, and am

Your &c.

Wotton, 2 June, 1694.

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To Mr. WOTTON.

Sir,

I most heartily beg your pardon for detaining your books so unreasonably long after I had read them, which I did with greate satisfaction, especially the life of Descartes. The truth is, I had some hopes of seeing you here againe, for methought (or at least I flatter'd myselfe with it) you said at parting you would do us that favour before my going to London, whither I am, God willing, setting out to-morrow or next day for some time; not without regret, unlesse I receive your co'mands, if I may be any ways serviceable to you, in order to that noble undertaking you lately mention'd to me, I meane your generous offer & inclination to write the Life of our late illustrious philosopher Mr. Boyle, and to honor the memory of a gentleman of that singular worth & vertue. I am sure if you persist in that designe, England shall never envy France or neede a Gassendus or a Baillet to perpetuate & transmit the memory of one not onely equaling but in many things transcending either of those excellent & indecde extraordinary persons, whom their pens have render'd imortal. I wish my selfe was furnish'd to afford you any considerable supplys (as you desir'd) after my so long acquaintance with Mr. Boyle, who had honor'd me with his particular esteeme, now very neere fourty yeares; as I might have don

by more duly cultivating frequent opportunities he was pleas'd to allow me. But so it is, that his life & virtues have ben so conspicuous, as you'll neede no other light to direct you, or subject-matter to work on, than what is so universaly knowne, and by what he has don & publish'd in his books. You may perhaps neede some particulars as to his birth, family, education, & other lesser necessarie circumstances for Introduction; and such other passages of his life as are not so distinctly knowne but by his owne relations. In this if I can serve you, I shall do it with greate readinesse, & I hope successe; having some pretence by my Wife, in whose grandfather's house (which is now mine at Deptford) the father of this gentleman was so conversant, that contracting an affinity there, he left his (then) eldest Son with him whilst himselfe went into Ireland, who in his absence dying, lies buried in our parish church, under a remarkable monument<sup>1</sup>. I mention this because my Wife's relation to that family giving me accesse to divers of his neerest kindred; the Countesse Dowager of Clancartie (living now in an house of my Son's in Dover-streete) and the Countess of Thanet, both his nieces, will I question not be able to informe me what they cannot but know of those & other circumstances of their uncle, which may not be unworthy of your notice; especialy my Lady Thanet, who is a greate *Virtuosa*, and uses to speake much of her uncle. You know she lives in one of my Lord of Nottingham's houses at St. James's, and therefore will neede no introductor there. I will waite upon my Lord Burlington if there be occasion, provided in the meane time (and after all this officiousness of mine) it be not the proffer of a very uselesse service; since my Lord Bishop of Salisbury, who made us expect what he is now devolving on you, cannot but be fully instructed in all particulars.

It is now, as I said, almost fourty yeares since first I had the honor of being acquainted with Mr. Boyle; both of us newly return'd from abroad, tho' I know not how, never meeting there. Whether he travell'd more in France than Italy, I cannot say, but he had so universal an esteeme in forrain parts, that not any stranger of note or quality, learn'd or curious, coming into England, but us'd to visite him with the greatest respect and satisfaction imaginable.

Now as he had an early inclination to learning (so especialy to that part of philosophy he so hapily succeeded in), he often honor'd Oxford, and those gentlemen there, with his company, who more peculiarly applied themselves to the examination of the so long domineering methods & jargon of the scholes. You have the names of this learned *Junto*, most of them since deservedly dignified in that elegant History of the Royal Society, which must ever owne its rise from that Assembly, as dos the preservation of that famous University from the pha-

<sup>1</sup> A Tent and Map of Ireland in relieve.

natic rage & avarice of those melancholy times. These, with some others (whereof Mr. Boyle, the Ld. Viscount Brouncker, Sir Robert Murray, were the most active) spirited with the same zeale, and under a more propitious influence, were the persons to whom the world stands oblig'd for the promoting of that generous and real knowledge, which gave the ferment that has ever since obtain'd, and surmounted all those many discouragements which it at first incounter'd. But by no man more have the territories of the most usefull philosophy ben enlarg'd, than by our *hero*, to whom there are many trophys due. And accordingly his fame was quickly spread, not onely among us here in England, but thro' all the learned world besides. It must be confess'd that he had a marvailous sagacity in finding out many usefull and noble experiments. Never did stubborn matter come under his inquisition but he extorted a confession of all that lay in her most intimate recesses; and what he discover'd he as faithfully register'd, and frankly com'unicated; in this, exceeding my Lord Verulam, who (tho' never to be mention'd without honor and admiration) was us'd to tell all that came to hand without much examination. His was probability; Mr. Boyle suspicion of succeſse. Sir, you will here find ample field, and infinitely gratifie the curious with a glorious and fresh survey of the progresse he has made in these discoveries. Freed from those incumbrances which now & then render the way a little tedious, 'tis abundantly recompensing the pursuite; especially those noble atchievements of his, made in the spring and weight of the two most necessary elements of life *Aer* & *Water*, and their effects. The origin of formes, qualities, and principles of matter: histories of cold, light, colours, gems, effluvias, & other his works so firmly established on experiments, polychrests, & of universal use to real philosophy; besides other beneficial inventions peculiarly his; such as the dulcifying sea-water with that ease & plenty, together with many medicinal remedys, cautions, directions, curiosities & arcana, which owe their birth or illustration to his indefatigable recherches. He brought the phosphorus & antelUCA to the clearest light that ever any did, after innumerable attempts. It were needlesse to insist on particulars to one who knows them better than my selfe. You will not, however, omitt those many other treatises relating to Religion, which indeede runs thro' all his writings upon occasion, and shew how unjustly that aspersion has ben cast on Philosophy, that it disposes men to Atheisme. Neither did his severer studys yet soure his conversation in the least. He was the furthest from it in the world, and I question whether ever any man has produc'd more experiments to establish his opinions without dogmatising. He was a *Corpuscularian* without Epicurus; a greate & happy analyzer, addicted to no particular sect, but as became a generous & free philosopher, preferring Truth above all; in a word, a person of that singular andour & worth, that to draw a just character of him, one must run

thro' all the vertues, as well as thro' all the sciences'. And tho' he tooke the greatest care imaginable to conceale the most illustrious of 'em, his charities & the many good works he continually did could not be hid. It is well known how large his bounty was upon all occasions:— witness the Irish, Indian, Lithuanian Bibles, to the translations, printing & publishing of which he layd out considerable summs; the Catechisme, & Principles of the Christian faith, which I thinke he caus'd to be put into Turkish, & dispers'd amongst those infidels. And here you will take notice of the Lecture he has endow'd and so seasonably provided for.

As to his Relations (so far as I have heard) his father Richard Boyle was *faber fortunæ*; a person of wonderfull sagacity in affaires, & no lesse probity, by which he compass'd a vast estate & greate honors to his posterity, which was very numerous, & so prosperous, as has given to the publiq both divines & philosophers, souldiers, politicians, & statesmen, and spread its branches among the most illustrious and opulent among our nobility. Mr. Robert Boyle, born I think in Ireland, was the youngest, to whom yet he left a faire estate; to which was added an honorary pay of a troop of horse, if I mistake not. And now, tho' amongst all his experiments he never made that of the married life, yet I have ben told he courted a beautifull & ingenious daughter of Carew, Earle of Monmouth; to which is owing the birth of his 'Seraphic Love,' and the first of his productions. Descartes<sup>2</sup> was not so innocent. In the meane time he was the most facetious & agreeable conversation in the world among the ladys, whenever he happen'd to be engag'd; and yet so very serious, compos'd & contemplative at all other times; tho' far from moroseness, for indeede he was affable & civil rather to excesse, yet without formality.

As to his opinion in Religious matters and discipline, I could not but discover in him the same free thoughts which he had of Philosophy; not in notion onely, but strictly as to practise an excellent Christian and the greate duties of that profession, without noise, dispute, or determining; owning no master but the Divine Author of it; no religion but primitive, no rule but scripture, no law but right reason. For the rest, allways conformable to the present settlement, without any sort of singularity. The mornings, after his private devotions, he usually spent in philosophic studys and in his laboratory, sometimes extending them to night; but he told me he had quite given over reading by candle-light, as injurious to his eyes. This was supply'd by his *Amanuensis*, who sometimes read to him, and wrote out such passages as he noted, and that so often in loose papers, pack'd up without method, as made him sometimes to seeke upon occasion, as himselfe confesses in divers of his works. Glasses, potts, chymical & mathematical in-

<sup>1</sup> See Bishop Sanderson, *De Juramenti promissorii obligatione*, 2d edit. dedicated to him.

<sup>2</sup> Who confesses he had a bastard daughter. See M. Baillet in *Vita Descartes*. J. E.

struments, books & bundles of papers, did so fill & crowd his bed-chamber, that there was but just roome for a few chaires ; so as his whole equipage was very philosophical, without formality. There were yet other roomes, and a small library (and so you know had Descartes),<sup>1</sup> as learning more from men, real experiments, & in his laboratory (which was ample & well furnish'd), than from books.

I have said nothing of his style, which those who are better judges think he was not altogether so happy in as in his experiments. I do not call it affected, but doubtlesse not answerable to the rest of his greate & shining parts ; and yet, to do him right, it was much improv'd in his 'Theodora' & later writings.

In his diet (as in habit) he was extreemely temperate & plaine ; nor could I ever discern in him the least passion, transport or censoriousnesse, whatever discourse or the times suggested. All was tranquill, easy, serious, discrete and profitable ; so as besides Mr. Hobbes, whose hand was against every body, & admir'd nothing but his owne, Francis Linus excepted, (who yet with much civility wrote<sup>2</sup> against him) I do not remember he had the least antagonist.

In the afternoones he was seldom without company, which was sometimes so incom'odious that he now & then repair'd to a private lodging in another quarter of the towne, and at other times (as the season invited) diverted him selfe in the country among his noble relations.

He was rather tall & slender of stature, for most part valetudinary, pale & much emaciated : nor unlike his picture in Gressham Colledge ; which, with an almost impudent importunity, was, at the request of the Society, hardly extorted or rather stolen from this modest gentleman by Sir Edmund King, after he had refus'd it to his neerest relations.

In his first addresses, being to speake or answer, he did sometimes a little hesitate, rather than stam'er, or repeate the same word ; imputable to an infirmity, which, since my remembrance, he had exceedingly overcome. This, as it made him somewhat slow and deliberate, so after the first effort he proceeded without the least interruption in his discourse. And I impute this impediment much to the frequent atackes of palsys, contracted I feare not a little by his often attendance on chymical operations. It has plainely astonish'd me to have seene him so often recover when he has not been able to move, or bring his hand to his mouth : & indeede the contexture of his body, during the best of his health, appear'd to me so delicate, that I have frequently compar'd him to a *chrystal* or *Venice glasse* ; which tho' wrought never so thin and fine, being carefully set up, would outlast the hardier metals of daily use ; and he was withall as clear & candid ; not a

<sup>1</sup> One at Egmond desiring to see his library, he brought him into a roome where he was dissecting a Calfe. J. E.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. Tract: de Corporum Inseparabilitate, &c. 8vo. Lond. 1661. J. E.

blemish or spot to tarnish his reputation ; & he lasted accordingly, tho' not to a greate, yet to a competent age ; threescore yeares I think ; & to many more he might, I am persuaded, have arriv'd, had not his beloved sister, the Lady V. Countesse Ranalagh, with whom he liv'd, a person of extraordinary talents & suitable to his religious and philosophical temper, dyed before him. But it was then that he began evidently to droope apace ; nor did he, I thinke, survive her above a fortnight. But of this last scene I can say little, being unfortunately absent, & not knowing of the danger 'til it was past recovery.

His funeral (at which I was present) was decent, and tho' without the least pomp, yet accompanied with a greate appearance of persons of the best & noble quality, besides his owne relations.

He lies interr'd (neere his sister) in the Chancell of St. Martin's Church ; the Lord Bishop of Salisbury preaching the Funeral Sermon, with that eloquence natural to him on such & all other occasions. The Sermon, you know, is printed, with the panegyric so justly due to his memory. Whether there have ben since any other monument erected on him, I do not know, nor is it material. His Name (like that of Joseph Scaliger) were alone a glorious Epitaph.

And now, Sir, I am againe to implore your pardon for giving you this interruption with things so confus'dly huddl'd up this very after-noone, as they crowded into my thoughts. The subject you see is fruitfull, & almost inexhaustible. Argument fit for no man's pen but Mr. Wotton's. Oblige then all the world, and with it

Sir, Your &c.

Wotton, 30 Mar. 1696.

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To my LORD GODOLPHIN, one of the Lords Justices,  
and first Commissioner of the Treasury.

My Lord,

There are now almost foure yeares elaps'd, since looking over some papers of mine, I found among other things divers notes which I had taken relating to *Medals* ; when reflecting upon the usefullnesse of the historical part of that noble study, and considering that there had ben little, or indeede rather nothing at all written of it among us here in England (whilst other cuntryes abounded in many excellent books & authors of greate name on this subject), I began to divert my solitary thoughts by reducing & putting my scatter'd collection into such method as grew at last to a formal Treatise. Among other particulars (after I had more at large dispatch'd what concern'd the Greeke & Roman, and those of the Lower Empire) I endeavor'd the gath'ring up all such Medals as I could anywhere find had ben struck before and since the Conquest (if any such there were) relating to any part of good history. Now tho' Mony and Coines during the severall reignes of almost all our Kings, from the British to this present (as may be seene in what Mr.

Walker has added to the late edition of Cambden) be forraine to my subject ; and that I could meete with none which deserved the name of Medal 'til the two last centuries ; yet I could not well avoyd speaking something of the Mint, where Medals were coin'd as well as mony. The copy being thus prepar'd for the presse, I two yeares since deliver'd to a book-seller, who after he had wrought off almost 80 pages in folio (emulating what had ben don and publish'd by Jaques de Bie & Mons. Bizot in their Histoire Metalique of France and Holland) would needes be at the charge of ingraving an hundred stamps to adorne a chapter relating to our English Medals. This requiring time (& far better artists than any I perceive he is like to find) retarding the publication of his book, I thought it might not be either unseasonable or unagreeable to your Lordship, if on this conjuncture of affaires (and when every body is discoursing of these matters) I did present your Lordship with a part of that chapter concerning Mony which (tho' passing thro' the same *mechanisme*) I distinguish from *Medal* at the beginning of my first chapter, proceeding in the VIIth to that of the *Mint*. It is there that I shew (after all the expedients offer'd and pretended, for the recovery and security of this Nation from the greate danger it is in by the wicked practices of those who of late have so impudently ruin'd the publiq credit and faith of all mankind among us by clipping, debasing, & all other unrighteous ways of perverting the species) what is it which can possibly put a stop to the evil & mischief, that it go no farther ; if at least it have not ben so long neglected as to be irremediable.

But, my Lord, this is not all. There are severall other things of exceeding greate importance, which had neede be taken care of, & to be set on foote effectually, for the obviating the growing mischiefs, destructive to the flourishing state of this Mercantile Nation. Amongst the rest :

There is certainly wanting a Council of Trade, that should not be so call'd onely, but really be in truth what it is call'd ; compos'd of a wise, publiq-spirited, active & noble President, a select number of Assessors, sober, industrious & dexterous men, & of consummate experience *in rebus agundis* ; who should be arm'd with competent force at sea, to protect the greater Com'erce & general Trade ; if not independent of the Admiralty, not without an almost co-ordinate authority, as far as concernes the protection of trade ; and to be maintained chiefly by those who, as they adventure most, receive the greatest benefit.

To these should likewise be com'itted the care of the Manufactures of the kingdome, with stock for employment of the Poore ; by which might be moderated that unreasonable statute for their reliefe (now in force) occasioning more idle persons, who charge the publiq without all remedy, than otherwise there would be, insufferably burthening the parishes, by being made to earne their bread honestly, who

now eat it in idleness, & take it out of the mouthes of the truly indigent, much inferior in number, & worthy objects of charity.

It is by such a Council that the swarmes of private Traders, who, tho' not appearing in mighty torrents & streames, yet like a confluence of silent, almost indiscernable, but in'umerable riveletts, do evidently draine & exhaust the greater *Hydrophylacia* & magazines, nay the very vital blood of trade, where there is no follower to supply those many issues, without which the constitution of the body politic, like the natural, needes must faile for want of nourishment & recruits. But whom this article affects I have spoken in my Discourse of Mony.

'Tis likewise to this Assembly, that all proposals of new Inventions (pretended for the publiq benefit) should first be brought, & examin'd, encourag'd or rejected, without reproch as projectures, or turning the unsuccessful proposer to ridicule, by a barbarity without example, no where countenanc'd but in this Nation.

Another no lesse exhauster, & waster of the publiq treasure, is the progresse and increase of buildings about this already monstrous Citty, wherein one yeare with another are erected about 800 houses, as I am credibly inform'd ; which carries away such prodigious summs of our best and weightiest mony by the Norway trade for deale-timber onely, but exports nothing hence of moment to balance it, besides sand & gravell to balance their empty ships ; whilst doubtlesse those other more necessary com'odities (were it well encourag'd) might in a short time be brought us in greate measure, and much preferable to their goodnesse, from our owne Plantations, which now we fetch from others, for our naval stores.

Truly, my Lord, I cannot but wonder & even stand amaz'd, that Parliaments should have sate from time to time, so many hundred yeares, & value their constitution to that degree, as the most sovraigne remedy for the redresse of publiq grievances ; whilst the greatest still remaine unreform'd & untaken away. Witnesse the confus'd, debauch'd, & riotous manner of electing Members qualified to become the representatives of a Nation, with legislative power to dispose of the fate of kingdomes ; which should & would be compos'd of worthy persons, of known integritie & ability, in their respective countries, and still would serve them generously, & as their ancestors have don, but are not able to fling away a son or daughter's portion to bribe the votes of a drunken multitude, more resembling a pagan Bacchanalia, than an assembly of Christians & sober men met upon the most solemn occasion that can concerne a people, and stand in competition with some rich scrivener, brewer, banker, or one in some gainfull office whose face or name, perhaps, they never saw or knew before. How, my Lord, must this sound abroad ! With what dishonor & shame at home !

To this add the disproportion of the Boroughs capable of electing

members, by which the major part of the whole kingdom are frequently out-voted, be the cause never so unjust, if it concerne a party intrest.

Will ever those swarmes of *locusts*, Lawyers and Attorneys, who fill so many seats, vote for a publiq *Register*, by which men may be secur'd of their titles & possessions, & an infinity of suits & frauds prevented?

Im'oderate fees, tedious & ruinous delays, & tossings from court to court before an easy cause, which might be determin'd by honest gentlemen & understanding neighbours, can come to any final issue, may be number'd amongst the most vexatious oppressions that call aloud for redresse.

The want of bodys (slaves) for publiq and laborious works, to which many sorts of animals might be usefully condemn'd, and some reform'd, instead of sending them to the gallows, deserves to be consider'd.

These, & the like are the greate desiderata (as well as the reformation of the Coine), which are plainely wanting to the consu'mate felicity of this Nation; and divers of them of absolute necessitie to its recovery from the atrophy & consumption it labours under.

The King himselfe should (my Lord) be acquainted with these particulars, & of the greate importance of them, by such as from their wisdom & integrity, deserve the neerest accesse, and would purchase him the hearts of a free & emancipated people, & a blessing on the government; where he pleas'd uncessantly to recommend them to those, who, from time to time, are call'd together for these ends, and healing of the nation.

And now your Excellency will doubtlesse smile at this politiq excursion, & perhaps at the *Biscoctum* of the rest; whilst the yeares to which I am by God's greate goodnesse ariv'd, your Lordship's com'ands in a former letter to me, some conversation with men & the world, as well as books, in so large a tract & variety of events & wonders as this period has brought forth, might justifie one, among such crowds of pretenders to *Ragioni di stato*, some of which I daily meete to come abroad with the shell still on their heads, who talke as confidently of these matters as if they were counsellors of state & first ministers, with their *sapient* & expecting lookes, & whom none must contradict; and no doubt but (as Job said) *they are the people, and wisdom is to die with them*. To such I have no more to say, whilst I appeale to your Lordship, whose real & consum'ate experience, greate prudence and dexterity *in rebus agundis* without noise, were enough to silence a thousand such as I am. I therefore implore your pardon againe, for what I may have written weakely, or rashly. In such a tempest & overgrown a sea, every body is concern'd, and whose head is not ready to turne? I am sure, I should myselfe almost despaire of the vessel, if any, save your Lordship, were at the helme. But, whilst your hand is on the staff, & your eye upon the star, I compose myselfe rest secure.

Surrey Street, 16 June 1696.

TO Mr. PLACE (Bookseller.)

Mr. Place,

I have seriously consider'd your Letter concerning your resolution of sparing no cost, whereby you may benefit the publiq, as well as recompence your owne charge & industry (which truly is a generous inclination, not so frequently met with amongst most book-sellers), by inquiring how you might possibly supply what is wanting to our Country (now beginning to be somewhat pollish'd in their manner of building, and indeede in the accomplishment of the English language also) by the publication of whatever may be thought conducible to either. In order to this, you have sometime since acquainted me with your intention of reprinting the 'Parallel ; desiring that I would revise it, and consider what improvements may decently be added in relation to your general designe. As for the Parallel, I take it to be so very usefull & perfect in its kind & as far as it pretends to (namely, all that was material in those Ten Masters upon the Orders), that I cannot think of any thing it further needes to render it more intelligible. As for what I have annex'd to it concerning Statues, my good friend Mr. Gibbons would be consulted ; and for the latter, so much as I conceive is necessary, I will take care to send you with your interfoliated copy. In the meane time, touching the universal Work, or Cycle, which you would have comprehend and imbrace the intire art of building, together with all its accessories for magnificence & use, without obliging you to the paines in gleaning, when a whole harvest is before you, or the trouble of calling many to your assistance (which would be tedious), I cannot think of a better, more instructive, & judicious an expedient, than by your procuring a good and faithfull translation of that excellent piece which has lately been publish'd by Monsieur D'Aviler ; where he made to speak English in the proper termes of that art, by some person conversant in the French, and if neede be, adding to him some assistant, such as you would have recommended to me, if my leasure & present circumstances could have comply'd with my inclinations of promoting so beneficial a designe.

I should here enumerate the particulars he runs thro', in my opinion sufficiently copious, & in as polish'd & yet as easy & familiar a style as the subject is capable of ; in nothing exceeding the capacity of our ordinary workmen, or unworthy the study & application of the noblest persons who employ them, & to whom a more than ordinary & superficial knowledge in Architecture is no small accomplishment. I say I should add the contents of his chapters, and the excellent notes he has subjoyn'd to a better version of Vignole, Mic. Angelo, & the rest of our most celebrated modern Architects & their works ; together with all that is extant of antique, & yet in being, apply'd to use, & worth knowing ; if I thought you had not already heard of the book, since it has now ben 4 or 5 yeares extant, and since reprinted in Holland,

as all the best & most vendible books are, to the greate prejudice of the authors, by their not only printing them without any Errata, by which the reader might reform them, or (as if they had none at all) correcting the faults themselves: which indeede, that of the Paris edition (faire as it seemes, & is in the elegancy of the character) exceedingly will neede, before it be translated, by whomsoever taken in hand.

But as the letter and its other beauties exceede the Dutch edition, so do likewise the Plates, which are don with that accuratnesse & care, as may almost com'ute for the oversights of the presse. I do not say the Holland Sculps are ill perform'd; but tho' they seeme to be pretty well copied, they will yet require a strict examination, and then I think they might be made use of, & a competent number of plates (provided not overmuch worn) procured at a far easier rate out of Holland, than by having them perhaps not so well graven here; for 'tis not the talent of every artist, tho' skill'd in heads & figures (of which we have very few), to trace the Architect as he ought. But if they could be obtain'd from Paris, as happily with permission they might, it were much to be preferr'd. I forget to tell you, that there is a most accurate, learned & critical Dictionary by the same author, explaining (in a 2nd part) not onely the termes of Architecture, but of all those other arts that waite upon, & are subservient to her, which is very curious.

And now, if what I have said in recommending this work for the full accomplishment of your laudable designe (& which in truth, I think, were abundantly sufficient) induce you to proceede in it, and that you would with it present the publiq with a much more elegant letter than I believe England has ever seene among all our printers; perhaps it were worth your while to render it one of the first productions of that noble presse which my worthy & most learned friend Dr. Bentley (his Majesty's Library-keeper at St. James's) is with greate charge & industrie erecting now at Cambridge.

There is another piece of Mechanics, & some other very rare & usefull arts agreeable to this of Architecture, & incomparably curious, which, if translated & joyn'd to the rest, would (without contradiction) render it a most desireable & perfect work. If when you passe this way, you will visite a lame man (who is oblig'd to stay within at present) I shall endeavour to satisfie you in any thing I have omitted here, but the teasing you & myselfe with a tedious scribble (upon your late importunity before my leaving this town) which you may wish I had omitted.

Surrey street, 17 Aug: 1696.

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To Mr. WOTTON.

Worthy Sir,  
should exceedingly mistake the person, and my owne discernment,

could I believe Mr. Wotton stood in the least neede of my assistance ; but such an expression of your's to one who so well knows his own imperfections as I do mine, ought to be taken for a reproche ; since I am sure it cannot proceede from your judgment. But forgiving this fault, I most heartily thank you for your animadversion on *Sylva* ; which, tho' I frequently find it so written for *ξύλεια* & *ύλη*, wood, timber, wild & forest trees, yet indeede I think it more properly belongs to a promiscuous casting of severall things together, & as I think my Lord Bacon has us'd it in his "Natural History," without much regard to method. *Deleatur*, therefore, wherever you meete it.

Concerning the Gardning & Husbandry of the Antients, which is your inquirie (especialy of the first), that it had certainly nothing approaching the elegance of the present age, Rapinus (whom I send you) will abundantly satisfie you. The discourse you will find at the end of Hortorum, lib. 4<sup>o</sup>. capp. 6. 7. What they cal'd their Gardens were onely spacious plots of ground planted with platans & other shady trees in walks, & built about with Porticos, Xisti, & noble ranges of pillars, adorn'd with Statues, Fountaines, Piscariæ, Aviaries, &c. But for the flowry parterre, beds of Tulips, Carnations, Auricula, Tuberoze, Jonquills, Ranunculas, & other of our rare Coronaries, we heare nothing of, nor that they had such a store & variety of Exotics, Orangeries, Myrtils, & other curious Greenes ; nor do I believe they had their Orchards in such perfection, nor by far our furniture for the Kitchen. Pliny indeede enumerates a world of vulgar plants & olitories, but they fall infinitely short of our Physic gardens, books and herbals, every day augmented by our sedulous Botanists, & brought to us from all the quarters of the world. And as for their Husbandry & more rural skill, of which the same author has written so many books in his Nat. History, especial lib. 17. 18. &c. you'l soone be judge what it was. They tooke great care indeede of their Vines and Olives, stercoreations, ingraftings, & were diligent in observing seasons, the course of the stars, &c. and doubtlesse were very industrious ; but when you shall have read over Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladio, with the Greek Geoponics, I do not think you will have cause to prefer them before the modern agriculture, so exceedingly of late improv'd, for which you may consult & compare our old Tusser, Markham, the *Maison Rustic*, Hartlib, Walter Blith, the Philosophical Transactions, & other books, which you know better than my selfe.

I have turn'd down the page, where poore Pulissy begins his persisting searck. If you can suffer his prolix style, you will now & then light on things not to be despised. With him I send you a short Treatise concerning *Metals*, of Sir Hugh Platts, which perhaps you have not seene. I am sorry I have no more of those subjects here, having left the rest in my library at Deptford, & know not how to get them hither till I get thither.

Sir, I am in no hast for the returne of these, if they may be serviceable to you, but in no little paine for the trouble your civility to mine puts one, who knows so much better how to employ his time, than to mind the impertinence of, Sir, your &c.

Wotton, 28 Oct. 1696.

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To Dr. RICHARD BENTLEY.

Worthy Doctor,

You have under your hands something of Mr. Wotton, whilst he has ben so kind as to offer me his help in looking over the typographical and other faults escaped in the last impression of the 'Silva,' which I am most earnestly call'd upon to reprint. The copy which I frankly gave about 30 years since to Allestry, is now in the hands of Chiswell and your namesake Mr. Bentley (Booksellers), who have sold off three impressions, & are now impatient for the fourth : and it having ben no vnprofitable copy to them, I had promised some considerable improvements to it, vpon condition of letting Ben: Tooke (for whom I have a particular kindnesse) into a share. This, tho' with reluctancy, they at last consented to. I will endeavour to render it with advantage, and have ambition enough to wish, that since it is a folio, & of so popular and usefull a subject as has procured it some reputation, it might have the honour to beare the character of Dr. Bentley's new Imprimerie, which, I presume, the proprietors will be as proud of as my selfe. To the reproch of Place, who made so many difficulties about my Booke of Architecture, as you well know, I have however made very considerable additions to that Treatise, as far as concernes my part, & meane to dedicate it to Sir Christopher Wren, his Majesties Surveyor & Intendent of his Buildings, as I did the other part to Sir J. Denham his predecessor, but infinitely inferior to his successor. I confesse I am foolishly fond of these & other rustications, which had ben my sweete diuersions during the dayes of destruction and devastation both of Woods and Buildings, whilst the Rebellion lasted so long in this Nation : and the kind receptions my Bookes have found makes me the more willing to give them my last hand : sorry in the meane time for all my other aberrations in pretending to meddle with things beyond my talent *et extra oleo* : but enough of this.

Wotton, 20 January 1696-7.

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To Dr. BENTLEY.

Worthy Doctor,

Tho' I made hast out of town, and had so little time to spend after we parted, I was yet resolv'd not to neglect the province which I undertook, as far as I had any interest in Sir Ed: Seymour, whom I d at his house, & had full scope of discourse with. I told him I not to petition the revival of an old title, or the unsettlement of

an estate, so often of late interrupting our late Parliaments, but to fix and settle a publiq benefit<sup>1</sup> that would be of greate & universal good & glory to the whole Nation. This (with your paper) he very kindly and obligingly receiv'd, & that he would contribute all the assistance that lay in his power, whenever it should come to the House. To send you notice of this, I thought might be much more acceptable to you than to acquaint you that we are full of company, & already enter'd into a most dissolute course of eating & indulging, according to the mode of antient English hospitality; by which meanes I shall now & then have an opportunity of recom'ending the noble designe you are intent upon, & therefore wish I had some more of the printed Proposals to disperse. Sir Cyril Wyche, who accompanied me hither, is altogether transported with it, & thinks the project so discreetly contriv'd, that it cannot miscarry. Here is Dr. Fuller with his spouse. The Doctor gave us a sermon this morning in an elegant and trim discourse on the 39. Psalm, which I find had ben prepar'd for the court, & fitter for that audience than our poore country churches. After this you will not expect much intelligence from hence, tho' I shall every day long to heare of the progresse you make in this glorious enterprize, to which I augure all successe & prosperity, & am

Worthy Doctor, your &c.

Wotton, 25 Dec. 1697.

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To Dr. GODOLPHIN, Provost of Eton.

Wotton, 8 Feb. 1697-8.

Had you ben in towne when my Copys [on Medals] were distributed among my Friends, the small present which I presum'd to send you, had ben brought by your most humble servant with an apology for my boldnesse in obtruding upon the Provost of Eton (who is himselfe so greate a judge of that and all other learned subjects) my meane performance. [It were quite to tire you out, should I relate on what occasion I came to be ingaged on a topic on which I could advance so little of my owne to extenuate my presumption; yet give me leave to take hold of this opportunity to discharge a debt owing to yourselfe, and those of your learned relations who condescend to reade my book. 'Tis now neere fifty yeeres past since Gabr. Naudæus publish'd directions concerning Librarys and their furniture, which I had translated, minding to reprint it, as what I conceiv'd might not be unseasonable whilst Auctions were become so frequent among us, and gentlemen every where storing themselves with bookes at those learned marts; & because it was so very thinn a volume, I thought of annexing a sheete or two of Medáls, as an appendant not improper. But being persuaded to say something of our modern Medals relating to our Country (as France and Holland had of theirs) I found it swell to so incompetent

<sup>1</sup> The new Library to be built in St. James's Park. J. E.

a bulk, as would by no meanes suite with that Treatise. Whilst I was about this (and indeed often and long before) I had ben importun'd to make a second edition of my Chalcography (now grown very scarce) and to bring it from 1662, where I left off, to this time, there having since that ben so greate an improvement of Sculpture. This being a task I had no inclination for (having of a long time given over col-lections of that sort) I thought yet of gratifying them in some manner with an ex-chapter in my Discourse of Medals, where I speake of the effigies of famous persons, and the use which may be deriv'd of such a collection, and that which follows it.—'Tis now a good while ago since first I put it into the hands of a book-seller, with strict injunction not to worke off a sheete, 'till it had ben revis'd by abler judgments than my owne; and so remain'd whilst the Medals could be collected that were to be grav'n, which, tho' hardly amounting to an hundred, were with difficulty enough procur'd in two yeares time. This slow proceeding, together with my long & frequent excursions at this distance from towne, made me absolutely resolv'd to abandon and think of it no further, but give it up to the Book-seller to dispose of it for wast paper, when he would needs perswade me that he had such an accomplish'd supervisor of the presse he imploy'd, as would do me all the right I could expect from a learned & able man; and that now he had ben at such charges for the Sculptures, I should extreamly injure him to withdraw my copy, & what I had to annex, as certainly I should [have done] but for that consideration only. So as I had now no remedy left me but by imbarquing the errata to my greater reproch, & it was very slender comfort to me the being told that even the most incomparably learned Spanheime, whose glorious work of medals was not long since reprinted, 'scap'd not the presse without remarkable and cruell scarrs.

But now I mention'd the noble Spanheim (to whose judgment all deferr) I may haply be censur'd for what I have said concerning *Etiminius*, after what he has objected against that Medal (de præst. Numis: Rep: 647); but if I was, and still am, unwilling to degrade our renowned Citty of her so early Metropolitan dignity, whilst I had any to stand by me, I cannot be so deeply concern'd, and indeed asham'd, should any think me so ignorant as not long since to know that *Obrysum* signifys gold of the most exalted purity & test, or, as the Ancients express'd, *ad Obrussam exactum*, which yet, I know not how, escap'd me when I was gathering out the errata. [As for *CONOB*, tho' I ever read it *Constantinople*, the extreame rudenesse of a Reverse and Metal I had shew'd me of that Coine, so perfectly resembling that of *Cuno*, might favour my conjecture<sup>1</sup>.]

<sup>1</sup> In the following letter to Mr. Henshaw, the latter part of which is almost a transcript of the above, the sentence is thus expressed: 'I found the period omitted, p. 22. which should have been read, mixt & obrize sort also, which has on it a horse rudely design'd with the letters *CON-OB*, *Constantinopoli obrisatum*, which some will have to signify *Constantinople* only—others, some Prince of ours.'

There is in margine, p. 207, a mistake of *Richborow* for *Regulbium*, which also escap'd me.

But, Sir, there are so many more & greater faults as put me out of countenance, for which & this tedious scribble I heartily beg your pardon, who am, &c.

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To Mr. HENSHAW.

Wotton, 1 Mar. 1697-8.

'The bearer hereof, Dr. Hoy, a very learned, curious and ingenious person (& our neighbour in Surrey), acquainted (as who is not?) with the name & greate worth of Mr. Henshaw, hearing that I had the honor to be known to you, desires me to introduce him; I neede say no more how worthy he is to be let into your esteeme, than to acquaint you how deservedly we value him here in this country, not onely for his profession & successe, but for those other excellent talents which were ever encourag'd by your free & generous communications. And in this I serve myselfe also, by taking the occasion to present the most humble service of a new old acquaintance, begun long since abroad, & cultivated ever since by the continuance of your friendship thro' many revolutions. I frequently call to mind the many bright & happy moments we have pass'd together at Rome and other places, in viewing & contemplating the entertainments of travellers who go not abroad to count steeples, but to improve themselves. I wish I could say of myself so as you did; but whenever I think of the agreeable toile we tooke among the ruines & antiquitys, to admire the superb buildings, visite the cabinets & curiositys of the Virtuosi, the sweete walkes by the banks of the Tiber, the *Via Flaminia*, the gardens & villas of that glorious Citty, I call back the time, & methinks growing yonge againe, the Opera we saw at Venice comes into my fansy, and I am ready to sing, *Gioconda Gioireiri—memoria sola tū—con ramento mi'l fu—spesso spesso vien a rapir mi, e qual che si sia ancor ringiovenir mi*. You remember, Sir, the rest, and we are both neere the conclusion, *hai che non torni, non torni piu—mo—ri—bondo*.

Forgive me, Sir, this transport, & when this Gent: takes his leave of you, permit me to beg your pardon also for the presumption I am guilty of, in obtruding a Discourse of Medals on one who is so greate a master & so knowing, & from whose example I sometimes diverted to that study. 'Tis now neere fifty yeares, &c.

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To Archdeacon NICOLSON, Dean of Carlisle.

10 Nov. 1699.

After thanking him for the tenderness and civility with which he had mentioned his book on Medals, Mr. Evelyn says:—

'You recommend the study of our own Municipal Lawes & Home Antiquitys, most becoming an Englishman & Lover of his Country,

which you have skilfully deriv'd from the fountaine, & trackt thro' all those windings & meanders which rendered the study generally deserted as dull & impolite, unless by those who, attractd by more sordid considerations, submitted to a fatigue which fill'd indeede their purses for the noyse they made at Westminster Hall, whilst their heads were empty, even of that to which they seem'd to devote themselves. Did our Inns of Court Students come a little better grounded in Ethics & with some entrance into the Civil Law, such an History as you are meditating would leade them on with delight, & enable them to discover & penetrate into the grounds of natural justice & human prudence, & furnish them with matter to adorn their pleadings, before they wholly gave themselves up to learn to wrangle & the arts of illaqueation, & not make such haste to precedents, costomes, & common-places. By reading good History they would come to understand how Governments have ben settl'd, by Conquest, Transplantations, Colonys or Garrisons thro' all vicissitudes & revolutions, from East to West, from the first Monarchy to the last; how Laws have ben establish'd, & for what reasons chang'd & alter'd; whence our holding by Knights service, & whether feudal Laws have ben deriv'd from Saxon or Norman. 'Tis pitty young gentlemen should meete with so little of this in the course of their Academic studys, at least if it continue as in my time, when they were brought up to dispute on dry questions which nauceat generous spirits, & to discourse of things before they are furnish'd with mediums, & so returne home rather with the learning of a Benedictine Monk (full of Schole cant) than with such usefull knowledge as would inable them to a dexterity in solving cases, how intricate soever, by Analytics & so much of Algebra as teaches to draw consequences & detect paralogisms & falaces, which were the true use of Logic, & which you give hopes our Universitys are now designing. To this I would add the improvement of the more ornate & gracefull manner of speaking upon occasion. The fruit of such an education would not onely grace & furnish the Bar with excellent Lawyers, but the Nation with able persons fit for any honorable imployment, to serve & speake in Parliaments & in Councils: give us good Magistrates & Justices for reference at home in the Country; able Ambassadors & Orators abroad; in a word, qualifi'd Patriots & Pillars of State, in which this age dos not I feare abound. In the meantime what preference may be given to our Constitutions I dare not determine, but as I believe Ethics & the Civile Law were the natural mother of all good Laws, so I have ben told that the best Lawyers of England were heretofore wont to mix their studys together with them, but which are at present so rarely cultivated that those who passe forsoth for greate Sages & Oracles therein were not onely shamefully defective, but even in the feudal & our owne.

You are speaking, Sir, of Records, but who are they among this mul-

titude even of the Coife, who either study or vouchsafe to defile their fingers with any dust, save what is yellow? or know any thing of Records save what, upon occasion, they lap out of Sir Edw. Coke's basin, & some few others? The thirst of gaine takes up their whole man; like our English Paynters, who, greedy of getting present money for their work, seldome arive to any farther excellency in the Art than face-painting, & have no skill in Perspective, Sym'etry, the principles of Designe, or dare undertake to paint History.

Upon all these considerations then, I cannot but presage the greate advantage your excellent book, and such an Historie, may produce, when our young gentlemen shall ripen their studys by those excellent methods. At least there will not likely appeare such swarms & legions of obstreperous Lawyers as yearly emerge out of our London Seminarys, *omnium doctorum indoctissimum genus* (for the most part) as Erasmus truly styles them.

Concerning the Paper Office, I wish those Instruments & State Arcana had ben as faithfully & constantly transmitted to that usefull Magazin as they ought; but tho' Sir Jos: Williamson tooke paines to reduce things into some order, so miserably had they ben neglected and rifled during the Rebellion, that at the Restoration of Char. II. such were the defects, that they were as far to seeke for precedents, authentiq & original treatys, negotiations & other transactions formerly made with Foraine States & Princes, dispatches & instructions to Ambassadors, as if there had never before ben any correspondence abroad. How that Office stands at present I know not; but this I do know, that abundance of those dispatches & papers you mention, & which ought to centre there, have ben carried away both by the Secretarys of State themselves (when either dismiss'd or dying, & by Ambassadors & other Ministers when recall'd) into the country, & left to their heires as honorable marks of their Ancestors employments. Of this sort I had formerly divers considerable bundles concerning transactions of state during the ministry of the greate Earle of Leycester, all the reignè of Q. Elizabeth, containing divers original Letters from the Q. herselfe, from Mary Q. of Scots, Cha. IX. and Hen. IV. of France, Maximilian the 2d Emp., Duke of Norfolk, Ja: Stewart Regent of Scotland, Marq. of Montrose, Sir William Throckmorton, 'Randolfe, Sir Fra: Walsingham (whom you mention), Sec. Cecill, Mr. Barnaby, Sir J. Hawkins, Drake, Fenton, Matt. Parker Archb. of Canterbury, Edwyn Bp. of London, the Bp. of Winchester, Bp. Hooper, &c. From abroad; Tremelius and other Protestant Divines, Parquiou, Spimmola, Ubaldino and other com'anders, with divers Italian Princes; and of Ladys, the Lady Mary Grey, Cecilia Princesse of Sweden, Ann Countesse of Oldenburgh, the Dutchesse of Somerset, & a world more. But what most of all, & still afflicts me, those letters & papers of the Q. of Scots, originals & written with her own hand to Q. Eliz. & Earle of Leycester,

before & during her imprisonment, which I furnished to Dr. Burnet (now B. of Salisb.) some of which being printed in his History of the Reformation, those, & others with them, are pretended to have ben lost at the presse, which has bin a quarell betweene me & his Lordship, who lays the fault on Chiswell, but so as between them I have lost the originals, which had now ben safe records as you will find in that History. The rest I have named I lent to his countryman the late Duke of Lauderdale, who honouring me with his presence in the Country, and after dinner discoursing of a Maitland (ancestor of his) of whom I had several letters impaqueted with many others, desired I would trust him with them for a few days ; it is now more than a few yeares past, that being put off from time to time, til the death of his Grace, when his Library was selling, my letters & papers could no where be found or recover'd, so as by this tretchery my collection being broken, I bestowed the remainder on a worthy and curious friend (Qu. Mr. Pepys?) of mine, who is not likely to trust a S—— with any thing he values.

But, Sir, I quite tire you with a rhapsody of impertinences, beg your pardon & remain,' &c.

Among the Errata of the Numismata, but of which I immediately gave an account in the Philos. Transactions, the following were thus to have been read: p. 22. l. n. 22—*mixt* as well as *obrizd'* sort in the margin, for such a metal is mention'd by Aldus (of Valentinian) with *CONOB*: which he reads,—*Constantinopoli Obrizatum*, belonging, he says, to Count Landus: v: Aldus Manut. Notar: Exp'ta, p. 802. Venet. CIO.IO.XCI. & p. 51. l. q. r: *Etiminus*: Spanheime indeed is suspicious of this Medal, but I was unwilling to degrade our Metropolis of the honor. P. 202 in margin *r. Regulbium* (with innumerable more).

Sir,

I know not whether Sir Jo: Hoskins, Sir R. Southwell, Mr. Waller, and Dr. Harwood (who is concern'd in what I have said of *Taille Douce*) and the rest (on whom I have obtruded books) would have the patience of Mr. Hill, to reade my letter, when you meete at the learned Coffee-Club, after they are gon from Gressham.

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From the MSS. at Wotton.

*Sayes Court*.—The hithermost Grove I planted about 1656 ; the other beyond it, 1660 ; the lower Grove, 1662 ; the holly hedge, even with the Mount hedge below, 1670.

I planted every hedge & tree not onely in the Garden, Groves, &c. but about all the fields & house since 1653, except those large, old & hollow Elms in the Stable Court & next the Sewer ; for it was before, one pasture field to the very garden of the house, which was but

<sup>1</sup> *Obryzum* signifies gold of the most exalted purity. J. E.

small; from which time also I repaired the ruined house, & built the whole end of the kitchen, the chapel, buttry, my study, above & below, cellars & all the outhouses & walls, still-house, Orangerie, & made the gardens, &c. to my great cost, & better I had don to have pulled all down at first, but it was don at several times.

Mr. Evelyn was acquainted with the use and value of Potatoes, which he calls Irish, tasting like an old bean or roasted chesnut, not very pleasant till use have accustomed, yet of good nourishment & excellent use for relief of Poor, yea & of one's own household where there are many servants in a dear year.

Prince Rupert invented a Turfing Plow—a sketch, but without any description of its use.

Dredge is Barley & Oats mixed.

Hops cost £20 an acre before any considerable profit. Digging, £2 10s.; 5000 roots, £2 10s.; 1st year, dressing, £2 10s.; 2nd year, dressing, £2 10s.; Poles, £10.

40 loads of dung on an acre, the produce not above £6 an acre.

An acre of Hemp may be worth £8, & after this the land will be proper for barley, wheat, and pease successively.

Orchards improve land from 10s. an acre, which is commonly the value of the best sort of Tillage, & even of best pasture not above £2, to £4.

An acre planted with Cherries has been sett at £10, 100 miles from London.

About Sandwich & Deal they edge & fence their corn fields with flax & hemp, but flax chiefly, which they affirm keep out cattle, being bitter; they sow it about 20 feet deep into the field—sow whole fields of Canary seed—great grounds of hyssop & thyme in tufts, for seeds only—the soil light & sandy, but the hyssop in richer ground.

## A CHARACTER OF MRS. EVELYN,

BY DR. BOHUN<sup>1</sup>;

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN HIS HAND-WRITING.

I HAD lately occasion to review severall Letters to me from Mrs. Evelyn of Deptford. After reading them, I found they were much to,

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Dr. Ralph Bohun, D. C. L. was a scholar at Winchester College, and was elected probationary fellow of New College, Oxford, at the early age of 19. In 1671 he wrote a Discourse on the History and Nature of Wind; and in 1685, he completed his Doctor's degree.

be valued, because they contained not only a compleat description of the private events in the family, but publick transactions of the times, where are many curious and memorable things described in an easy and eloquent style.

Many forgotten circumstances by this means are recalled afresh to my memorie; by so full and perfect a narration of them, they are again present to my thoughts, and I see them re-acted as it were before my eyes. This made strong impressions on my mind, so that I could not rest till I had recollected the substance of them, and from thence some generall reflexions thereon, and from thence drew a character of their author, so farr only as by plain and naturall inferences may be gathered from their contents. This was not perform'd in a manner worthy of the design, but hastily and uncorrectly, which cost no more time than cou'd be employed at one sitting in an afternoon; but in this short model, Mrs. Evelyn will appeare to be the best daughter and wife, the most tender mother, and desirable neighbour and friend, in all parts of her life. The historicall account of matters of fact sufficiently set forth her praises, wherein there cou'd be no error or self-conceit; and declare her to be an exact pattern of many excellent vertues; but they are concealed in such modest expressions, that the most envious censurers can't fix upon her the least suspicion of vanity or pride. Tho' she had many advantages of birth and beauty, and wit, yet you may perceive in her writings, an humble indifference to all worldly enjoyments, great charity, and compassion to those that had disobliged her, and no memory of past occurrences, unless it were a gratefull acknowledgement of some friendly office; a vein of good-nature and resignation, and self denial runs through them all. There's nothing so despis'd in many of these letters, as the fruitles & empty vanities of the Town; and they seem to pity the misfortune of those who are condemned by their greater quality or stations to squander away their precious time in unprofitable diversions, or bestow it in courtly visits & conversations. Where there happens to be any mention of Children or Friends, there's such an air of sincerity & benevolence for the one, and religious concern for the happines of the other, as if she had no other design to live in the world, than to perform her own duty, and promote the welfare of her relations and acquaintance.

There's another observation to be collected, not less remarkable than the rest, which is her indefatigable industry in employing herself, and more for the sake of others than her own: This she wrote, not out of vain glory, or to procure commendation, but to entertain them with whom she had a familiar correspondence by letters, with the relation of such accidents or bysnes wherein she was engag'd for the month, or the week past.

This was a peculiar felicity in her way of writing, that, tho' she often treated of vulgar and domestic subjects, she never suffer'd her style to

languish or flag, but by some new remark or pleasant digression kept it up to its usual pitch.

The reproofs in any of these numerous letters were so softly insinuated, that the greatest punishment to be inflicted upon any disobligation was only to have the contrary vertue to the fault they had ben guilty of, highly applauded in the next correspondence, which was ever so manag'd as to pleas and improve.

Scarce an harsh expression, much less an evill surmise or suspicion cou'd be admitted where every line was devoted to charity and goodnes. This is no effect of partiality, but appears in the particular instances, so that the same judgment must be made by all unprejudiced persons who shall have a sight of them.

Any misfortune or disappointment was not mournfully lamented, but related in such a manner as became a mind that had laid in a sufficient provision of courage & patience before-hand to support it under afflictions. All unfortunate accidents are allaid by some consolatory argument taken from solid principles. No kind of trouble but one seems to interrupt the constant intention to entertain & oblige, but that is dolorously represented in many of the letters, which is the loss of Children or Friends. That being an irreparable separation in this world, is deplored with the most affectionate tenderness which words can express. You may conclude that they who write in such a manner as this, must be suppos'd to have a just sens of Religion, becaus there can scarce be assign'd one act of a beneficent and charitable temper but has many texts of the Gospel to enforce it. So that all good Xtians must be very usefull and excellent neighbours and friends; which made this lady ever esteem'd so. Shee was the delight of all the conversations, where she appear'd, she was lov'd and admir'd, yet never envy'd by any, not so much as by the women, who seldom allow the perfections of their own sex, least they ecclips their own; But as this very manifestly & upon all occasions was her temper, the world was very gratefull to her upon that account. This happines was gain'd and preserv'd by one wise qualification, for tho' no person living had a closer insight into the humors or characters of persons, or cou'd distinguish their merits more nicely, yet she never made any despising or censorious reflexions; her great discernment and wit were never abus'd to sully the reputation of others, nor affected any applaus that might be gain'd by satyrical jests. Tho' shee was extreamly valu'd, and her friendship priz'd and sought for by them of the highest condition, yet she ever treated those of the lowest with great condescension and humanity. The memory of her vertues and benefits made such deep impression on her neighbors of Deptford & Greenwich, that if any one should bring in another report from this, or what was generally receiv'd among them, they'd condem as fals, and the effect of a slanderous calumny; either they wou'd never yield that any change

shou'd happen to this excellent lady, or they'd impute it to sickness, or time, or chance, or the unavoidable frailtys of human nature. But I have somewhat digress'd from my subject, which was to describe her person or perfections no otherwise than they may be gathered from the letters I receiv'd<sup>1</sup>; they contain historical passages and accounts of any, more or less considerable, action or accident that came to her knowledge, with diverting or serious reflections as the subject requir'd, but generally in an equall and chaste style, supported by a constant gravity, never descending to affected sallys of ludicrous wit.

It's to be further observ'd, that tho' she recites & speaks French exactly, & understands Italian, yet she confines herself with such strictnes to the purity of the English tounge, that she never introduces foreign or adopted words; that ther's a great steadines & equality in her thoughts; and that her sens & expressions have a mutual dependance on each other may be infer'd from hence—you shall never perceive one perplext sentence, or blot, or recalling a word in more than twenty letters.

Many persons with whom she convers'd or were related to her, or had any publick part in the world, were honour'd by very lively characters confer'd on them, always just, and full of discernment, rather inclining to the charitable side, yet no otherwyse than as skillfull masters who paint like, yet know how to give some graces and advantages to them whose pictures they draw. The expressions are clear and unaffected, the sentences frequent & grave, the remarks judicious, the periods flowing & long, after the Ciceronian way, yet tho' they launch out so farr, they are strict to the rules of grammar, and ever come safe home at last without any obscurity or incoherence attending them.

I'll only give one instance of a person who was characteris'd by her in a more favorable manner than he durst presume that he deserved; however, to shew the method of her writing, I shall set it down. 'I believe (such an one) to be a person of much wit, great knowledge, judicious and discerning, charitable, well natur'd, obliging in conversation, apt to forget & forgive injuries, eloquent in the pulpit, living according to known precepts, faithfull to his friend, generous to his enemy, and in every respect accomplisht; this in our vulgar way is a desirable character, but you'll excuse if I judge unrefinedly who have the care of cakes & stilling, & sweetmeats & such usefull things.'

Mrs. Evelyn has been often heard to say concerning the death of her admirable & beloved Daughter, that tho' she had lost her for ever in this world, yet she wou'd not but that she had been, becaus many pleasing ideas occurr to her thoughts that she had convers'd with her so long, and ben made happy by her for so many years.

Oxon, 1695, Sept. 20.

<sup>1</sup> Copies of several letters to Dr. Bohun have been found at Wotton, but not those here  
d to. A few of them will follow, as specimens of her manner and great good sense.

## LETTERS FROM MRS. EVELYN.

For Mr. BOHUN.

21 May 1668.

If it be true that wee are generally enclined to covett what wee admire, I can assure you my ambition aspires not to the fame of Balzac, and therefore must not thank you for entitling me to that great name. I do not admire his style, nor emulate the spirit of discontent which runns through all his Letters. There is a lucky hitt in reputation which some obtaine by the deffect in their judges, rather than from the greatnesse of their merit ; the contrary may be instanced in Doctor Donne, who had he not ben really a learned man, a libertine in witt and a courtier, might have ben allowed to write well, but I confess in my opinion, with these qualifications he falls short in his Letters of the praises some give him.

Voiture seems to excell both in quicknesse of fancy, easinesse of expression, & in a facile way of insinuating that he was not ignorant of letters, an advantage the Court ayre gives persons who converse with the world as books.

I wonder at nothing more than at the ambition of printing letters ; since if the designe be to produce witt and learning, there is too little scope for the one, and the other may be reduced to a lesse compasse than a sheet of gilt paper, unlesse truth were more communicative. Buisnesse, love, accidents, secret displeasure, family intrigues, generally make up the body of letters, and can signifie very little to any besides the persons they are addressed to, and therefore must loose infinitely by being exposed to the unconcerned. Without this declaration I hope I am sufficiently secure never to runne the hazard of being censured that way, since I cannot suspect my friends of so much unkindnesse, nor myselfe of the vanity to wish fame on so doubtfull a foundation as the caprice of mankind. Do not impute my silence to neglect ; had you seene me these tenne days continually entertaining persons of different humour, age, and sence, not only at meales, or afternoone, or the time of a civill visit, but from morning till night, you will be assured it was impossible for me to finish these few lines sooner ; so often have I set pen to paper and ben taken off againe, that I almost despaired to lett you know my satisfaction that Jack<sup>1</sup> complies so well with your desires, and that I am your friend and servant

M. EVELYN.

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To Mr. BOHUN at Oxford.

Sir,

Do not think my silence hitherto has proceeded from being taken up

<sup>1</sup> Her son, then at College under Mr. Bohun's care.

with the diversions of the Towne, the eclat of the Wedding, Mascarades which trebled their number the second night of the Wedding [so] that there was great disorder and confusion caused by it, and with which the solemnity ended ; neither can I charge the Houswifry of the Country after my returne, or treating my neighbours this Christmas, since I never finde any buisnesse or recreation that makes me forget my Friends. Should I confesse the reall cause, it is your expectation of extraordinary notions of things wholly out of my way ; Women were not borne to read Authors, and censure the Learned, to compare Lives and judge of Virtues, to give rules of Morality, and sacrifice to the Muses. We are willing to acknowledge all time borrowed from Family duties is misspent ; the care of Children's education, observing a Husband's com'ands, assisting the Sick, relieving the Poore, and being serviceable to our Friends, are of sufficient weight to employ the most improved capacities amongst us. If sometimes it happens by accident that one of a thousand aspires a little higher, her fate commonly exposes her to wonder, but adds little to esteeme. The Distaff will defend our quarrells as well as the Sword, and the Needle is as instructive as the Penne. A Heroine is a kinde of prodigy ; the influence of a blasinge starre is not more dangerous, or more avoyded. Though I have lived under the roofe of the Learned, and in the neighbourhood of Science, it has had no other effect on such a temper as mine, but that of admiration, and that too but when it is reduced to practice. I confesse I am infinitely delighted to meet with in books the atchievements of the Heroes, with the calmnesse of Philosophers, and with the eloquence of Orators ; but what charms me irresistably is to see perfect resignation in the minds of men let what ever happen adverse to them in their fortune ; that is being knowing and truly wise ; it confirms my beleefe of antiquity, and engages my perswasion of future perfection, without which it were in vaine to live. Hope not for volumes or treatises ; Raillery may make me goe beyonde my bounds, but when serious, I esteeme myselfe capable of very little, yet I am, Sir,

Your friend and servant,

Jan. 4. 1672.

M. E.

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To my Lady TUKE, after the death of SIR SAM. TUKE.  
Madame,

I acknowledge these are trialls which make Christian philosophy usefull, not only by a resignation to the Divine decree, but by that Hope which encourages us to expect a more lasting happinesse then any this world can give. Without this wee were extreemly wretched since no felicity here has any duration. Wee are solicitous to obtaine, wee feare whilst wee possesse, and wee are inconsolable when wec loose. The greatest Conquerors themselves are subject to this unsteady state of humane nature ; lett us not murmure then, for wee offend, and

though in compliance to your present sence of things I could joyne with you in greiving, having made as particular a losse as ever any did in a Friend, I dare not indulge your sorrows, especially when I consider how prejudiciall it will proove to your selfe and those deare pledges that are left to your care ; but I do rather begge of you cease greiving, and owe that to reason and prudence which time will overcome. Were I in so good health that I could quitt my chamber, I would be dayly with you and assure you how really I am concerned for you. You cannot doubt the affection of your, &c.

Jan. 28, 1672.

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To Mr. BOHUN.

Sir,

Sayes-Court, 29 Jan. 1672.

If a Friend be of infinite value living, how much cause have wee to lament him dead ! such a friend was Sir Sam. Tuke, who retired out of this life on St. Paul's day [25 Jan.] at midnight, and has changed the scene to him and us, and left occasion to all that knew him to bewaile the losse. You need not to be made sensible by a character of a person you knew so well, and you can enumerate virtues enough to lament and shed some teares justly ; therefore spare me the sorrow of repeating what effect it has wrought on such a minde as mine, who think no misfortune worth regretting besides the losse of those I love. Do not blame me if I beleve it allmost impossible to meet with a person so worthy in himselfe, and so disposed to esteeme me againe ; and yet that is not the chieftest cause of my affliction. I might wave much of my owne interest, had I not so many partners that will suffer equally. These are the trialls which make Christian philosophy usefull, not only by a resignation to the Divine decree, but by that hope which encourages us to expect a more lasting happinesse then any this world can give, without which wee were extreemly wretched, since no felicity here has any duration. The gréatest Conquerors themselves are subject to this unsteady state of humane nature, therefore well may I submitt, whose concerns are triviall in respect of others. Yet this I conclude, that wee dye by degrees when our friends go before us. But whilst I discourse thus with you, I should consider what effects melancholy reflections may have on a spleenetic person, one who needs not cherish that temper. I will only add that I am now able to quitt my chamber, which is more then I could do these 14 dayes, and that I am, Sir,

Your servant,

M. EVELYN.

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To Mr. BOHUN, Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Sir,

When I have assured you that my usuall indisposition has treated me so severely this winter that I have had little leasure to think of any thing but the meanes of gaineing health and ease, I am perswaded

you will excuse me if I have not decided in my thoughts which was the greatest Captaine, Cæsar or Pompey; whether Mr. De Rosny were not a great Polititian, a brave soldier, and the best servant that ever Prince had for capacity, fidelity and steadinesse; a man strangly disinterested infinitely fortunate, and in every way qualified to serve such a master as was Henry the Great, who notwithstanding humane frailties, was worthy to be faithfully dealt with, since he knew how to judge and to reward. But why do we allwayes look back into times past? wee may not reproach our owne, since heere is at this present a scene for galantrie and merit, and whilst wee may hope, we must not condemne. Should I tell you how full of sorrow I have ben for the losse of Doctor Bretton<sup>1</sup>, you only would blame me; after Death flattery ceases, therefore you may beleeve there was some cause to lament when thousands of weeping eyes witnessed the affliction their soules were in; one would have imagined every one in this parish had lost a Father, Brother, or Husband, so great was the bewailing; and in earnest it dos appeare there never was a better nor a more worthy man. Such was his temper, prudence, charity, and good conduct, that he gained the weake and preserved the wise. The suddennesse of his death was a surprise only to his friends; as for himselfe it might be looked upon as a deliverance from paine, the effect of sicknesse, and I am almost perswaded God snatched him from us, least he might have ben prevailed with by the number of petitions to have left him still amongst us. If you suspect kindness in me makes me speake too much, Doctor Parr<sup>2</sup> is a person against whome you cannot object; it was he who preached the funerall sermon, and as an effect of truth as well as eloquence he himselfe could not forbear weeping in the pulpit. It was his owne expression that there were three for whom he infinitely greeved, the martyred King, my Lord Primate (Abp. Usher) and Doctor Bretton: and as a confirmation of the right that was done him in that Oration, there was not a drie eye nor a dissenting person. But of this no more.

M. EVELYN.

Sayes-Court, 2nd March 1672.

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To Lady TUKE.

April 1685.

How to expresse the sorrow for parting with so deære a Child is a difficult task. She was welcome to me from the first moment God gave her, acceptable through the whole course of her life by a thousand endearments, by the gifts of nature, by acquired parts, by the tender love she ever shew'd her father and me; a thred of Piety accompanied

<sup>1</sup> Minister of Deptford: he died in February 1671.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Parr, D.D. Vicar of Reigate and Camberwell. He died Nov. 2, 1691. The Sermon alluded to, was printed in 1672.

all her actions, and now proves our greatest consolation. The patience, resignation, humility of her carriage in so severe and fatal a disease, discover'd more than an ordinary assistance of the Divine goodnesse, never expressing feare of death, or a desire to live, but for her friends sake. The seaventh day of her illnesse she discoursed to me in particular as calmly as in health, desired to confesse and receive the blessed Sacrament, which she performed with great devotion, after which, tho' in her perfect senses to the last, she never signified the least concerne for the world, prayed often, and resigned her soule. —What shall I say ; She was too great a blessing for me, who never deserved anything, much lesse such a jewell. I am too well assured of your Ladyship's kindnesse to doubt the part you take in this losse : you have ever shewed your selfe a friend in so many instances, that I presume upon your compassion ; nothing but this just occasion could have hindered me from wellcoming you to towne, and rejoyceing with the best friend I have in the world—a friend by merit and inclination one I must esteeme as the wife of so worthy a relation and so sincere a friend as Sir Sam: (Tuke) was to me and mine. What is this world, when we recall past things ! what are the charms that keepe our minds in suspense ! without the conversation of those we love, what is life worth ! How did I propose happinesse this sum'er in the returne of your Ladyship and my deare Child—for she was absent almost all this winter !

She had much improved her selfe by the remarks she had made of the world and all its vanities—What shall I add ! I could ever speake of her, and might I be just to her without suspition of partiality, could tell you many things. The papers which are found in her cabinet discover she profitted by her readyng—such reflections, collections out of Scripture, confessions, meditations and pious notions, evidence her time was not spent in the triflyng way of most young women. I acknowledge, as a Christian, I ought not to murmur, and I should be infinitely sorry to incur God's further displeasure. There are those yet remaining that chalenge my care, and for their sakes I endeavour to submitt all I can. I thank my poore Cousen a thousand times for her kind concerne, and wish she may live to be the comfort you deserve in her, that God will continue the blessing to both, and make you happy—which is the prayer of her who is

Yours most affectionately,

M. E.

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Mrs. EVELYN to her Son.

I haue received your letter and request for a supply of mony ; but none of those you mention which were bare effects of your duty. If you were so desirous to answer our expectations as you pretend to be, you would give those tutors and overseers you think so exact, over you lesse trouble then I feare they have with you. Much is to be wished

in your behalfe; that your temper were humble and tractable, your inclinations virtuous, and that from choice not compulsion you make an honest man. Whateuer object of vice comes before you, should haue the same effect in your mind of dislike and aversion that Drunkenesse had in the youth of Sparta when their slaves were presented to them in that brutish condition, not only from the deformity of such a sight, but from a motive beyond theirs, the hopes of a future happiness, which those rigorous Heathens in morall virtue had little prospect of, finding no reward for virtue but in virtue itselfe. You are not too young to know that lying, defrauding, swearing, disobedience to parents and persons in authority, are offences to God and man: that debauchery is injurious to growth, health, life, and indeed to the pleasures of life: therefore now that you are turning from Child to Man endeavour to follow the best precepts, and chuse such wayes as may render you worthy of praise and love. You are assured of your Father's care and my tendernes: no mark of it shall be wanting at any time to confirme it to you, with this reserve only, that you strive to deserve kindness by a sincere honest proceeding, and not flatter your selfe that you are good whilst you only appeare to be so. Fallacies will only passe in schools. When you thoroughly weigh these considerations, I hope you will apply them to your owne advantage, as well as to our infinite satisfaction. I pray dayly God would inspire you with his grace, and blesse you.

I am,  
Your louing mother,  
M. EVELYN.

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To Mr. BOHUN.

Sir,

1671.

I must beleeeve you are very buisy, hearing so seldome from you, and that you are much in the esteeme of Dr. Bathurst<sup>1</sup>, since he judges so favourably of your friends. It cannot be the effect of his discernment which makes him give sentence in my behalfe, being so great a master of reason as he is; but it is certainly a mark of his great kindness to you that he deffers to your judgment in opposition to his owne. I should not question yours in other things, but the wisest may be allow'd some grains, and I conclude you no lesse a courtier then a philosopher. Since my last to you I have seene 'The Siege of Grenada,' a play so full of ideas that the most refined romance I euer read is not to compare with it: love is made so pure, and valor so nice, that one would imagine it designed for an Vtopia rather then our Stage. I do not quarrell with the Poet, but admire one borne in the decline of morality

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ralph Bathurst, Dean of Wells and President of Trinity College, in Oxford, whose Life and Literary Remains have been published by Thomas Warton, Poetry Professor, and Fellow of the same College.

should be able to feigne such exact virtue ; and as poetick fiction has been instructive in former ages, I wish this the same event in ours. As to the strict law of Comedy I dare not pretend to judge : some think the division of the story not so well as if it could all haue been comprehended in the dayes actions : truth of history, exactnesse of time, possibilities of adventures, are niceties the antient Critiques might require ; but those who have outdone them in fine notions may be allowed the liberty to expresse them their ownè way, and the present world is so enlightened that the old dramatique must bear no sway. This account perhaps is not enough to do Mr. Driden right, yet is as much as you can expect from the leisure of one who has the care of a Nursery.

I am, Sir, &c.

M. EVELYN.

Mrs. Evelyn (who outlived Mr. Evelyn) by her Will, dated 9 Feb. 1708, desired to be buried in a stone coffin, near that of 'my dear husband, whose love & friendship I was happy in 58 years 9 months, but by Gods Providence left a disconsolate widow the 27 day of February 1705 in the 71 year of my age. His care of my education was such as might become a father, a lover, a friend, and husband, for instruction, tenderness, affection, & fidelity to the last moment of his life ; which obligation I mention with a gratitude to his memory, ever dear to me ; & I must not omit to own the sense I have of my Parents care & goodness in placing me in such worthy hands.'

[ \*.\* The Pamphlet published by Mr. Evelyn under the title of "Tyrannus, or the Mode," is one of the most scarce of all his publications, and is here re-printed.

This copy is taken from one lent me by James Bindley, Esq. which had been corrected by Mr. Evelyn himself for a second edition, and the note at the end was added by him.

Mr. Bindley had thus endorsed it: 'I never saw another copy of this curious Tract. This, which is corrected throughout by the Author (Mr. Evelyn) with his own hand for a second edition, was bought at an auction at Paterson's, at Essex House, near forty years ago.

J. B.]

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## TYRANUS, OR THE MODE;

IN A DISCOURSE OF

SUMPTUARY LAWES.

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THE SECOND EDITION ENLARGED.

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*Gratius Falisc: Cyneg:*

—— *Sed lubricus error*

*Mos, et ab expertis festinant usibus omnes.*

**LONDON:**—Printed for G. Bedel, and T. Collins, at the Middle Temple Gate,  
and J. Crook at the Ship in St. Pauls Church Yard.

## TO HIM THAT READES.

IF that be true which Demosthenes said, that Constancy is the summe of all perfection, and that what is really good springs from integrall causes ; all that aspire to this vertue should embrace whatever may contribute to it. I have in this gentle Satyr prepared you something to smile, something to frown at ; if the ballance fall equal I am satisfyed. Shall I tell you ingenuously ? I have sometime (for relaxation sake) indulg'd myself the liberty of a Prevaricator, and amongst other impertinencies, to passe away the time, collected certain essayes together, of which I once intended a volume. This, amongst the rest, lay upmost ; and if I now put it into your hands, 'tis because I think it not unseasonable. I will not reproch the French for their fruitful invention, or any thing that is commendable, but 'tis well known, who those *Gavaches* are, which would impose upon all the world beside ; and I have frequently wonder'd that a Nation so well conceited of themselves as I take our Country-men to be, should so generally submit to the *Mode* of another, of whom they speake with so little kindnesse. That the *Monsieurs* have universally gotten the ascendent over other parts of Europe, is imputable to their late conquests ; but that only their greatest vanity should domineer over this Kingdome, speaks as strangely tame. For my own part, though I love the French well (and have many reasons for it) yet I would be glad to pay my respects in any thing rather than my *Clothes*, because I conceive it so great a diminution to our native Country, and to the discretion of it. His Majesty speaks French, not so much to gratify the Nation, as because he has title to it : For though Lewis the XIV. be the *French King*, Charles the II. is *King of France* ; and I shall not despair to see the day when he shall give his vassals there the Edict for their Apparel, and not suffer his subjects here to receive the Law from them. If this give offence, I can commute, and upon some other occasion say as much to their advantage. In the mean time divert yourselfe with this *Trifle* ; if it please you, I am satisfy'd ; if not, I have prevented your censure.

J. E.

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 TYRANUS, OR THE MODE.

'TWAS a witty expression of Malvezzi ; *i vestimenti negli Animali sono molto sicuri segni della loro natura, negli Huomini del lor cervello*, Garments (says he) in animals are infallible signes of their nature ; in Men, of their understanding. Though I would not judge of the *Monk* by the Hood he wears ; or celebrate the humour of Julian's Court, where the Philosophic Mantle made all his officers appear like

so many Conjurors ; 'tis worth the observing yet, that the people of Rome left off the *Toga*, an ancient and noble garment, with their power, and that the vicissitude of their habite was little better than a presage of that of their fortune. For the Military *Saga* differencing them little from their Slaves, was no small indication of the declining of their courage, which shortly follow'd. And I am of opinion that when once wee shall see the Venetian Senat quit the gravity of their Vests, the State itself will not long subsist without some considerable alteration. 'Tis not a trivial remark (which I have some where met with) that when a Nation is able to impose and give laws to the Habit of another (as the late Tartars did in China) it has (like that of Language) proved the forerunner of the spreading of their conquests there; because, as it has something of shew and magisterial, so it gaines them a boldnesse and an assurance, which easily introduces them without being taken notice of for strangers where they come; til by degrees they insinuate themselves into all those places where the *Mode* is taken up, and so much in credit. I am of opinion that the Swisse had not been now a Nation, but for keeping to their prodigious Breeches; and as it was politically dissembled of Francis the First, to flatter this blunt people with the *Toy*, which for awhile he wore, and the Ladies afterwards made their Pincushions of<sup>1</sup>; so was it again as prudent to abandon that brutish shape, for a habit more convenient and decent.

Nor do I impute it so much to the levity in that Protean Nation, to metamorphose themselves so oft as many are prone to censure, because it is plainly their interest, and they thrive by it; besides the pleasure of seeing all the world follow them, and to be fond of bravery.

Believe it, *La Mode de France* is one of the best returns which they make, and feeds as many bellies as it clothes backs; or else we should not hear of such armies, and swarmes of them, as this one City alone maintains, who hang in the ears, embrace the necks and elegant wasts of our fair Ladies, in the likeness of Pendants, Collers, Fans, and Peti-coats, with the rest of those pretty impediments, without which Heaven and Earth could not subsist.

It may be thought, I confessè, some mark of strange verticity that these things are alwayes things in fluctuation; and 'tis so, indeed, with us; but with them, as constant as the Tide, and no more a fault than in the Moon; especially since (like hers) the change is profitable, and a characteristic of their fertil genius, which is to be busie, mercurial, and universal, and like good Prismes, both to multiply and change the species to a degree so taking and so gainfull.

But, be it thus excusable in the French to alter, and impose the *Mode* on others, for the reasons deduc'd; 'tis no less a weakness and a shame in the rest of the World, who have no dependency on them,

<sup>1</sup> This alludes evidently to the enormous C——e Breeches so apparent in the pictures of Henry the Eighth, and others of that time.

to admit them, at least to that degree of levity as to turn into all their shapes without discrimination ; so as when the freak takes our *Monsieurs* to appear like so many Farces or Jack-Puddings on the Stage, all the World should alter shape, and play the Pantomims with them.

Methinks a French Taylor with his ell in his hand, looks like the enchantress Circe over the companions of Ulysses, and changes them into as many formes: One while we are made to be so loose in our clothes, as if we had alwayes need of the Close-stool, and by and by, appear like so many Malefactors sew'd up in sacks, as of old they were wont to treat a Parricide, with a dog, an ape, and a serpent. Now we are all Twist, & at a distance look like a pair of Tongs, and anon stuff'd out behind like a Dutchman. This Gallant goes so pinch'd in the Wast, as if he were prepar'd for the question of the Fiery Plate in Turkey ; and that so loose in the middle, as if he would turn Insect, or drop in two ; now the short Wast and Skirts in Pye-court is the mode ; then the Wide Hose, or (which is more shamefull) like Nero's *lacerata Amica*, the Man in Coats again ; *Monstrum geminum, de viro fœmina, mox de fœmina vir*. So as one who should judge by the appearance, would take us all to be of kin to the fellow that begs without armes, or some great man's fools. Methinks we should learn to handle distaffe too ; Hercules did so when he courted Omphale, and those who sacrificed to Ceres put on the petty-coat with much confidence. A man cannot say now, as when Lucian scoff'd at Cynicus, *Quid tu tandem barbam quidem habes & comam, tunicam non habes ?* On the reverse, all men now wear coats, and no beards. O prodigious folly !

What shall I say of this madness ! *Uterque habitus mutandi malus, alter adversus naturam, alter contra salutem*, the one of them so adverse to nature, the other to health : both preposterous, both in such extreames ; as what Seneca spake of Silk in his dayes, may with equal reason be apply'd to these clothes of ours, if clothes it be lawfull to name them.

It was a fine silken thing which I spied walking th' other day through Westminster Hall, that had as much Ribbon about him as would have plundered six shops, and set up twenty country pedlars ; all his body was drest like a May-pole, or a *Tom o' Bedlams* Cap. A Fregat newly rigg'd kept not half such a clatter in a storme, as this Puppets streamers did when the wind was in his shrouds ; the motion was wonderfull to behold, and the well chosen colours were red, orange, and blew, of well gum'd Sattin, which argu'd a happy fancy: but so was our Gallant overcharg'd *indutumne an onustum hominem, habere vestem, an bajulare*, whether he did weare this garment, or (as a Porter) beare it only, was not easily to be resolv'd.

I do assure you I knew a French woman (famous for her dexterity and invention) protest, that the English did so torment her for the

*Mode*, still jealous lest she should not have brought them over the newest edition of it, that she us'd monthly to devise us new fancies of her owne head, which were never worn in France, to pacifie her customers. But this was in the dayes of *Old Noll* that signal *Vertumnus*, when the State it self was as seldome above the age of a *Moon* without a new face, as the Ladies her faithfull *devotees*. But I have done with pictures, and whilst I seem to reprove their excess in Men, am so far from disobliging the brighter Sex, that it is from hence (fair Ladies) may justly be deriv'd the esteem which I make of your discretion in this point, because what you now wear is so decent and so becoming: Nor am I of so morose and particular a humour, that, with Seleucus, I would allow of no ornaments, or significant changes. For my part, I love variety, and when I declaim against the ascititious and unnatural, I am advocate for what is gracefull and put on with reason: But there is a mediocrity in all things, and though garments be superficial, and extrinsecal to us, they are yet of such notable presage that if (as Solomon) a Wise Man may be known by his gate, a Fantastick may be no less so by his garb and apparel.

There is a certain *honestas in observatione decori*, which if men could once light on, would be of infinite more reputation to us than this slavish deference of ours to other Nations; and when his Majesty shall fix a standard at Court, there will need no Sumptuary Lawes to repress and reforme the Lux which men so much condemn in our Apparel.

Montaigne tells us, that at the death of King Francis one years mourning for him in Cloth made Silk to be so despis'd, that had any man appear'd in it for a long time after, he was taken for a *Pedant* or a *Mountebank*:—*ne vestis serica viros fœdaret* (Tacitus in vita Tiber.)

Doubtless would the great persons of England but owne their nation, and assert themselves as they ought to do, by making choice of virile and comely Fashion, which should incline to neither extream, and be constant to it, 'twould prove of infinite more reputation to us then now that there is nothing fixt, and the liberty so exorbitant.

We deride the Spaniard for his odd shape, not for his constancy to it. Let it be considered that those who seldom change the *Mode* of their country, have as seldom alter' their *affections* to the Prince. Laws are in credit as they are ancient; and the very alteration of elements, weather and dyet, are full of perill; 'tis that renders us weak, old, sick, and at last destroyes us: so as 'twas not without advice that the Lawes of Plato did descend to the care even of Habits in that his perfect *Idea*, allowing it only to *Curtesans* and *Comedians* to vary dresses, since 'twas but a kind of hippocrisie to be every day in a new shape and *mascarad*.

*Quomodo præcepto Dei custodietis* (says Tertullian) *lineamenta corporis non custodientes?* (Tertul. de cultu foem). How can we expect

that men should keep the commandments of God (I add, of the King) that preserve not the lineaments of their bodies? Thus he to the Gallants of his time; and though he does somewhere as ingeniously apologize for the *Pallium* (De Pal.) (which the proselytes had then newly reassum'd) by instances deduced from the common vicissitudes of nature and of the world, yet he proves its antiquity from the old Lydians, and noble Pelasgi, and from the decency and simplicity of the garb; so as what was then said by way of sarcasme to the new Christians, *a Togâ ad Pallium*, may now (with more just reproch) be applied to the old, *ab Equis ad Asinos*.

For my part I profess that I delight in a cheerfull gaiety, affect and cultivate variety: the Universe itself were not beautifull to me without it, but, as that is in constant and uniforme succession in the natural where men do not disturb it, so would I have it also in the artificial.

If the Kings of Mexico chang'd four times a day, it was but an upper vest, which they were us'd to honor some meritorious servant with. Let men change their habits as oft as they please, so the change be for the better. I would have a Summer habit and a Winter; for the Spring and for the Autumne. Something I would indulge to Youth, something to Age and Humour, *Sed quænam illuc avis est, quæ huc cum tunicis advertit?* What have we to do with these foreign Butterflies? In God's name let the change be our own, not borrow'd of others; for why should I dance after a Monsieur's flajolet only, that have a set of English viols for my concert? We need no French inventions, or for the Stage or for the Back; we have better Materials for Clothes; they, better Taylors. Strange, that men should come to value themselves from a sort of wretches, of which *nine* go but to the making of *one man*! I hope to see the day when all this shall be reform'd, and when all the world shall receive their standard from our most illustrious Prince, and from his Grandees, and make prognostics even from these little accidents and all that is extrinsecal to them, that there is a glorious, a steady, and a wise Director within, and that it shall be as presumptuous for any Foreign Nation to impose upon our Court, as it is indeed ridiculous it should, and its greatest diminution.

Lampridius tells us Alexander Severus was in this point so nice, that he would have all his subjects distinguish'd by their habit—*ne servi ingenuis miscerentur*. How many times have I saluted the fine Man for the Master, and stood with my hat off to the gay feather, when I found the Bird to be all this while but a Daw; *arripuit persona, manet res*; (Lucretius) for so the Asse wore the Lyons skin, but never thought of hiding his eares. Yet is this prodigious excesse injurious both to nature and to civil life, that now a dayes makes hardly difference between a Trumpeter and a General.

Servants had always among the Romans a peculiar habit, till the Common-Wealth grew dissolute, says Tacitus: And for my particular,

I am so great a friend to this order, that I could be content all degrees of men whatever should be known by their Cognizance, all Gown-men, and all the Military. How would this conduce to publick frugality, peace, humility ! and if to any emulation, to that only of exceeding one another in vertue and obedience: for it is prodigious only to consider the impolitick wast which this promiscuous bravery draws along with it: That no lesse then two Millions of Treasure (as I am inform'd) has in so short a time been lost in Gold and Silver lace ; and that to feed this sole exorbitance, the Goldsmiths should give so considerable a rate for *Bullion* above the Mint, to employ it in this trifling fabric, which is plainly consum'd, worn out, and never return'd again, so as in a few years to endanger an universal penury.

Let us suppose that the finest cloth of Wooll, and which may be made thin, light, and glossie for Summer, thick, close, and more substantial for the Winter, and inferiour to no covering under Heaven, were more in use and esteem: or, that there were a general prohibition that persons beneath such a degree should wear either Silk, foreign Stuffs, or Cloth, with a reasonable *Tassa* impos'd by the Magistrate upon the price of our own manufacture amongst us ; how would this bring down the rates of those exotick impertinences ! how many thousand hands employ ! how glorious to our Prince, when he should behold all his subjects clad with the production of his own Country, and the people universally enrich'd, whilst the Specie that we now consume in lace and point, or export for foreign silkes, and more unserviceable stuffs, would by this means be all sav'd, and the whole Nation unite as one to the heart of their Sovereign, as to a provident and indulgent Father ! If Riches and Plenty, with the Love and Prosperity of a People, be the glory of a Prince, and the nerves of a State : if all other considerations be noyse and empty shadows ministring only to Lux, and the vanity of a few young insignificant triflers, whose brains are as transparent as their clothes ; what are those arts which a Prince should cultivate, but by exorcising these apparitions and fantosmes of a Court and Country, procure the establishment of what is material and most perfective of those solid blessings. With what facility this may be effected, our illustrious Charles will one day shew his contemporary Monarchs, by provision of such sumptuary and other wholesome Lawes for the publick, and making such a collection of vertuous persons to dispense them, that as his Court shall be the universal Idea for the rest of the Princes to reform by, so shall his People and the whole Nation become the envy of the World for their felicity.

Were I the Censor for regulation of this excess, I should recommend the best and most commodious habit, and calculate for the several meridians and degrees of the wearer. There may be much said (I confess) concerning customs and opinion, which render all things supportable ; but we in this Nation can plead neither of these for our fantas-

tical and often changes ; if 'tis true they have prevailed amongst us, let us remember whose act it is ; *Meddle not with those who are given to change*. We have suffer'd enough by these Lunatics, and been brought to nothing but our inconstancies, which however allowable in the weaker, becomes not the viriler Sex ; 'twas yet not ill observ'd of Sir Philip Sydney that Ladies, though they were naturally afraid of a Sword, were yet soonest in love with the men of Iron, whose shape is the most unalterable of all the metals, and the noblest emblem of constancy.

Behold we one of our Silken Camelions and aery Gallants making his addresses to his Mistress, and you would sometimes think yourself in the country of the Amazons, for it is not possible to say which is the more woman of the two coated Sardanapalus's. But how may we remedy this ? Shall we descend to some particulars ?

I would choose the loose Riding Coat, which is now the *Mode*, and the Hose which his Majesty often wears ; or some fashion not so pinching as to need a Shooing-horn with the Dons, nor so exorbitant as the Pantaloons, which are a kind of Hermaphrodite and of neither Sex : and if at any time I fancy'd them wider, or more open at the knees for the Summer, it should be with a mediocrity, and not to set in plaits as if I were supported with a pair of Ionic pillars, or the gatherings of my Grandames loose Gown. I would neither have my Dublet or my Skirts so short as if I were to represent one of Sir John Maundevile's Dobys, whose eyes and mouthes are in their shoulders and breasts ; nor again so long as to act *Francatripe* in the Farce. I would not conceal the shape of a well proportioned leg under a Hoop and Canopy, because some bow-legg'd *Monsieur* would disguise his deformity to the reproch of Nature. Are our Knees, like Esops Pots, afraid of justling because of the same frail metal ? I am neither fond of the round hooft, nor of the long shoes, but for that which best fits my foot, and is most easie ; and had rather have my Last a little too wide, then to make it a Case for my Almanack, which I will sooner wear in my pocket then in my stockings. Slender feet are for the Queens of China, and for those who delight to be awak'd by the Corn-cutter. I like the noble Buskin for the Legs, and the Boucle better than the formal Rose ; and had rather see a glittering stone to hasp it there, than the long cross hilted knots now worn, because 'tis more glorious, and like that *Manucodiata* which Queen Elizabeth tyed there at an audience of a Muscovite Ambassador (who had stuck one in his Hat), shews a kind of contempt of riches.

The wisest and most healthy of the Ancients went continually bare-headed ; so Masinissa, Cæsar, so Hannibal us'd to go : But when I must be cover'd, I infinitely prefer the *Buchingamo* or *Montero* lately reform'd, before any other whatever, because it is most manly, usefull and steady. I have heard say that when a Turk would execrate one

that displeases him, he wishes him as unstable as a *Christian's Hat*; and in effect 'tis observ'd that no man can so plant it on another man's head but the owner do's immediately alter it, nor is it ever certain. All that can be reply'd in its behalf is, that it shades the face : but so would a Tuft of Feathers in the *Montero*, which is light and serviceable when the sun is hot, and at other times ornamental.

I would neither have my Band so voluminous as a *Frokins Night-raile*, nor yet so strait and scanty as a Negro's collar ; in short, I wish any thing might supply it that were not made of Hemp : and for that piece of wainscot which supports it about our necks, if it be too high, the man looks as if he were impaled and had swallow'd a stake ; if too low, as if the Doublet were borrowed ; at least I wish that part were defended with something less rigid than past-board ; and if the Cravat did still succeed it, there would be no misse of the other. To cover all with two words : I like the stately and easy Vest within doors, and the Cloak without. In summe, I affect whatever is comely, and of use, and to that I would be constant, choosing nothing that should be capricious, nothing that were singular, and therefore have made this collection out of all ; for seeing we are oblig'd to none, we injure none, and since there is so much variety, our choice is the freer. *Mode* is a Tyrant, and we may cast off his government without impeachment to our Loyalty. But if we will rather expect (and which I most approve of) the injunction of our Superiors for this regulation also, we shall do wisely, and best avoid the censure. Those who follow'd the great Alexander held indeed their necks awry, because he most inclin'd it to one side ; and when his father Philip wore a fillet about his forehead for a wound which he had receiv'd, all the Court came abroad with the like till the cure was compleat ; but we have a Prince whose shape is elegant and perfect to admiration, so as I know not whether there was ever upon the throne a personage who had lesse need of Art to render him more graceful, and whose mein makes all things to become him, and therefore certainly (of all the Princes of Europe) the most fit to give the standard now to the *Mode* we next expect, and that not only to his own *Nation*, but to all the *World* besides.

*Nec affectatæ Sordes, nec exquisitæ Munditiæ*

*Note.*—that this was publish'd 2 years before the Vest, Cravat, Garters & Boucles came to be the fashion, & therefore might haply give occasion to the change that ensued in those very particulars.

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## DIARY AND LETTERS

### OF

## JOHN EVELYN.

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